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# 2022

### *Dossier*

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF STUDENTS IN EUROPE,  
1800-1945. SOME COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES



Universidad Carlos III de Madrid  
Editorial Dykinson



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# PRESENTATION

## The Historiography of Students in Europe, 1800–1945: Some Comparative Perspectives

La historiografía de los estudiantes en Europa,  
1800–1945: algunas perspectivas comparativas

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Over the last three decades, the academic literature on the history of education has expanded substantially in most European countries.<sup>1</sup> Within this wider field, the history of higher education and of universities has experienced significant, unprecedented growth. In 1998, this development manifested itself in the foundation of three new journals complementing the work of the older *History of Universities* journal launched in 1981: *CIAN* in Spain, the *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* in Germany and the *Annali di storia delle università italiane* in Italy. Moreover, between 1992 and 2011, a collective effort to cover European higher education from the first medieval uni-

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Pieter Dhondt and Daniel Laqua for their comments on this essay. Quotes from texts published in languages other than English have been translated by the author.

versities to the end of the twentieth century resulted in four landmark volumes under the supervision of Walter Rüegg and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens in both English and German.<sup>2</sup> Since then, this major study has been translated into Spanish in its entirety (1995-2020), while the first two volumes have also appeared in Portuguese (1996, 2001). Importantly, the growth in the historiography of higher education has gone hand in hand with a thematic broadening, as historians have embraced new subjects and methods: the role of transnational exchange and influences in the construction of national models and reforms; academic mobility; the development and institutionalisation of disciplines; prosopographical studies of professors; universities' autonomy and their relations to political, religious, and economic forces – among others. This intense historiographical production explains why historians of education in general and of universities in particular have lately reviewed the achievements in their fields.<sup>3</sup>

As the five following articles will show, the literature on the history of students benefited from these developments to some extent. Nonetheless, at least with regard to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, students have often appeared to be the “poor cousin” of university history. In

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<sup>2</sup> Walter Rüegg and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992-2011) and *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, 4 vols. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1993-2010).

<sup>3</sup> On the history of education, see Jeroen J. H. Dekker and Frank Simon, ed., “Shaping the History of Education? The First 50 Years of *Paedagogica Historica*,” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 6 (2014); Rita Hofstetter and Solenn Huitric, ed., “Regards sur l’histoire de l’éducation, une perspective internationale,” *Histoire de l’éducation* 154 (2020); Gerhard Kluchert, Klaus-Peter Horn, Carola Groppe and Marcelo Caruso, ed., *Historische Bildungsforschung. Konzepte – Methoden – Forschungsfelder* (Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 2021). On the history of universities, see Pieter Dhondt, “University History Writing: More than just a History of Jubilees?”, in *University Jubilees and University History Writing. A Challenging Relationship*, ed. Pieter Dhondt (Boston, Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1-17; Gian Paolo Brizzi and Elisa Signori, ed., “University Historiography,” *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades* 17, no. 1 (June 2017): available at <https://e-revistas.uc3m.es/index.php/CIAN/issue/view/521> (all links verified on 17/03/2022), which has served as a model for the present issue; Gian Paolo Brizzi, ed., “Riviste di storia dell’università,” *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 25, no. 1 (2021); and especially concerning the important German(-speaking) historiography: Sylvia Paletschek, “Stand und Perspektiven der neueren Universitätsgeschichte,” *NTM Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 19, no. 2 (2011): 169-189; Stefan Gerber, “Wie schreibt man „zeitgemäße“ Universitätsgeschichte?” and Marian Füssel, “Wie schreibt man Universitätsgeschichte?,” *NTM Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 22, no. 4 (2015): 277-286 and 287-293; Livia Prüll, Christian George and Frank Hüther, ed., *Universitätsgeschichte schreiben. Inhalte – Methoden – Fallbeispiele* (Göttingen/Mainz: V&R unipress/Mainz University Press, 2019).

1986, Christophe Charle argued that French students were “des oubliés de l’histoire”, were “forgotten by history.”<sup>4</sup> In another country and fifteen years later, Ilaria Porciani – one of the leading historians to promote university history in Italy – noted: “Research has also begun to take shape on students, for whom the university was intended, but about whom very little has been known until a very few years ago.”<sup>5</sup>

What was known on European students of the nineteenth and of the first half of the twentieth century before the 1990s? What questions and subjects have come into focus since then? What are the specificities, main topics, and principal lines of enquiry of student history today? This journal issue provides some answers to these questions. The articles offer a state of the art of the historiographies of five European countries as well as larger reflections on how student history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been and is currently written in Austria, Britain and Ireland, France, Germany, and Spain.

### 1. *The conception of the issue*

First of all, the time frame for this issue warrants explanation. The turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is often seen as an era of transition in Western university history, even though this periodisation has been discussed, especially for the German case.<sup>6</sup> It was certainly a period of profound changes in higher education – including some of the countries dealt with in this issue, such as France and Prussia/Germany, but also Italy.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, *A History of the University in Europe* places the division between volumes 2 and 3 around the year 1800. In the third volume, the authors of the three chapters that focus on students primarily consider the period beginning with the post-Napoleonic restorations.<sup>8</sup> For students of continental Europe (Britain

<sup>4</sup> Christophe Charle, “Les étudiants et l’affaire Dreyfus,” *Cahiers Georges Sorel* 4 (1986): 61.

<sup>5</sup> Ilaria Porciani, “Introduzione,” in *L’Università italiana. Repertorio di atti e provvedimenti ufficiali 1859-1914*, ed. Ilaria Porciani (Firenze: L. S. Olschki 2001), IX.

<sup>6</sup> For a critical analysis of the construction of the “Humboldtian model” and of the foundation of the Berlin University in 1810 as a rupture point during the twentieth century, see Sylvia Paletschek, “Die Erfindung der Humboldtschen Universität: Die Konstruktion der deutschen Universitätsidee in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts,” *Historische Anthropologie* 10, no. 2 (2002): 183-205.

<sup>7</sup> Piero Del Negro and Luigi Pepe, ed., *Le università napoleoniche. Uno spartiacque nella storia italiana ed europea dell’istruzione superiore* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Walter Rüegg, ed., *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 3: *Universities in the Nineteenth*



constituting a somewhat special case), the first two decades of the century marked the slow beginning of modern forms of collective organisation and movements. Every contributor adapted the chronological framework for the purpose of the discussion, depending on the historical specificities and on the existing historiography. For instance, Gernot Stimmer insists in his article that for Austrian students, the real caesura was the revolutionary year of 1848, which led to the suppression of the Catholic “corporation university” and its replacement by an autonomous state institution. The issue also follows Rüegg’s concluding date of 1945 for volume 3 of *A History of the University*. All authors terminate their inquiries around World War II which, unsurprisingly, represented a real rupture in European university and student history. Matthias Stickler’s paper represents an exception, as the author decided to exclude the National Socialist regime from his study, although it is certainly nowadays the best studied period in German university history.<sup>9</sup> From the outset, the editor decided to exclude the second half of the twentieth century from the discussion, as so much has already been written on it, especially with regard to the student movements of the 1960s.<sup>10</sup> Finally, two complementary perspectives are offered in this issue. Some contributors decided to present the historiography as part of a historical overview on the history of students from 1800 to 1945 (Baldó Lacomba and Perales Birlanga, Stickler, Stimmer), others focused on the evolution of the historiography and on selected historiographical topics, whereby they present some aspects of student history (Dubois, Sharp).

Universities and higher education experienced significant transformations between the beginning and the end of the nineteenth century. Further changes followed during and after the First World War. These groundbreaking developments encompassed the student body, student associations and sociability forms, student politics and culture. There were approximately 80,000 students at all European institutions of higher education – including Russia but excluding the Ottoman Empire – at the end of the 1840s and

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and *Early Twentieth century (1800-1945)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). For the contributions on students, see Fritz Ringer, “Admission,” 233-268; Lieve Gevers and Louis Vos, “Student Movements,” 269-362; Konrad H. Jarausch, “Graduation and Careers,” 363-391.

<sup>9</sup> According to Michael Grüttner, “Universitäten in der nationalsozialistischer Diktatur – Stand der Forschung,” in *Universitätsgeschichte schreiben*, ed. Prüll, George and Hütter, 85-104.

<sup>10</sup> For recent overviews, see Ioanna Kasapi, Robi Morder and Caroline Rolland-Diamond, ed., “Mobilisations étudiantes dans le monde : les années 68,” *Matériaux pour l’histoire de notre temps* 116 (2018); Andrés Payà Rico and José Luis Hernández Huerta, ed., “Students in Action During the ‘Long 60s,’” *History of Education and Children’s Literature* XIV, no. 2 (2019).

around 300,000 in 1910. This number increased rapidly during the 1920s and surpassed 600,000 on the eve of World War II.<sup>11</sup> Between 1860 and the 1920s, universities – but not all institutions of higher education, as is often forgotten – began to accept women as students. From 1900 onwards, the feminisation of the student body grew almost continuously, albeit slowly and with difficulty, being completely blocked or diverted only by anti-feminine politics during specific periods, such as in Nazi Germany. At the same time, (Western) universities attracted more and more foreign students, many of them looking for an elite higher education that did not exist in their country.<sup>12</sup> Reviewing the historiographical production on all of these questions, each article in this special issue traces these transformations over the *longue durée* of 150 years and locates them both within their national and their European contexts.

## 2. Characteristics of European students' history and of its writing

The five articles of this issue allow to offer some comparisons on European students' history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and on how it is written. I will limit myself here to some general patterns as I would rather like to insist on the persisting limitations of the historiography.

First of all, all national historiographies have clearly developed greatly since the 1990s. The expansion of university history during the last few decades has led to a consideration of students, but on a smaller scale. This inclusion can be illustrated by the recurrent publication of (scholarly) commemorative histories of individual universities, which now tend to comprise chapters dedicated to students. This general development has, however, barely led to a European cooperation: the heterogeneity of student history

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<sup>11</sup> It is almost impossible to give precise numbers for all of Europe, as the counting methods often differed between countries and periods. National statistics were almost inexistent for the first half of the nineteenth century, often unprecise for the second half, somewhat better for the interwar period. Estimations based on several articles in Rüegg, ed., *A History* and on Christophe Charle and Jacques Verger, *Histoire des universités en Europe. XII<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2012), 138.

<sup>12</sup> For an introductory European comparison, see: Robert D. Anderson, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), chapter 17; Natalia Tikhonov, "Migrations des étudiants et féminisation de quelques universités européennes. À la recherche d'une convergence," in *Universitäten als Brücken in Europa – Les universités : des ponts à travers l'Europe*, ed. Natalia Tikhonov and Harmut Rüdiger Peter (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 43-53.

is striking. On the one side, we find Austria and Germany, which have an old and abundant literature, structured around well identified poles. At the other end of the spectrum are France and Spain (to which we could add Portugal and some Eastern European countries such as Poland),<sup>13</sup> with a more recent historiography and limited number of publications. The historiography of Britain and Ireland occupies an intermediate position – which would also be the place of the Italian historiography.<sup>14</sup> The various statuses of historians who research student history represent another difference. German and, to some point, Austrian publications are divided between professional historians and members of student corporations and associations who, since the end of the nineteenth century, have been producing histories of their own organisation and more general histories of students. Even though there now exist some bridges between them, Matthias Stickler regrets in his paper that professional historians and corporate “student historians” remain two separate groups. In France, some non-professional historians have written important works on student history, but they in no way form a distinguishable group as in Germany. Finally, the overwhelming majority of publications on students of a given country is written by historians from that particular country, which has further reduced the possibilities for international cooperation.

The particularity and maybe the strength of student history is that there can be social, cultural, political, gender, religious, colonial, educational, generational histories of students. As all articles in this issue demonstrate, several historiographical perspectives often coexist in the same study, but some research angles and themes are more easily chosen by historians. The social history of students has been much more difficult to write than their political and cultural history. This is mainly due to a lack of sources allowing historians to know the precise social origins of students and their economic situation. Of course, studies covering the social history of students do exist, but it is generally easier to describe their culture than their socio-economic background.

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<sup>13</sup> Fernando Taveira da Foseca, “Portuguese Universities: Historiographical Overview,” *CIAN* 20, no. 1 (2017): 264-270; Sabrina Lausen, *Hüter ihrer Nationen. Studentische Verbindungen in Deutschland und Polen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2020), 57-62.

<sup>14</sup> Luigiaurelio Pomante, “The Researches on the History of University and Higher Education in Italy. A Critical Appraisal of the Last Twenty Years,” *History of Education & Children’s Literature* V, no. 2 (2010): 387-417 and “Las investigaciones sobre la historia de las universidades en Italia. Un balance historiográfico del siglo pasado,” *CIAN* 20, no. 1 (2017): 163-192.

One thing is clear: student associations and movements are the most common topics in the historiography. We now know a great deal and new research is still undergoing on the origins and developments of local associations and national unions, on their role in the socialisation of students, on the academic and political issues debated by students, on their corporate and political mobilisations.<sup>15</sup> The latter aspect can partly be explained by student history itself: on the one hand, the movements of the 1960s generated greater interest in the history of student activism; on the other hand, student associations and mobilisations leave numerous traces and thus provide substantial source material for historians. Never do students write as much about themselves than when they collectively organise. Other subjects common to all historiographies are foreign and women students. In the five countries studied here as well as in Belgium, Italy, Scandinavia or Russia, historians have analysed how and when women gained access to university, the perpetuation of gender discriminations, their biographies, study and career paths.<sup>16</sup> Further themes that are frequently studied include sociability and cultural practices from drinking to sports, masculinity, students during both world wars, and religion.

Put into a comparative perspective, this issue also reveals several limitations in the historiography. Some of them concern more particularly the students of one country. This is the case of French students: their history for the period of 1880 to 1914 has been considerably more investigated than for the decades before and after these 35 years, and Parisian students have been much more considered than provincial students. As shown by Marc Baldó Lacomba and Germán Perales Birlanga, the same applies in Spain, where far more studies have been dedicated to early modern universities and to the period between the Second Republic and the “democratic transition” (1931-1978) than to the nineteenth century and to the first three decades of the twentieth century. Emily Sharp shows in her article that historians have

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<sup>15</sup> For Italy see in English: Elisa Signori, “University Students After Italian Unification. Riots, Organisations, and Political Engagement (1860-1885),” and Valentina Colombi, “Re-generation: Politicisation, Corps Identity, and Generation Gap in the Italian Students’ Revolt of 1885,” in *Student Revolt, City, and Society in Europe: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Pieter Dhondt and Elizabethanne Boran (New York, London: Routledge 2018), 152-169 and 170-183; and in Italian the literature cited in Pomante, “The Researches” and “Las investigaciones”.

<sup>16</sup> For a short European overview, see Amélie Puche, “L’accès des femmes aux universités (1850-1940),” *Encyclopédie d’Histoire Numérique de l’Europe*, 23/06/2020, <https://ehne.fr/fr/node/14080>, which will be translated into English shortly.

mainly focused on Oxford, Cambridge, and Scotland, but largely neglected the other English, the Welsh, and the Irish universities and students.

The European and transnational dimensions of higher education affected students' collective lives and studies, which often underwent similar developments in different countries during the period under consideration. Thus far, the historiography has given too little consideration to these similarities. In fact, very few comparative works exist on students between 1800 and 1945. Sonja Levsen and Thomas Weber have each written a comparative history of the students of one (South-Western, non-Prussian) German and one (elite) English university, respectively Tübingen and Cambridge between 1900 and 1929, and Heidelberg and Oxford between 1890 and 1914. Antonin Dubois has offered a comparison of French and German students, their organisations and collective mobilisations between 1880 and 1914.<sup>17</sup>

Academic mobility has resulted in transnational instead of comparative perspectives on student history. After the *peregrinatio academica* of the Middle Ages and early modern times, universities began at the end of eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century to be transformed into national institutions with specific models and functions. There were students studying at foreign universities during the whole nineteenth century, but the stream of transnational academic mobility really began to increase during its last three decades, first towards Germany, later towards France. Efforts to attract selected foreign students, especially from the United States of America, already produced some competition in the realm of academic diplomacy during the 1890s and 1900s, and it was further intensified after the war.<sup>18</sup> There exist now various studies on foreign students, whether the focus lays on students migrating from a certain country or region (a colony for instance), or on the

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<sup>17</sup> Sonja Levsen, *Elite, Männlichkeit und Krieg. Tübinger und Cambridger Studenten 1900-1929* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006); Thomas Weber, *Our Friend "the Enemy". Elite Education in Britain and Germany before World War I* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Antonin Dubois, *Organiser les étudiants. Socio-histoire d'un groupe social (Allemagne et France, 1880-1914)* (Vulaines-sur-Seine: Éditions du Croquant, 2021).

<sup>18</sup> Charlotte A. Lerg, *Universitätsdiplomatie. Wissenschaft und Prestige in den transatlantischen Beziehungen 1890-1920* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019); Guillaume Tronchet, "The Defeat of University Autonomy. French Academic Diplomacy, Mobility Scholarships and Exchange Programs (1880s-1930s)," in *Global Exchanges. Scholarships and Transnational Circulations in the Modern World*, ed. Giles Scott-Smith and Ludovic Tournès (Berghahn Books: New York, 2017), 50-63.

hosting capacities and politics of one or several countries.<sup>19</sup> Some more general perspectives on student mobility have also been offered.<sup>20</sup>

Other historians have written transnational histories of students by focusing on their international conferences, organisations, and engagements. Already in the 1960s, two historians studied the three “international” (in fact Western European) congresses held in Belgium one century earlier.<sup>21</sup> Aldo Mola has published a history of the *Corda Fratres*, focusing on Italian and, to a lesser extent, French sources. This International Federation of Students was founded by Italian students in 1898 and organised seven international congresses in Europe and one in the United States before World War I. After 1918, it had to compete with other international organisations and was taken over by the fascist regime in the 1920s. The most prominent international organisation of the interwar period was the International Confederation of Students founded in Strasbourg in 1919. Furthermore, Isabella Löhr recently studied the World Student Christian Federation in the perspective of global

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<sup>19</sup> A few examples: Elisa Signori, “Una ‘peregrinatio academica’ in età contemporanea. Gli studenti ebrei stranieri nelle università italiane tra le due guerre,” *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 4 (2000): 139-162; Sandra L. Singer, *Adventures Abroad: North American Women at German-speaking Universities, 1868-1915* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003); Caroline Barrera, *Étudiants d'ailleurs. Histoire des étudiants étrangers, coloniaux et français de l'étranger de la Faculté de droit de Toulouse (XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle-1944)* (Albi: Presses du Centre universitaire Champollion, 2007); Pieter Dhondt, “Foreign Students at Belgian Universities. A Statistical and Bibliographical Approach,” *Revue belge d'Histoire contemporaine* XXXVIII, no. 1-2 (2008): 5-44; Daniela Siebe, “Germania docet”. *Ausländische Studierende, auswärtige Kulturpolitik und deutsche Universitäten 1870 bis 1933* (Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 2009); Pierre Moulinier, *Les étudiants étrangers à Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Migrations et formation des élites* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012); Dzovinar Kévonian and Guillaume Tronchet, ed., *La Babel étudiante. La cité internationale universitaire de Paris (1920-1950)* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013); Hilary Perraton, *A History of Foreign Students in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Victor Karady, “Student Mobility and Western Universities. Patterns of Unequal Exchange in the European Academic Market (1880-1939),” in *Transnational Intellectuals Networks. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*, ed. Christophe Charle, Peter Wagner and Jürgen Schriewer (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 2004), 361-399; Hilary Perraton, *International Students 1860-2010. Policy and Practice round the World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020); Isabella Löhr, *Globale Bildungsmobilität 1850-1930. Von der Bekehrung der Welt zur globalen studentischen Gemeinschaft* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2021).

<sup>21</sup> Léon-E. Halkin, *Le premier congrès international des étudiants à Liège en 1865* (Liège: [no ed.], 1965); John Bartier, “Étudiants et mouvement révolutionnaire au temps de la première internationale. Les Congrès de Liège, Bruxelles et Gand,” in *Mélanges offerts à Guillaume Jacquemys* (Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie, 1968), 35-60.

mobilities and the development of humanitarianism.<sup>22</sup> In addition, Georgina Brewis and other, especially British, scholars researched the history of international student volunteering.<sup>23</sup> But the European and international connections and exchanges between students remain an understudied topic that requires further attention. Several structures or moments could inspire research in this field, for example by exploring the revolutionary events of the early 1830s and of 1848-49, by developing new perspectives on the aforementioned international organisations and others, or by considering the role of students during university jubilees.

### 3. Perspectives

Two further limitations and research perspectives can be underlined through the present historiographical issue as they are absent of it. First, while managing to offer historiographic reports on five countries, this issue ignores important countries with regard to the European university history. Besides Italy and Switzerland, on which articles were planned but could finally not be included, it is the case of Belgium (though very little has been published on Belgian students),<sup>24</sup> the Netherlands, Portugal, and above all Northern and Eastern Europe.<sup>25</sup> University and student history of these last two areas

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<sup>22</sup> On these different organisations, see Aldo A. Mola, *Corda Fratres. Storia di una associazione internazionale studentesca nell'età dei grandi conflitti (1898-1948)* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1999); Daniel Laqua, "Activism in the 'Students' League of Nations': International Student Politics and the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants, 1919-1939," *The English Historical Review* 132, no. 556 (2017): 605-637 and "Student Activism and International Cooperation in a Changing World, 1919-60," in *Internationalists in European History: Rethinking the Twentieth Century*, ed. David Brydan and Jessica Reinisch (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 161-81; Benjamin L. Hartley, "Saving Students: European Student Relief in the Aftermath of World War I," *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 42, no. 4 (2018): 295-315; Löhr, *Globale Bildungsmobilität*.

<sup>23</sup> Georgina Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond, 1880-1980* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2014).

<sup>24</sup> As Belgian universities welcomed many foreign students, this subject has been studied. For a broad overview and a list of literature, see Dhondt, "Foreign Students".

<sup>25</sup> See the papers on university history of the Netherlands (Willem Frijhoff), Portugal (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca), the Czech Republic (Lukáš Fasora and Jiří Hanuš), and Hungary (László Szögi) in *CIAN* 17, no. 1 (June 2017). On students of Eastern and Northern Europe, see among others Samuel D. Kassow, *Students, Professors and the State in Tsarist Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Johannes Remy, *Higher Education and National Identity. Polish Student Activism in Russia 1832-1863* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000); Rebecca Friedman, *Masculinity, Autocracy and the Russian University, 1804-1863* (Bas-

present some specific characteristics. The moving frontiers, the disappearance of some countries, the independence of others and the foundation of new states (Finland, Poland, the Baltic countries, etc.), especially after major events such as the Napoleonic wars, the 1848-49 revolutions, the First World War: all this led to changes of sovereignty in some of these territories and therefore affected the universities that were located there. Broader circumstances contributed to the attraction that some universities exercised – notably for linguistic reasons – among students from other regions. Besides the Habsburg Empire due to its multinational and multilingual character – as shown by Stimmer – this was the case for the University of Dorpat, today Tartu in Estonia, which was under Russian rule since 1721 but a German-speaking university until the Russification politics of the late 1890s. Such policies were also directed towards the universities of Riga (mostly German-speaking), Helsinki (mostly Swedish-speaking), and Warsaw (Polish-speaking).<sup>26</sup>

Secondly, the most common of all historiographical shortfalls is surely students' education. One fundamental question has hardly been posed by historians yet: what did studying mean during the period from 1800 to 1945? Many historians have shown that university structures, teaching, and scientific research were very different between 1800, 1900, and 1950. There is therefore no reason that studying did not evolve with these more general transformations. There has, however, been almost no research on the intellectual training of students, the concrete forms of their study practices (at home or in a library, alone or in groups, revising methods), modalities (notebooks, purchase and borrowing of books and other material), and works (written papers, oral presentations, scientific experiments).<sup>27</sup> For the later

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ingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Lausen, *Hüter*; Lars Burman, *Eloquent Students. Rhetorical Practices at the Uppsala Student Nations 1663-2010* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2012).

<sup>26</sup> Claudie Weill, *Étudiants russes en Allemagne 1900-1914. Quand la Russie frappait aux portes de l'Europe* (Paris, Montréal: L'Harmattan, 1996), 86-90; Pieter Dhondt, "Ambiguous Loyalty to the Russian Tsar. The Universities of Dorpat and Helsinki as Nation Building Institutions," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 33, no. 2 (2008): 99-126.

<sup>27</sup> For a comparative but very general perspective on curricula, see Anderson, *European Universities*, chapter 7. On France, see Jean-François Condette, *La Faculté des lettres de Lille de 1887 à 1945. Une faculté dans l'histoire* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1999), chapter 6; Pierre Moulinier, *La naissance de l'étudiant moderne (XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Belin, 2002), chapter 5. On Germany (often through the position of members of particular student organisations), see Levsen, *Elite*, 74-79; Silke Möller, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und "Burschenschaftlichkeit". Studentische Sozialisation im Deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871-1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), chapter III.2; Hans-Ulrich Wipf, *Studentische Politik und Kulturreform. Geschichte der Freistudenten-Bewegung (1896-1918)* (Schwalbach im Taunus: Wochenschau Verlag, 2004), 26-28; Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, *Dueling Students. Conflict,*



part of the twentieth century, sociological studies on this matter exist, but historical analysis for the earlier period is still greatly needed.

There are many possible sources to carry out such research on students' education, such as autobiographies, personal archives (university works and other traces of one's student life), archives of professors (letters from students for instance); faculty archives (examination papers, complaints), records of university libraries; records of a student scientific group or literary association; and student newspapers in which teaching questions could be discussed. Unfortunately, these sources are often inadequate. Silke Möller has worked solely on former German students' autobiographies. She presents interesting arguments, but the authors of the sources in question undoubtedly used a common, almost caricatural tone to report on their student times.<sup>28</sup> Personal archives infrequently keep tracks of one's intellectual work as a student. Sideroads and new uses of multiple sources have to be found in order to better study higher education through students' experience.<sup>29</sup>

A few years ago, Pieter Dhondt argued for the better integration of university history in the broad field of history of education, through the use of its methods and concepts.<sup>30</sup> A similar case can be made for student history. The question cannot be settled here, or, better said, cannot be resolved because there does not exist a history of students' education yet. These considerations constitute therefore more of a plea for its development. No one denies that the history of primary and secondary degree pupils and students is part of the history of education. There is on the face of it no reason that it should not be the case of the history of university students. As shown by all the research cited in this issue, the history of students cannot be reduced to the history of their education, for it cannot be understood without their life outside (or alongside) the university. But the history of students should without doubt include the history of their education. In doing so, it is possible to renew student history as well as the history of education more broadly.

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*Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities. 1890-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 16-37.

<sup>28</sup> Möller, *Zwischen*, chapter III.2.

<sup>29</sup> For the recent French discussion in the case of pupils and high school students, see: Jean-François Condette and Véronique Castagnet-Lars, ed., "Pour une histoire renouvelée des élèves (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles). Volume 2 : sources et méthodes," *Histoire de l'éducation* 151 (2019).

<sup>30</sup> Pieter Dhondt, "University History as Part of the History of Education," in *University Jubilees*, 233-249.

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# "Der Burschen Herrlichkeit"? - Old and New Ways of Examining the History of German University Students (1810-1945). A Research Report

"Der Burschen Herrlichkeit"? - Viejas y nuevas formas de examinar la historia de los estudiantes universitarios alemanes (1810-1945). Un informe de investigación

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*Abstract:* This research report attempts to show the basic lines of student history research in relation to the period from 1810 to 1945. It is thus primarily concerned with the period that is referred to in university history research as the "classical phase" (Peter Moraw). After an overview of fundamental questions about the era, it gives an overview of the history of student fraternities, whose importance cannot be overestimated. However, since student history is not limited to fraternity history, it then describes the relationship between student and fraternity history since the 19th century as a kind of elective affinity. In this context, particular

*Resumen:* Este informe de investigación intenta mostrar las líneas básicas de la investigación de la historia de los estudiantes en relación con el período de 1810 a 1945. Por lo tanto, se ocupa principalmente del período al que se hace referencia en la investigación de la historia universitaria como la "fase clásica" (Peter Moraw ). Después de un repaso de las cuestiones fundamentales de la época, da un repaso a la historia de las fraternidades estudiantiles, cuya importancia no puede subestimarse. Sin embargo, dado que la historia del estudiante no se limita a la historia de la fraternidad, describe la relación entre la historia del estudiante y la fraternidad desde el si-

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attention is paid to the not always easy relationship between professional researchers and laypersons interested in student history, often members of student fraternities. The following part is devoted to the "Sonderweg theory" in student history, i.e., the thesis that student fraternities were a particularly characteristic form of expression of the "German Sonderweg". Finally, the last part deals in detail with more recent tendencies in student historiography since the late 1990s, especially on Catholic student life, student violence, Jewish students and anti-Semitism, as well as female students and gender-historical approaches. As an important desideratum, genuine cultural aspects of student history are identified. Nonetheless, student history has nowadays developed into a flourishing branch of university history.

*Key words:* Germany, student history, student fraternities, "student historians", student self-organization, university history.

glo XIX como una especie de afinidad electiva. En este contexto, se presta especial atención a la relación no siempre fácil entre investigadores profesionales y laicos interesados en la historia estudiantil, a menudo miembros de fraternidades estudiantiles. La siguiente parte está dedicada a la "teoría del Sonderweg" en la historia estudiantil, es decir, la tesis de que las fraternidades estudiantiles fueron una forma de expresión particularmente característica del "Sonderweg alemán". Finalmente, la última parte trata en detalle las tendencias más recientes en la historiografía estudiantil desde fines de la década de 1990, especialmente sobre la vida estudiantil católica, la violencia estudiantil, los estudiantes judíos y el anti-semitismo, así como las estudiantes y los enfoques históricos de género. Como desideratum importante, se identifican los aspectos culturales genuinos de la historia estudiantil. No obstante, la historia estudiantil se ha convertido hoy en día en una floreciente rama de la historia universitaria.

*Palabras clave:* Alemania, historia estudiantil, fraternidades estudiantiles, "estudiantes historiadores", organización estudiantil, historia universitaria.

## 1. Fundamentals

A major turning point in the history of German universities and of their students was at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> Universities underwent a transition from being traditional corporations to becoming organizations mediated by a constitutional state. However, these organizations still possessed a significant number of rights in terms of self-administration and were well-equipped public bodies, which then later changed into modern research and teaching universities.<sup>2</sup> This transition had a substantial effect on the legal status, the self-perception, and the cultural practices of stu-

<sup>1</sup> The title of this essay uses a quote from the famous German student song "Oh alte Burschenherrlichkeit" (which can roughly be translated into "The good ol' days"), probably written in 1825.

<sup>2</sup> Matthias Asche and Stefan Gerber, "Universität," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online*. Consulted online on 18 January 2022. First published online: 2019.



dents.<sup>3</sup> The Prussian-German university model later named after Wilhelm von Humboldt began in 1810 at the University of Berlin. This model then spread throughout the entire German-speaking world, large parts of Eastern and Southern Europe, and it also influenced university systems outside of Europe, for instance, in the United States of America.<sup>4</sup> This transition had two major consequences for students: first, students who had been an integral part of the university corporation and who had legal participation status and rights, were suddenly excluded from the decision-making process. Thus, students became, in essence, only “users” of the academic institution although they continued to be awarded a historical and romanticized “*Akademisches Bürgerrecht*” (academic civil rights). Secondly, through this process, students also gained some freedom, especially due to the so-called “*Humboldtsche Lücke*” (Humboldtian Gap),<sup>5</sup> which meant that universities voluntarily gave up their right to supervise students’ behavior. This newly gained freedom enabled students to organize and regulate their social lives much more freely than in the English colleges of the time. Nevertheless, the closely related idea of the complete freedom students enjoyed, called “*Burschenfreiheit*”, was in no way new,<sup>6</sup> as was the case of other types of student deviance.<sup>7</sup> This idea of student debauchery was often repeated and became idealized in the collective memory. However, students’ deviant behavior took on a different character in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The reason for this is that after the Enlightenment and in light of the French Revolution, German stu-

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<sup>3</sup> Julian Kümmerle, “Student,” *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online*. Consulted online on 12 January 2022. First published online: 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Research on the so-called “Humboldt University” has become very differentiated in the last 25 years, also in an international context. See especially the following two volumes: Rainer C. Schwinges, ed., *Humboldt International. Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), Sylvia Paletschek, *Die permanente Erfindung einer Tradition. Die Universität Tübingen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich Schaffstein, *Wilhelm von Humboldt. Ein Lebensbild* (Frankfurt/Main: Klostermann, 1952), 228-29.

<sup>6</sup> Ulrich Rasche, “Cornelius relegatus und die Disziplinierung der deutschen Studenten (16. bis frühes 19. Jahrhundert). Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Ikonologie studentischer Memoria,” in *Frühneuzeitliche Universitätskulturen. Kulturhistorische Perspektiven auf die Hochschulen in Europa*, ed. Barbara Krug-Richter and Ruth-E. Mohrmann (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2009), 157-221.

<sup>7</sup> Marian Füssel, “Devianz als Norm? Studentische Gewalt und akademische Freiheit in Cologne im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” *Westfälische Forschungen* 54 (2004): 145-166 and “Riten der Gewalt. Zur Geschichte der akademischen Deposition und des Pernalismus in der frühen Neuzeit,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 32 (2005): 605-648.

dents became politicized to an unprecedented extent during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This development, which happened in the time of the Dual Revolution, took place across all of Europe.<sup>8</sup> It had a significant impact on the German student body and triggered numerous waves of radicalization that lasted far into the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> These waves of radicalization were characterized by a student activism directly related to various political ideas and worldviews of historical importance. In this regard, Harald Lönnecker<sup>10</sup> accurately spoke about how students were seen as a type of seismograph, in that they both anticipated political and social changes and, at the same time, amplified those tendencies.<sup>11</sup>

The reason that made this process possible is that German universities, during their classical phase,<sup>12</sup> were not just educational institutions focused on research and teaching, but were rather the nucleus of the political elite and the embodiment of both national and international prestige – something that can hardly be imagined today. Moreover, well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, students

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<sup>8</sup> Dieter Langewiesche, "Studenten in den europäischen Revolutionen von 1848," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 2 (1999): 38-57. For more on the revolutionary periods between 1815 and 1848, see Georg Polster, *Politische Studentenbewegung und bürgerliche Gesellschaft. Die Würzburger Burschenschaft im Kräftefeld von Staat, Universität und Stadt 1814-1850* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1989, written at: Würzburg, Univ. Diss., 1985) and Severin Roeseling, *Burschenehre und Bürgerrecht. Die Geschichte der Heidelberger Burschenschaft von 1828 bis 1834* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1999, written at: Köln, Univ. Diss., 1998), Karin Breuer, *Constructing Germanness: the Student Movement from the Burschenschaft to the Progressbewegung, 1814-49* (Ph. D. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 2002) and Karin Breuer, "Competing Masculinities: Fraternities, Gender and Nationality in the German Confederation, 1815-30," *Gender & History*, 20, no. 2 (2008): 270-287.

<sup>9</sup> Konrad H. Jarausch, "Studentischer Protest im Wandel der Zeiten. Ideologische Seitenwechsel der Studierenden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021]: 103-117.

<sup>10</sup> "Lönnecker, Harald," in *Verfasserlexikon zur Studenten- und Universitätsgeschichte*, ed. Friedhelm Golücke (Köln: SH, 2004), 204-207. Lönnecker is one of the most productive modern day research student historians of all. Since 1995 he has been head of the archive and library of the Student Association "Deutsche Burschenschaft" and the "Gesellschaft für Burschenschaftliche Geschichtsforschung" (Society for the historical research of Burschenschaft History) at the Federal Archives in Koblenz. His main focus of research is the history of Burschenschaft fraternities and the history of academic singing associations and singing student fraternities. Most of his publications can be accessed under [http://www.burschenschaftsgeschichte.de/forschung\\_pub.php](http://www.burschenschaftsgeschichte.de/forschung_pub.php) (cited January 22, 2022).

<sup>11</sup> Harald Lönnecker, "... freiwillig nimmer von hier zu weichen ..." *Die Prager deutsche Studentenschaft 1867-1945. Vol. 1: Verbindungen und Vereine des deutschnationalen Spektrums* (Köln: SH, 2008), 18-19.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Moraw, "Universitäten, Gelehrte und Gelehrsamkeit in Deutschland vor und um 1800," in Schwinges, ed., *Humboldt International*, 75-104.

were not just young people who attended university, but rather a group marked by their homogeneity in relation to their intellect, social background, and cultural practices, especially when compared to other social groups. Above all, these cultural practices evolved from the academic elite (sub)culture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and were known for being distinct and affirming of itself. By experiencing and utilizing their civil and individual rights, students were expected to be prepared to take on leading positions in society and in the government after their graduation. Nevertheless, deviant behavior that took on the form of asocial or antisocial behavior during university life was not unknown, especially within the framework of student camaraderie and socializing.<sup>13</sup> These acts were rites of passage that sometimes took on a life of their own. The self-perception of the dominant student circles was elitist, and these students felt they were entitled to be part of the political and social vanguard. However, the students' concept of themselves was always marked by an overexaggerated opinion of themselves. For instance, Ernst Moritz Arndt's programmatic manifest "Über den deutschen Studentenstaat" (*The German Student State*) from 1813 can be seen as the initial spark in the form of a manifesto that had near eschatological characteristics.

## 2. Student fraternities

Student fraternities or corporations (*Studentenverbindungen* or *Studentenkorporationen*) played a key role in the evolution of students from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. These fraternities continued to play a role well into the early days of the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, they filled the Humboldtian Gap by their sense of entitlement as they were being able to monitor their members' own behavior. In this way, fraternities, with

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<sup>13</sup> Matthias Stickler, "Verbindungsstudentische Geselligkeit im Spannungsfeld von bürgerlichem und antibürgerlichem Habitus," in *Von Professorenzirkeln, Studentenknäipen und akademischem Networking. Universitäre Geselligkeiten von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Matthias Asche and Dietmar Klenke (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2017), 147-166.

<sup>14</sup> Matthias Stickler, "Universität als Lebensform? Überlegungen zur Selbststeuerung studentischer Sozialisation im langen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Die Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft nach 1800, um 1860 und um 1910*, ed. Rüdiger vom Bruch with cooperation of Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (München: Oldenburg, 2010), 149-186 and Harald Lönnecker, "Studenten und Gesellschaft. Studenten in der Gesellschaft – Versuch eines Überblicks seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Universität im öffentlichen Raum*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Basel: Schwabe, 2008), 387-438.

their "hidden curriculum" (Konrad H. Jarausch),<sup>15</sup> acted in tandem with the government's sanctioned task of educating students at university. Student fraternities<sup>16</sup> are until today very adaptable socialization groups that can be traced back to the universities in the Holy Roman Empire. They have their roots, above all, in the "*Alte Landsmannschaften*" (old Student territorial associations), which were protection associations for students who came from the same area. These groups were also inspired by Masonic student orders, which were based on shared ethics and values, and which deemed themselves to be a lifetime community for their members. These *Landsmannschaften* would ultimately descend into other types of groups, which, after a while, started calling themselves *Corps* and, starting from the university of Jena in 1814/1815<sup>17</sup>, which then would be known as *Burschenschaften* (nationally engaged fraternities). Their attempt at starting a nation-wide organization of students would ultimately fail much like the federal claim to sole representation demanded by the local *Seniorenconvente* (decision-making body of the heads of the *Corps* at a university). Starting in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the types of fraternities began to increase and diversify based upon worldviews and traditions. At the same time, they also began to consolidate under overarching umbrella organizations. There were new *Landsmannschaften*, gymnastic fraternities<sup>18</sup>, singing fraternities, athletic societies, student scientific societies, Catholic and Jewish fraternities, as well as sororities, all of which took on, to varying degrees, the traditional forms of student fraternities and introduced the principle of "*Lebensbund*" (life-long membership). Thus, all the fraternities, even those that continued to call themselves "*Vereine*" (associations), were groups consisting of students ("*Aktive*", within that group were also the so-called "*Füxe*" or "*Füchse*", "Foxes", that means

<sup>15</sup> Konrad H. Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany. The Rise of Academic Illiberalism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982).

<sup>16</sup> For general ideas see Matthias Stickler, "Studentenverbindungen," in *Staatslexikon. Recht – Wirtschaft – Gesellschaft*, ed. Görres society and Herder publishing company, chief editor Heinrich Oberreuter. 8th, new edition. vol. 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 2021), 846-849, more sources can be found here.

<sup>17</sup> Peter Kaupp (revised), *Stamm-Buch der Jenaischen Burschenschaft. Die Mitglieder der Urburschenschaft 1815-1819* (Köln: SH, 2005).

<sup>18</sup> *Landsmannschaften* und gymnastic fraternities are joined under the Coburger Convent umbrella association. Oliver Mohr, ed., *150 Jahre Coburger Convent* (Würzburg: Studentengesellschaftliche Vereinigung des Coburger Convents e.V., 2018). In close connection with the CC is the historical student association of the CC that was founded in 1951 (<http://studentengeschichte.cc>, cited January 22, 2022). It publishes the series "Historia Academica" that has already released a total of 58 volumes.

freshmen, new potential members) and the “*Alte Herren*” or “*Philister*” (Old Boys or Philistines), which were the former members who were now working. Differences were also made between the groups that wore colors (often a tricolor ribbon and cap) and those that did not, namely the “black” fraternities. The latter often had color on their “*Bierzipfel*” and “*Weinzipfel*”, a kind of pendants worn by members. On special occasions, they would also wear their “*Wichs*”, which is a uniform-like type of traditional student clothing originated with Polish freedom fighters in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. While there were fraternities that were known for their “*Bestimmungsmessuren*” (a kind of academic fencing), there were others that did not allow them. Even though student combat was a centuries old tradition, the “*Bestimmungsmessur*”, which emerged in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was not a duel, but rather a form of arranged and ritualized combat.

Student fraternities were the norm at the classical German university, and it was generally the case that students would join one. Despite the conflicts and the informal hierarchies,<sup>19</sup> these fraternities represented the diverse student body. Beginning in 1919, they would also go on to dominate the democratically-based elections for the students’ self-governing bodies. Shortly before World War I, more than half of all students in Germany were member of a fraternity. Even in the Weimar Republic, there was a high level of participation (up to 70 %), especially at small and mid-sized universities.<sup>20</sup> With this degree of organization and participation, fraternity members were much more visible and present in both politics and society than they are today. Therefore, when analyzing networks, it is sensible to consider fraternity membership.<sup>21</sup> Some important sources for this type of research are naturally membership rosters from the various fraternities and their umbrella organizations. Unfortunately, there exist only very few relevant prosopographical works, in which members of student unions are systematically

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<sup>19</sup> Manfred Studier, *Der Corpsstudent als Idealbild der Wilhelminischen Ära. Untersuchungen zum Zeitgeist 1888-1914* (Schernfeld: SH, 1990). This dissertation from 1965, written at the University of Erlangen, is a classic in the history of students. It depicts for the first time the diversity of the students during imperial Germany. Talking about the heterogeneity of the student body was not self-evident for the time and thus contributed a lot to the fact that the perception of student fraternities became more differentiated. This important work received broader reception after its publication as a book.

<sup>20</sup> See notes in Stickler, “Universität als Lebensform?” 157.

<sup>21</sup> Harald Lönnecker, “... der zu Recht bevorzugte unsichtbare Kreis, der sich nur den unsrigen erschließt.’ Studentische Korporationen zwischen Elitedenken und den Selbstverständlichkeiten der Zugehörigkeit im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert,” in *Geheime Eliten? Bensheimer Gespräche 2010/11*, ed. Volkhard Huth (Frankfurt/Main: Klostermann, 2014), 183-203.

recorded. These types of lists only exist for one specific type of fraternities (*Burschenschaften*<sup>22</sup>) and the non-color wearing *Kartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenvereine* (KV, Union of Catholic German Student Associations).<sup>23</sup> The *Verband der Vereine Deutscher Studenten* (VVDSt, Union of German Students' Associations), founded in 1881, has also planned on publishing a biographical encyclopedia. However, only one volume has been edited so far.<sup>24</sup>

The symbiotic relationship between universities and student fraternities was also a product of the aforementioned autonomy of the German university system. Interestingly, this type of relationship also developed where this university model was adopted, including outside of the German-speaking world. Moreover, even foreign students studying at German universities at the time joined fraternities as well.<sup>25</sup> As a result of Germany's defeat in the First World War, a significant number of fraternities experienced a shift to right-wing politics. This shift ultimately made it easier for the National-Socialist movement to exploit them when they were trying to achieve their

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<sup>22</sup> Helge Dvorak, *Biographisches Lexikon der Deutschen Burschenschaft*. ed. Gesellschaft für burschenschaftliche Geschichtsforschung. Vol. I: Politiker. 6 Teile, ed. Christian Hünemörder, Heidelberg 1996-2005. 2 Supplementteile, ed. Klaus Oldenhage, Heidelberg 2013-2014. Vol. II: Künstler, ed. Peter Kaupp (Heidelberg: Winter, 2018), Matthias Stickler, "Ein wichtiges Grundlagenwerk der Geschichtswissenschaft – Zur Vollendung des Biographischen Lexikons der Deutschen Burschenschaft," *Einst und Jetzt* 66 (2021): 301-310.

<sup>23</sup> Siegfried Koß and Wolfgang Löhr, ed., *Biographisches Lexikon des KV*. 7 vols. (Schernfeld: SH, vols. 1-3, Vierow: SH, vol. 4, Köln: SH, vols. 6-7, 1991-2010). Other interesting pieces of work about the history of the KV can be found in the series *Revocatio Historiae*.

<sup>24</sup> *Biographisches Lexikon der Vereine Deutscher Studenten. Vol. 1: Mitglieder A – L* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2014).

<sup>25</sup> All of these phenomena have not been researched enough so that systematic and comparative works are missing. See for example: Witold Molik, "Die deutschen Universitäten aus der Sicht polnischer Studenten 1871-1914" and Sirje Tamul, "Zur Studentenschaft der russifizierten Universität Tartu 1883-1918," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 4 (2001): 15-27 and 112-123, Matthias Stickler, "Die Selbstorganisation der Studenten aus dem Königreich Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen zwischen 1871 und 1918," in *Peregrinatio Hungarica. Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Anton Schindling, Gyula Kurucz and Márta Fata (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 471-503 and Harald Lönnecker, "Deutsche studentische Zusammenschlüsse in Ostmitteleuropa zwischen 1800 und 1920: Grundlagen – Quellen – Forschungen – Literatur," *Berichte und Forschungen. Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* 17 (2009): 185-214. See moreover the new and well-researched study by Sabrina Lausen, *Hüter ihrer Nationen – Studentische Verbindungen in Deutschland und Polen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2020, written at: Paderborn, Univ. Diss., 2016).

goal of taking over universities.<sup>26</sup> Despite the fact that the National Socialists originally forced fraternities to toe the line and then ultimately suppressed them, the fact that the fraternities had moved to the right in the first place represented a break in tradition, which prevented the aforementioned symbiotic relationship to reemerge after the Second World War. Since then, most of the universities have distanced themselves from student fraternities despite the fact that almost every single fraternity had clearly positioned themselves as being on the side of Western European liberal democracies.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. *The History of Students and the Historiography of Fraternities* – *An Elective Affinity*

#### 3.1. Research on non-fraternity students

It should not be assumed that the history of students during the period under consideration here is limited to the history of fraternities. Nevertheless, the

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<sup>26</sup> Up until today it is not clear to what extent student fraternities contributed to the end of the Weimar Republic. Already in the 1970s, the German-Canadian historian Michael H. Kater pointed out that the right-wing movement of the 1920s did not only affect the student fraternities but the whole German student body: *Studentenschaft und Rechtsradikalismus in Deutschland (1918-1933). Eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie zur Bildungskrise in der Weimarer Republik* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1975). See also Wolfgang Kreutzberger, *Studenten und Politik 1918-1933. Der Fall Freiburg im Breisgau* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), Geoffrey J. Giles, *Students and National Socialism in Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), Rainer Pöppinghege, *Absage an die Republik. Das politische Verhalten der Studentenschaft der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster 1918-1935* (Münster: Agenda-Verlag, 1994), Peter Krüger and Anne Christine Nagel, ed., *Mechterstädt – 25.3.1920. Skandal und Krise in der Frühphase der Weimarer Republik* (Münster: Lit, 1997), Matthias Stickler, “Zwischen Reich und Republik. Zur Geschichte der studentischen Verbindungen in der Weimarer Republik,” in *Der Burschen Herrlichkeit. Geschichte und Gegenwart des studentischen Korporationswesens*, ed. Harm-Hinrich Brandt and Matthias Stickler (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1998), 85-108.

<sup>27</sup> Only few publications exist on the role of the student fraternities in the Federal Republic of Germany. See for example: Helge Kleifeld, *„Wende zum Geist?“ Bildungs- und hochschulpolitische Aktivitäten der nicht konfessionell gebundenen studentischen Korporationen an westdeutschen Hochschulen* (Köln: SH, 2002), Matthias Stickler, “Neuanfang, Restauration und Krise – Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft nach 1945,” in *Fragmente zur Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gerrit Dworok and Christina Schäfer (Bonn: minifanal.de, 2016), 355-387 and “Die Zeitschriften der katholischen Korporationsverbände nach 1945 im Spannungsfeld von Milieubindung und pluralistischer Öffnung,” in *Katholische Publizistik im 20. Jahrhundert. Positionen, Probleme, Profile*, ed. Walter Hömberg and Thomas Pittrof (Freiburg: Rombach, 2014), 499-526.

members of fraternities have a methodological advantage in that they can be understood more in depth since the simple act of joining a fraternity can lead to certain assumptions about a student's worldview. This advantage still exists even though the individual members cannot always be found or traced in the original sources. Of course, it cannot be assumed that every member of a student fraternity or association had identical opinions and views, but in the form of their usually so-called "*Prinzipien*" (principles), they embodied concrete representations of the academic values and the associated traditions, which they each agreed to during the initiation ritual and promised to uphold and pass on. Therefore, it can be easily assumed that each fraternity member agreed with these principals to a large extent. In contrast, students of the 19<sup>th</sup> century who did not join a fraternity can only be recorded as a statistic by researchers. There are very few sources that collected information (collectively or individually) on these non-affiliated students or, as their contemporaries called them, "*Finken*" ("Finches"), "*Muli*" ("donkeys") or "*Obscuranten*" ("shady characters").<sup>28</sup> Therefore, nothing allows to make even generalized statements about them.<sup>29</sup>

That is why very few academic papers have been written about this portion of the student body. Among the most important exceptions is Silke Möller's dissertation. The author was able to offer some new insights into student social life during the German Empire, based on 155 autobiographies.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Thomas Adam, an American student from the University of Texas in Arlington, wrote his dissertation on scholarship foundations,<sup>31</sup> which concerned 21% of Prussian students in the year 1888. Other academic works on the topic can be mentioned, for instance Fenja Mens's master thesis on the "*Not der geistigen Arbeiter*" (the plight of intellectual workers) as well as Rolf-Ulrich Kunze's habilitation thesis on the history of the *Stu-*

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<sup>28</sup> Robert Paschke, *Studentenhistorisches Lexikon*, ed. and revised by Friedhelm Golücke (Köln: SH, 1999), 109, 190, 198.

<sup>29</sup> Harald Lönnecker, "Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Korporationen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik. Ein Archiv - und Literaturbericht," in "*Klassische Universität*" und "*akademische Provinz*". *Studien zur Universität Jena von der Mitte des 19. bis in die dreißiger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Matthias Steinbach and Stefan Gerber (Jena: Bussert und Stadeler, 2005), 401-437.

<sup>30</sup> Silke Möller, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und „Burschenherrlichkeit“: Studentische Sozialisation im Deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871-1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001).

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Adam, *Stipendienstiftungen und der Zugang zu höherer Bildung in Deutschland von 1800 bis 1960 (Pallas Athene, vol. 28)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008). See also *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 15 (2012) [2013], which focuses on the main topics of academic grants and scholarships and deals with them in depth.



*dienstiftung des deutschen Volkes* (German National Academic Foundation), which also looks at the topic of the sociology of elites.<sup>32</sup> Antonin Dubois' new and innovative essay on German social science student associations in Imperial Germany also needs to be mentioned. These student associations were marginal groups compared to the significantly larger fraternities. However, researching them offers an important glimpse into the generally murky topic of the "alternative" student scene around 1900.<sup>33</sup>

There are also some important publications on the so-called *Freistudentenschaft* (free or not affiliated students' organization), which did not truly become of importance until the 1890s.<sup>34</sup> Research done up until now has generally presented the *Freistudentenschaft* movement and other unaffiliated student associations as the "liberal" alternative to fraternities.<sup>35</sup> However, this assessment can easily be called into question based on several specific examples.<sup>36</sup> First, relevant source material is only available because the *Freistudentenschaft* movement and comparable student associations designed an association structure that was not corporate in the strictest sense of the word, but nevertheless borrowed heavily from the structure of the fraternities. This is the reason why fraternity members often mocked these groups by calling them "*Korporationen der Nichtkorporierten*" ("fraternities

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<sup>32</sup> Fenja Mens, *Zur „Not der geistigen Arbeiter“: Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage von Studierenden in der Weimarer Republik am Beispiel Hamburgs* (Köln: SH, 2001), Rolf-Ulrich Kunze, *Die Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes seit 1925. Zur Geschichte der Hochbegabtenförderung in Deutschland* (Berlin Akademie-Verlag, 2001).

<sup>33</sup> Antonin Dubois, "Social Science, the Social Question, and the Formation of Elites: German Social Science Student Associations (1890s-1900s)," in *Biens Symboliques / Symbolic Goods* 9 (2021). Available at <http://journals.openedition.org/bssg/880>.

<sup>34</sup> See for example Sigrid Bias-Engels, *Zwischen Wandervogel und Wissenschaft. Zur Geschichte von Jugendbewegung und Studentenschaft 1896-1920* (Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1988), Hans-Ulrich Wipf, "Freistudentenschaft und Jugendbewegung – Reformbestrebungen in der Deutschen Freien Studentenschaft vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," *Jahrbuch des Archivs der deutschen Jugendbewegung* 17 (1988/1992): 177-198 and *Studentische Politik und Kulturreform. Geschichte der Freistudenten-Bewegung 1896-1918* (Schwalbach/Taunus: Wochenschau-Verlag, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> See for example the mentioned works of Wipf and Konrad H. Jarausch, *Deutsche Studenten 1800-1970* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), 94-105.

<sup>36</sup> As shown by the article of Hartmut Rüdiger Peter, Andreas de Boor and Mario Klotzsche, "Russische Studenten, „Klinikerstreit“ und „akademische Ausländerfrage“ vor dem 1. Weltkrieg," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Martin-Luther-Universität 1502-2002*, ed. Hermann-J. Rupieler (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2002), 377-406. This article gives important insight into academic chauvinism and Anti-Semitism in the later period of the German Empire in the context of the so-called "*Hallescher Klinikerstreit*" (the strike of medicine students in Halle) in 1912. In this context it also critically analyses the role of the *Freistudentenschaft*.

for non-fraternity students"). Furthermore, in contrast to the fraternities, these organizations generally did not adhere to the life-long membership policy, which meant they had a difficult time of maintaining and replicating their initial pre-war success after the end of the Great War.<sup>37</sup>

After the First World War, a large number of decidedly political student associations were formed, all of which had various worldviews and saw themselves as a modern alternative to fraternities.<sup>38</sup> One of them was the German National Socialist Student Union (*Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*, NSDStB),<sup>39</sup> founded in 1926. The NSDStB was the only non-fraternity student association that managed to build a nation-wide organizational structure and that also had a large number of members. It was also the only group that was not only able to oppose the fraternities, but also to infiltrate them (especially the dueling fraternities) and exploit them to achieve the National Socialist movement's dubious political goals. However, the strength of the fraternities' hegemony can still be seen after 1933. Despite the National Socialists having taken over and disbanded the traditional fraternities,<sup>40</sup> fraternity members immediately founded so-called "*Kameradschaften*" (comradeships). These comradeships were linked to the old fraternities, but they were under the ideological and organizational control of the NSDStB. The attempt to link these comradeships to the still existing Dueling Old Boys' Organizations (the Catholic Old Boys' Organizations were banned in 1938) was only partially successful. As the ideological pressure eased to a certain extent during the Second World War, some of these comradeships secretly reverted to the old fraternities at some universities. In 1944, an ultimately failed attempt was made to re-establish the *Kösener Senioren-Convents-*

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<sup>37</sup> See the example of Würzburg Matthias Stickler, "Zwischen Anpassung und Aufbegehren – Studenten an der Universität Würzburg im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Zwischen Korporation und Konfrontation. Beiträge zur Würzburger Universitäts- und Studentengeschichte*, ed. Bernhard Grün, Johannes Schellakowsky, Matthias Stickler and Peter Süß (Köln: SH, 1999), 76-140.

<sup>38</sup> Wilhelm Kreutz, "Studenten im Kampf für die Weimarer Republik. Vom ‚Reichskartell der Republikanischen Studenten‘ zum ‚Republikanischen Studentenbund‘ (1922-1933)," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 17 (2014) [2016]: 185-199.

<sup>39</sup> See especially Anselm Faust, *Der Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund. Studenten und Nationalsozialismus in der Weimarer Republik*, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1973) and Michael Grüttner, "Nationalsozialistische Gewaltpolitik an den Hochschulen 1929-1933," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021], 179-201.

<sup>40</sup> For an overview, see, among others: Giles, *Students*, Michael Grüttner, "Die Korporationen und der Nationalsozialismus," in Brandt/Stickler, ed., "*Der Burschen Herrlichkeit*", 125-143 and *Studenten im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1995).

*Verband* (KSCV) of *Corps* at universities, which had been dissolved in 1935.<sup>41</sup> However, this cannot be described as a true act of resistance. In this context, Wolfgang Wippermann spoke of a “resistant milieu” or oppositional spirit.<sup>42</sup> When dealing with the fraternities’ resistance against National Socialism, one needs to mention two different works: the highly commendable volume entitled *Fraternity students resisting National Socialism*,<sup>43</sup> published in 1997, and the comprehensive anthology *Corps students in resistance against Hitler*,<sup>44</sup> a collection of biographies of resistance fighters who also happened to belong to a *Corps*. Some of the authors who worked on this anthology were themselves fraternity members, others had never been part of a fraternity and one woman also contributed to its making. At this point, it must be critically noted

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<sup>41</sup> Bernhard Grün, *Zwischen Fronteinsatz und Freiheitsklang. Studententum und Kameradschaftswesen im Nationalsozialismus* (Würzburg: Studentengeschichtliche Vereinigung des Coburger Convents, 2020) and “Zwischen Burschenschaftsbewegung und nationalsozialistischer Einheitsstudentenschaft – Die studentischen Kameradschaften und Altherrenschaften an deutschen Hochschulen 1937-1945,” in “*Deutschland immer gedient zu haben ist unser höchstes Lob!*” – *Zweihundert Jahre Deutsche Burschenschaften. Eine Festschrift zur 200. Wiederkehr des Gründungstages der Burschenschaft am 12. Juni 1815 in Jena*, ed. Harald Lönnecker (Heidelberg: Winter, 2015), 1028-1072. Moreover: Bernhard Grün, *Vom Niedergang zum Neuanfang. Der Akademische Gesangverein Würzburg und die Kameradschaft „Florian Geyer“ im Nationalsozialismus* (Köln: SH, 2000), “In Treue zu Führer und Bewegung’. Zur Geschichte des Erlanger NSD-Studentenbundes und seiner Kameradschaften”, *Einst und Jetzt* 66 (2021): 205-230, Holger Zinn, *Das studentische Kameradschaftswesen im Dritten Reich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bünde von DL und VC* (Würzburg: Studentengeschichtliche Vereinigung des Coburger Convents, 2001).

<sup>42</sup> Rosco G. S. Weber, *Die deutschen Corps im Dritten Reich. Mit einem Forschungsbericht von Wolfgang Wippermann* (Köln: SH, 1998), 247-254, here 253. Rosco’s book was published in English twelve years before that: *The German Student Corps in the Third Reich* (London: Macmillan, 1986). The historian Wolfgang Wippermann (1945-2021) taught at the Free University in Berlin. Since his time as a student, he was a member of the *Corps Hildeso-Guestphalia Göttingen* and later on he also received the ribbon of the *Corps Vandalia Rostock*. Moreover, he was a member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). During his lifetime Wippermann was a pugnacious left-winged professor. He summarized his opinion on the history of fraternities in the book *Männer, Mythen und Messuren. Geschichte der Corps und Burschenschaften* (Hamburg 2018). Also see the two obituaries of the Newspaper „Neues Deutschland“ and the FU: <https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1146766.wolfgang-wippermann-wie-man-geschichte-prueft.html> (cited January 25, 2022), <https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fmi/aktuelles/wippermann.html> (cited January 25, 2022). On the topic “fraternities and social democracy”, see Manfred Blänkner and Axel Bernd Kunze, ed., *Rote Fahnen, bunte Bänder. Korporierte Sozialdemokraten von Lassalle bis heute* (Bonn: Dietz, 2016).

<sup>43</sup> Peter Krause, ed., *Korporierte im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Wien: Der Verein, 1997).

<sup>44</sup> Sebastian Sigler, ed., *Corpsstudenten im Widerstand gegen Hitler*, 2nd edition (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2014).

that there are tendencies in both publications to interpret the resistance of individuals as the resistance of "the fraternities". As a rule, however, there is no evidence for this.

### 3.2. "Student historians" and the academic examination of the history of students – a complex relationship

Even if it can no longer be said that academic research on the history of universities willingly ignores the history of students and especially the history of fraternities,<sup>45</sup> it is nevertheless quite noticeable that both topics, especially student fraternities, remained marginalized. In my opinion, there are three reasons for this marginalization. First, as previously mentioned, it is difficult to locate sources: archives of unaffiliated students are rare, and the archives of fraternities and their umbrella federations are mostly privately owned. The owners of these archives do not have always interest in granting access to outsiders.<sup>46</sup> Secondly, one result of the university changes after the Second World War or even after the turning point of "1968" was that fraternities began to be seen by researchers, in the best case, as a relic of a bygone era and thus as something that could easily be ignored, including the importance that they once had.<sup>47</sup> Thirdly, publications that have even the slightest hint of being related to a fraternity are often ignored by academic research and, on the other hand, many authors from fraternities have no interest in a genuinely scientific discourse. These publications are often part of the so-called

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<sup>45</sup> Harald Lönnecker, "... der deutschen Studentenschaft und unserem Rechtsleben manchen Anstoß geben" – *Zwischen Verein und Verbindung, Selbsthilfeorganisation und Studienvereinigung. Juristische Zusammenschlüsse an deutschen Hochschulen ca. 1870-1918* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2013, written at: Rostock, Univ., Diss., 2013), 7-8 and Marian Füssel and Wolfgang Eric Wagner, "Studentenkulturen. Begriff – Forschungsstand – Perspektiven," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 17 (2014) [2016]: 39-55. The main topic of this volume of the yearbook was "student culture". From the beginning, the yearbook of university history was committed to depict topics on the history of students, a subject very important to Rüdiger vom Bruch, the founder of this significant publication. In this context, see my older research paper: Matthias Stickler, "Neuerscheinungen zur Studentengeschichte seit 1994," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 4 (2001): 262-270.

<sup>46</sup> Lönnecker, "... der deutschen Studentenschaft", 12 and "'Auskunft zu geben über Bereiche, über die Nachweise zu finden sonst kaum einmal möglich ist'. Entstehung, Struktur und Inhalt der Archive akademischer Verbände und Vereinigungen," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 16 (2013) [2015]: 341-359.

<sup>47</sup> See for example Paletschek, *Die permanente Erfindung*, 4, footnote 7. Here, fraternities are only mentioned with respect to the (secondary) aspect of "leisure activities".

“grey literature”, or in other words, a literature written for a limited “insider” audience. Furthermore, so-called “student historians”, who are often affiliated with a fraternity, are often suspected of only being interested in creating an apologetic self-portrait.<sup>48</sup>

Thus, there has been and still is a certain amount of mutual disdain between parts of the academic history departments and the “student historians”. However, critics of student historians often overlook the fact that the lines are often blurred and there is no perfectly defined difference between “expert” and “amateur”.<sup>49</sup> In this respect, just as is the case with many topics concerning both regional and national history topics, it can be very constructive and mutually beneficial when academic researchers work together with interested laypersons. The goal should always be to take advantage of the chance to mutually complement each other’s work. Without a doubt, there will always be student historians that have a rather antiquarian, in the sense of Friedrich Nietzsche,<sup>50</sup> approach to their research subject. However, these types of papers also have their value as they are ultimately able to make use of traditional sources and are often compiled from extensive materials, much of which is either from specific archives or from internal documents.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Harald Lönnecker, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Korporationen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*. About the term “student historian”, see Friedhelm Golücke, *Studentenwörterbuch. Student und Hochschule von A bis Z*. 5th, revised and extended edition, Part IV (Essen: Akadpress 2018), 169-171.

<sup>49</sup> The reference guide *Verfasserlexikon zur Studenten- und Universitätsgeschichte. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis*, ed. Friedhelm Golücke, depicts the immense diversity of the people who work in the field of student and university history.

<sup>50</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen. Zweites Stück: Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Leipzig: Naumann, 1893).

<sup>51</sup> See for example the significant reference guide by Paulgerhard Gladen, *Die deutschsprachigen Korporationsverbände*, 3<sup>rd</sup> revised and extended edition (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2008), first edition under the title *Geschichte der studentischen Korporationsverbände*. 2 vols. (Würzburg: Becker, 1981) or the two following editions that contain a lot of visual material: Paulgerhard Gladen, *Gaudeamus igitur – Die studentischen Verbindungen einst und jetzt* (München: Callwey, 1988), Peter Krause: *O alte Burschenherrlichkeit – Die Studenten und ihr Brauchtum*, 5th edition (Graz: Styria, 1997). Also see the work of Bernhard Grün and Christoph Vogel, *Die Fuxenstunde. Handbuch des Korporationsstudententums*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Bad Buchau: Federsee-Verlag 2016). This work comprehensively informs about the diversity of student fraternities. See moreover *Civis Academicus. Handbuch der deutschen, österreichischen und schweizerischen Korporationen und studentischen Vereinigungen an Universitäten und Hochschulen sowie Schülerverbindungen*, last published in its 8th edition in 2005/06 as well as the monumental work by Hartmut Jess, *Specimen Corporationum Cognitarum. Das Lexikon der Verbindungen*, which was released on CD and first published in 2000, its fourth edition was published in 2015. Both works were published by the GDS.

Furthermore, some publications by student historians are easily compatible with university research. One important example in this regard is the work done by Peter Stitz (1898-1970).<sup>52</sup> He was a high school teacher with a doctorate who spent decades working on the history of students. He developed this interest while focusing on his own Catholic, color-wearing fraternity, called "Sugambria-Jena zu Göttingen im CV".<sup>53</sup> He used numerous relevant sources for his book on the *Cartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen* (CV, Federation of Catholic German Student Fraternities) between 1919 and 1938, and wrote it without succumbing to a mistaken sense of deference to the contemporary witnesses still alive at the time. His work represented a milestone in the research on student history, and even today it has not been outdone. The works of Friedhelm Golücke are relevant for more recent history and the present. He is a retired high school teacher holding a doctorate in history, and has worked intensively since the 1970s on making the study of student history more professional. He even founded an organization in 1974, originally called *Archivverein der Markomania* (Markomania Archive Association), renamed in *Gemeinschaft für Deutsche Studentengeschichte e.V.* (GDS, Association for the History of German Students)<sup>54</sup> in 1988. Some of Golücke's most important publications include the previously mentioned *Verfasserlexikon zur Studenten- und Hochschulgeschichte* (Biographical Encyclopedia on Student and University History) – which also includes an entry about himself<sup>55</sup> –, the volume entitled *Kor-*

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<sup>52</sup> "Stitz, Peter," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 325-26.

<sup>53</sup> See especially Peter Stitz, *Der akademische Kulturkampf um die Daseinsberechtigung der katholischen Studentenkorporationen in Deutschland und in Österreich von 1903 bis 1908. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des CV* (München: Ges. für CV-Geschichte, 1960) and *Der CV 1919-1938. Der hochschulpolitische Weg des Cartellverbandes der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen (CV) vom Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges bis zur Vernichtung durch den Nationalsozialismus*, (o. O. [München]: Ges. für CV-Geschichte, 1970).

<sup>54</sup> See the commemorative publication by Siegfried Schieweck-Mauk, *Die Gemeinschaft für deutsche Studentengeschichte. 40 Jahre* (Würzburg: Gemeinschaft für deutsche Studentengeschichte, 2016) as well as <https://gds-web.de/> (cited January 21, 2022). The GDS publishes multiple series, including the "Abhandlungen zum Studenten- und Hochschulwesen". Since 1986, the GDS has also had a kind of members' magazine, the "Studentenkurier" (Student Courier), which is now published four times a year. The name Markomania Archive Association refers to the Catholic fraternity Markomania-Würzburg, which Golücke is a member of. For more recent information, see *Verbindung in unserer Zeit. Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen der Katholischen Deutschen Studentenverbindung Markomania im CV zu Würzburg (1871-2021)*, ed. Ralf Vollmuth and Walter Konrad on behalf of Altherrenverband KDStV Markomania im CV (Würzburg: Altherrenverband der KDStV Markomania im CV, 2021).

<sup>55</sup> "Golücke, Friedhelm," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 115-116.

*porationen und Nationalsozialismus (Fraternities and National Socialism)*<sup>56</sup> published in 1989, and the fifth edition of the Student Dictionary<sup>57</sup> (2018), which can be considered one of the classic works in the research on students. Another good example of a successful work on the history of fraternities written by “insiders” who did not exclude the more “difficult” topics is the commemorative publication in honor of the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Corps Saxo-Borussia Heidelberg. This fraternity is even today considered one of the most prestigious and closed *Corps* of the KSCV. Together with the *Corps* Borussia Bonn and Saxonia Göttingen it forms the so-called *Weißer Kreis* (White Circle), whose members in the past, and somewhat today, were either a part of the nobility or the very wealthy upper class.<sup>58</sup>

The necessity to build bridges between university research and the affiliated student historians and/or their associations was often emphasized by the historian Harm-Hinrich Brandt.<sup>59</sup> Brandt was the “*Senatsbeauftragte*” (appointee of the academic senate of the University of Würzburg) for the Würzburg *Institut für Hochschulkunde* (IfH, Würzburg Institute for Studies on Higher learning) from 1982 until 2006.<sup>60</sup> This institute is unique since it is both a research and documentation center for the history of universities and students. It is supported by the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Hochschulkunde e.V.* (DGfH, German Society for Hochschulkunde), which was founded in Göttingen in 1922, and recreated in Würzburg in 1955. In 2006, Brandt and the long-term chair of the DGfH, Karsten Bahnson, were able to elevate the IfH to become a “*An-Institut*” (partner institute) of the University of Würzburg. In Brandt’s research on the history of students, he adhered to a differentiated view on the history of fraternities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by advocating for com-

<sup>56</sup> Friedhelm Golücke, *Korporationen und Nationalsozialismus* (Schernfeld: SH, 1990).

<sup>57</sup> Golücke, *Studentenwörterbuch*. It is natural that monumental works like this are never free of mistakes. However, this is a unique reference guide with no comparison.

<sup>58</sup> Wulf D. Lucius, Uwe Johannes Lützen and Michael Stolleis, *Saxo-Borussia, Dir gehör’ ich! 200 Jahre Corps Saxo-Borussia zu Heidelberg. 1820-2020* (Heidelberg: Corps Saxo-Borussia, 2020). Lucius D. Wulf was among others chairman of the Carl Hanser publishing company (1989-2013), Michael Stolleis was one of the leading German legal historians.

<sup>59</sup> “Brandt, Harm-Hinrich,” in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 54.

<sup>60</sup> <https://www.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/hochschulkunde> (cited January 20, 2022). On the history of IfH, see Matthias Stickler, “Was ist eigentlich Hochschulkunde? Das Würzburger Institut für Hochschulkunde und seine Geschichte,” *Forschung & Lehre* 5 (2015): 386-87, Nils Meyer, *Das Institut für Hochschulkunde 1919-1982. Geschichte und Legitimation eines Fachs und seiner Institutionen zwischen Weimar, Nationalsozialismus und Bundesrepublik*. Diss. phil. Universität Würzburg (turned in 2021). The term “*Hochschulkunde*”, which goes back to the distinguished student historian Paul Ssymank (see below), is a generic term for the history of students, universities, and research.

binning inside and outside perspectives.<sup>61</sup> Another important bridge builder between the academically oriented history of universities and the history of students in all of their different facets was the university historian Rüdiger vom Bruch from the Humboldt University Berlin, who sadly died much too soon (1944-2017).<sup>62</sup>

Finally, four classic examples of older writings on the history of students need to be mentioned. The first is the comprehensive four-volume work published by the *Gesellschaft für burschenschaftliche Geschichtsforschung*,<sup>63</sup> which dealt with the first hundred years of the *Burschenschaft* movement.<sup>64</sup> Secondly, Michael Doeberl (1861-1928)<sup>65</sup> wrote with other authors a monumental five-volume work entitled *Das Akademische Deutschland (Academic Germany)*. Doeberl was a historian at the University of Munich and a *Corps*

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<sup>61</sup> See here especially: Harm-Hinrich Brandt, "Studentische Korporationen und politisch-sozialer Wandel - Modernisierung und Antimodernismus," in *Deutschlands Weg in die Moderne. Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Harm-Hinrich Brandt and Wolfgang Hardtwig (München: Beck, 1993), 122-143, Brandt and Stickler, ed., „*Der Burschen Herrlichkeit*“, Harm-Hinrich Brandt, "Studierende im Humboldt'schen Modell des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Schwinges, ed., *Humboldt International*, 131-150. On the occasion of his 85th birthday, Harm-Hinrich Brandt's main essays on student history were reviewed and published in a compendium: Harm-Hinrich Brandt, *Studentica. Abhandlungen zur deutschen Studentengeschichte von der Frühen Neuzeit bis ins frühe 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Matthias Stickler (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2021), where a detailed recognition of Brandt's work on student history can be found (7-18).

<sup>62</sup> "Bruch, Rüdiger vom," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 64-67 and Matthias Stickler, "Nachruf auf Rüdiger vom Bruch (1944-2017)," *Einst und Jetzt* 63 (2018): 420-423.

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.burschenschaftsgeschichte.de> (cited January 22, 2022). On this as well as on the general history of German Burschenschaft see Harald Lönnecker, *Das Thema war und blieb ohne Parallel-Erscheinung in der deutschen Geschichtsforschung". Die Burschenschaftliche Historische Kommission (BHK) und die Gesellschaft für burschenschaftliche Geschichtsforschung e. V. (GfbG) (1898/1909-2009). Eine Personen-, Institutions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2009).

<sup>64</sup> Paul Wentzcke, *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft I. Vor und Frühzeit bis zu den Karlsbader Beschlüssen* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1919), Georg Heer, *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft II. Die Demagogenzeit. Von den Karlsbader Beschlüssen bis zum Frankfurter Wachensturm (1820 bis 1833)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1927), *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft III. Die Zeit des Progresses (1833-1859)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1929), and *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft IV. Die Burschenschaft in der Zeit der Vorbereitung des zweiten Reiches, im zweiten Reich und im Weltkrieg von 1859 bis 1919* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1939).

<sup>65</sup> "Doeberl, Michael," in Friedhelm Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 84-85, Max Spindler, "Der bayerische Historiker Michael Doeberl 1861-1928," in *100 Jahre Corps Germania München* (München: Corps Germania, 1963), 16-23 and Ferdinand Kramer, "Der Lehrstuhl für bayerische Landesgeschichte von 1917 bis 1977," in *Im Dienst der Bayerischen Geschichte. 70 Jahre Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte, 50 Jahre Institut für Bayerische Geschichte*, ed. Wilhelm Volkert and Walter Ziegler, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (München: Beck, 1999), 351-406.



member. His work is a unique documentation that presents an unparalleled insight into German universities and German students. It is still often cited and is an irreplaceable reference book.<sup>66</sup> Thirdly, the historian, librarian, and *Corps* member Wilhelm Fabricius (1857-1942) did important research on student history.<sup>67</sup> Fourth, the book written by Friedrich Schulze and Paul Ssymank entitled *The German student community from the earliest days until the present* offers an unsurpassed overview of the history of German students up until the 1920s and includes many cultural and historical aspects of the topic.<sup>68</sup> Paul Ssymank (1874-1942)<sup>69</sup> was one of the most important founding fathers of the history of students. As a student, he was a member of the unaffiliated student movement (*Freistudentenschaft*), whose history he also researched.<sup>70</sup> Later in his life he was made an honorary member of the singing fraternity *Gotia* in Göttingen. When he worked as a lecturer at the University of Göttingen in the 1920s and 1930s, he tried to establish "*Hochschulkunde*" (as already mentioned a generic term for the study of the history of students, universities, and research) as its own fundamental scientific discipline. He also created a comprehensive library and collection for future research and instruction. These books and collections now make up

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<sup>66</sup> *Das Akademische Deutschland*. vol. 1: *Die deutschen Hochschulen in ihrer Geschichte*. vol. 2: *Die deutschen Hochschulen und ihre akademischen Bürger*. vol. 3: *Die deutschen Hochschulen in ihren Beziehungen zur Gegenwartskultur*. vol. 4: *Die Wappen der deutschen Korporationen des In- und Auslandes*. vol. 5: *Register-Band* (Berlin: Weller, 1930/31).

<sup>67</sup> "Fabricius, Wilhelm," in Friedhelm Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 97-99. See especially his following works: *Die Studentenorden des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältniß zu den gleichzeitigen Landsmannschaften. Ein kulturgeschichtlicher Versuch* (Jena: Döbereiner, 1891), *Die Deutschen Corps. Eine historische Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Mensurwesens*, 2nd ed. 1926 (Berlin: Thilo, 1898), *Geschichte und Chronik des Köseener SC-Verbandes, nach den vom HKSCV zur Verfügung gestellten Akten, KC- und SC-Protokollen und anderen Quellen*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Frankfurt/Main: Verlag der Deutschen Corpszeitung, 1921, first edition 1907).

<sup>68</sup> *Das deutsche Studententum von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1910, 4th revised and extended edition München: Verlag für Hochschulkunde, 1932, reprint of this edition Schernfeld: GDS, 1991). It is striking that in the German-speaking world there are a large number of works on the history of students on a wide variety of topics, but on the other hand there are hardly any modern monographic works on the history of German students.

<sup>69</sup> "Ssymank, Paul," in Golücke, ed., *Verfasserlexikon*, 313-318 and Marek Podlasiak, "Paul Ssymank – Chronist der deutschen Studentengeschichte," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 5 (2002), 171-183.

<sup>70</sup> Paul Ssymank, *Die Finkenschaftsbewegung. Ihr Entstehen und ihre Entwicklung bis zur Gründung der „Deutschen Freien Studentenschaft“. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des modernen Studententums* (München: Bavaria, 1901), *Die freistudentische oder Finkenschaftsbewegung an den deutschen Hochschulen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), *Dreizehn Jahre Freistudententum. 1896-1909* (Leipzig: Demme, 1910), and Schulze/Ssymank, *Das deutsche Studententum*, 375-381.

the core of resources at the aforementioned *Institut für Hochschulkunde* at the University of Würzburg.

#### 4. The "Sonderweg" theory in the history of students

While the older student history, as a consequence of the values of the university-educated elites described above, had been predominantly bourgeois and fraternity-friendly, this changed after 1945 due to the end of the symbiosis between university and fraternities, and above all due to the expansion of the educational system that began in the 1950s. This expansion ended the previous dominance of upper-class and educated middle-class values and their cultural forms of expression, and ultimately led to the cultural-revolutionary changes that are associated with the 1968 movement.<sup>71</sup>

Since the 1960s, the "German Sonderweg debate"<sup>72</sup> has also continued to gain in importance. This theory is linked to the underlying principles in German history since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and to the question whether there is an actual or just presumed direct line leading to National Socialism. In this context, many historians have considered fraternities as being an especially characteristic expression of the "German Sonderweg" ("special path"). The "progressive" beginnings of student history, for instance in the German Wars of Liberation 1813-15, in the age of Metternich (1815-1848) and during the 1848-49 revolutions eventually took on more "conservative", "right-wing", "nationalistic", "racist" and "reactionary" tendencies starting in the 1850s. Furthermore, student history between the years 1810 and 1945 has become more and more interpreted as a story of decay and a departure from the liberal and democratic thought.<sup>73</sup> Some even consider that only a few sporadic bright spots of "left-

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<sup>71</sup> Matthias Stickler, "'Wir sind doch nicht die SA der Professoren!' – Das studentische Verbindungswesen und die Achtundsechzigerbewegung," in *1968 und die „68er“. Ereignisse, Wirkungen und Kontroversen in der Bundesrepublik*, ed. Gerrit Dworok and Christoph Weißmann (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2013), 69-99.

<sup>72</sup> For an overview, see Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Ein Demokratiedefizit? Das Deutsche Kaiserreich in vergleichender Perspektive," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* 44, no. 3 (2018): 367-398, Jürgen Kocka, "Looking Back on the Sonderweg," *Central European History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 137-142 as well as Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Geschichte. vol. 9: Das Deutsche Kaiserreich 1871-1918*, 5th edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983 [first print 1973]) and Thomas Nipperdey, "1933 und die Kontinuität der deutschen Geschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift* 227 (1978): 86-111.

<sup>73</sup> See here for example the previously mentioned work by Jarasch, "Studentischer Protest", which emphasizes a general skepticism of political student activism.

wing”, “progressive” or “international” student groups existed and were in no way representative of the time. Additionally, fraternities were also criticized for spreading antisemitism in academia. This is due to the fact that beginning in the 1880s, many fraternities stopped admitting Jews, and this practice was partially added to the organizations’ official rules and statutes.

This criticism, which essentially questioned the previous self-understanding of fraternities and thus ultimately their right to exist in a democratic state, was not new in itself. For example, Max Weber (1864-1920), who became a member of the Burschenschaft Allemannia in Heidelberg as a student in 1882, denounced his membership in 1918 and justified his decision primarily with the accusation of intellectual incest, the fraternity’s inability to reform and its tendencies to feudalization.<sup>74</sup> In addition, he said that the fraternities were standing in the way of a democratization of the political system due to their “caste system”.<sup>75</sup> Historians such as Hans-Ulrich Wehler (1931-2014),<sup>76</sup> Konrad H. Jarausch,<sup>77</sup> Norbert Kampe<sup>78</sup> and Ute Frevert<sup>79</sup> as well as the sociologist Norbert Elias (1897-1990),<sup>80</sup> who incidentally had become himself a member of the Breslau Fraternity of Jewish students in the Zionistic *Kartell Jüdischer Verbindungen* (KJV, Union of Jewish Fraterni-

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<sup>74</sup> Franz Egon Rode, *Die Universitätsburschenschaften im Kaiserreich (1871-1918)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2021), 14.

<sup>75</sup> Max Weber, *Wahlrecht und Demokratie in Deutschland* (Berlin-Schöneberg 1917).

<sup>76</sup> Wehler, *Das Deutsche Kaiserreich*, 129-131 and *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Vol. 3: Von der „Deutschen Doppelrevolution“ bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges. 1849-1914* (München: Beck, 1995), 1217.

<sup>77</sup> Jarausch, *Students, Deutsche Studenten*, and “Korporationen im Kaiserreich. Einige kulturgeschichtliche Überlegungen,” in Brandt/Stickler, ed., *„Der Burschen Herrlichkeit“*, 71-91. Jarausch’s importance for modern student history should not be underestimated. In his wide-ranging publications, which have greatly contributed to the emancipation of student history as an independent historical subdiscipline, he showed how fraternities have played a central role in the development of the “German Sonderweg” and thus shaped how these organizations are viewed in historical research.

<sup>78</sup> Norbert Kampe, *Studenten und „Judenfrage“ im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Die Entstehung einer akademischen Trägerschaft des Antisemitismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988).

<sup>79</sup> Ute Frevert, *Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (München: Beck, 1991). Though providing a well-researched work, Frevert unfortunately does not differentiate enough between duels and the student understanding of “Satisfaktion” (*gree*), respectively the tradition of the “Bestimmungsmessur”.

<sup>80</sup> Norbert Elias, “Die satisfaktionsfähige Gesellschaft,” in *Studien über die Deutschen. Machtkämpfe und Habitusentwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed., Michael Schröter (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1992), 61-158. This contribution appeared posthumously and was most likely began at the end of the 1970s and was built upon a conference speech that was given at the University of Bielefeld on 18 December 1978.

ties) in 1915, argued in a very similar way. In this context, it is interesting that Thomas Nipperdey (1927-1992), who came from a middle-class, social-democratic family with no connection to fraternities, offered a much more differentiated assessment of student fraternities.<sup>81</sup> Looking at the values of the universities during imperial Germany, Nipperdey stated that they were directly related to the self-image of the professors and their relationship to politics. He also spoke of a German "*Eigenweg*" ("own way"), but not *Sonderweg*.<sup>82</sup> A student and associate of Nipperdey, Wolfgang Hardtwig, pursued in this direction and published several meritorious student history essays,<sup>83</sup> that unfortunately received far too little attention from researchers.

Some publications were and still are inspired by legitimate criticism of fraternities, but others have taken it a step further and have made it their goal to categorically delegitimize fraternities.<sup>84</sup> In many cases, they present an opposite picture of what was previously described as the apologetic writing on the history of fraternities. One typical example of this are the publications by the *Marburger Geschichtswerkstatt* (Marburg History Workshop)

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<sup>81</sup> Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866. Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (München: Beck, 1983), 475 and comprehensively in *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918. vol. 1: Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist* (München: Beck, 1990), 582-586.

<sup>82</sup> Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 590. Nipperdey took a differentiated view with regard to the role of students in the Weimar Republic: "Die deutsche Studentenschaft in den ersten Jahren der Weimarer Republik," in *Kulturverwaltung der Zwanziger Jahre*, ed. Wilhelm Zilius and Adolf Grimme (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961), 19-48.

<sup>83</sup> Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Krise der Universität. Studentische Reformbewegung 1750-1819 und die Sozialisation der jugendlichen deutschen Bildungsschicht. Aufriß eines Forschungsproblems," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 11 (1985): 155-174, "Studentische Mentalität – Politische Jugendbewegung – Nationalismus. Die Anfänge der deutschen Burschenschaft," *Historische Zeitschrift* 242 (1986): 581-628, "Die Burschenschaften zwischen aufklärerischer Sozietätsbewegung und Nationalismus. Bemerkungen zu einem Forschungsproblem," *Aufklärung, Vormärz und Revolution. Jahrbuch der internationalen Forschungsstelle "Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1770-1850"* 4 (1984): 46-55, "Protestformen und Organisationsstrukturen der deutschen Burschenschaft 1815-1833," in *Demokratische und soziale Protestbewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1815-1848/49*, ed. Helmut Reinalter (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 37-76, "Sozialverhalten und Mentalitätswandel der jugendlichen Bildungsschicht im Übergang zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (17.-19. Jahrhundert)," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 73 (1986): 305-335, "Studentenschaft und Aufklärung. Landsmannschaften und Studentenorden in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse 1750-1850*, ed. Etienne François (Paris: Editions Recherches sur les civilisations, 1986), 239-260.

<sup>84</sup> Stefan Hug, "Kritik der Korporationskritik. Eine ideologiekritische Annäherung," *GDS-Archiv* 7 (2004): 71-83.

from the 1990s.<sup>85</sup> Their typical pattern was always the same: to present the entire history of student fraternities with the mentality of a prosecutor as just a preface to the National Socialists seizing power. While some results from reliable research were used, they were often intensified to equate conservative thought with national socialist and fascist thought, usually without the support of any sources. Finally, fraternities were then accused of playing an important role in the development of an organized right-wing movement in the present.<sup>86</sup> Interestingly, several of these authors have

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<sup>85</sup> Eva Ch. Gottschaldt, *Das ist die Tat unseres herrlichen Führers. Die christlichen Studentenverbindungen Wingolf und der Nationalsozialismus im Spiegel der Verbandspresse. Eine Dokumentation* (Marburg: Projekt Konservatismus und Wiss., 1997), Dietrich Heither and Michael Lemling, *Marburg, O Marburg... Ein „Antikorporierter Stadtrundgang“* (Marburg: Marburger Geschichtswerkstatt e.V., 1996), Dietrich Heither, Eva Gottschaldt and Michael Lemling, *Wegbereiter des Faschismus. Aus der Geschichte des Marburger Vereins deutscher Studenten* (Marburg: Marburger Geschichtswerkstatt e.V., 1992), Alexandra Kurth, Jürgen Schlicher and Projekt Wartburg '92, ed., *Studentische Korporationen gestern und heute. Historische Erfahrungen und gegenwärtige Herausforderungen für eine demokratische Hochschulpolitik* (Marburg: Marburger Geschichtswerkstatt e.V., 1992). The statement made above also applies to the volumes that appeared in the periphery of the Marburg History Workshop and were written by Ludwig Elm, Dietrich Heither and Gerhard Schäfer, *Füxe, Burschen, Alte Herren. Studentische Korporationen vom Wartburgfest bis heute* (Köln: PapyRossa-Verlag 1993). In this context, one could also mention: Christoph Butterwegge and Gudrun Hentges, ed., *Alte und Neue Rechte an den Hochschulen* (Münster: Agenda-Verlag, 1999), in this volume, research-based topics are indissolubly amalgamated with left-leaning political activism.

<sup>86</sup> A model for this form of historical misrepresentation and also a frequent source of quotations is the book *Gestatte mir Hochachtungsschluck. Bundesdeutschlands korporierte Elite*, written by Lutz E. Finke (a pseudonym for the SDS official Michael Mauke) in 1963. Similar sorry effects were published in the former GDR, especially after the new government with Helmut Kohl as chancellor came into power in Bonn in 1982. See for example Klaus-Dieter Stefan, *Blind wie zu Kaisers Zeiten. Säbel, Seidel, Schmisse - neue Burschenschaftlichkeit?* (East Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1985). However, there was also serious research on fraternities in the GDR. This topic represents a research desideratum. Basically, it can be said that the SED saw part of the “progressive heritage” of German history in the tradition of the early *Burschenschaft* and thus classified it teleologically as a part of the GDR history. That is why corresponding historical literature was able to be published in the GDR, for example: *Ein Deutschland ist, soll sein und bleiben. Festgabe der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena zur 135. Wiederkehr des Wartburgfestes deutscher Studenten* (Jena: “Magnus Poser”, 1952), Günter Steiger, *Aufbruch - Urburschenschaft und Wartburgfest* (Leipzig: Urania-Verlag 1967), Helmut Asmus, *Das Hambacher Fest* (East Berlin 1985), Helmut Asmus, *175 Jahre Burschenschaft und Wartburgfest. Historisches Erbe - auch unsere Tradition?* (East Berlin: Zentralinstitut für Hochschul-Bildung, 1989). Against this background, it is not surprising that in the GDR, after the Soviet occupying power had initially prevented a re-establishment of the traditional fraternities, new associations emerged there beginning in the 1960s. The new organizations were also more or less tolerated by the authorities and were often based on *Burschenschaft* ideals, see Kurt U. Bertrams, ed., *Studentenverbindungen in der DDR* (Hil-

become less ideologized and more professional since the turn of the new millennium. This could already be seen in the book by Dietrich Heither,<sup>87</sup> Michael Gehler,<sup>88</sup> Alexandra Kurth and Gerhard Schäfer on the history of the *Burschenschaft* fraternities.<sup>89</sup> Their works all have a rather critical view of fraternities, but are generally much more balanced and less polemic than the previous Marburg publications. This also applies to the comprehensive political science dissertation by Dietrich Heither on the history of the *Burschenschaft*.<sup>90</sup> It is quite noticeable that despite its critical approach toward fraternities and the existence of comprehensive sources in the *Burschenschaft* archive in the Federal Archives in Koblenz, the author only utilized print sources and the existing literature. This results in a very one-sided depiction of the *Burschenschaften*. Alexandra Kurth received her doctorate from the Institute of Political Science at the University of Gießen in 2003 and teaches there since then. Her dissertation on the history of student fraternities<sup>91</sup> was connected to topics mentioned by Jaraus and looked critically at gender history. She interprets fraternity traditions in all of their different facets as being a willful deviation from social norms for the sole purpose of creating a collective identity. In principle, this idea has its merit, but it also needs to be stated that while student fraternities continued certain deviant

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den: WJK-Verlag, 2006). The question of the extent to which the GDR tried to influence West German student historiography and student associations via spies is also a desideratum of research. Helmut Asmus, a historian from Magdeburg ("Asmus, Helmut," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 20-21) was able to establish himself in the research community after the fall of the Berlin Wall and Reunification 1989/90 – see Helmut Asmus, ed., *Studentische Burschenschaften und bürgerliche Umwälzung. Zum 175. Jahrestag des Wartburgfestes* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1992) and *Das Wartburgfest. Studentische Reformbewegungen 1770-1819* (Magdeburg: Verlag Werbung und Marketing, 1995). The same was true for Siegfried Hoyer, who was a historian at the University of Leipzig ("Hoyer, Siegfried," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 149-150). His last work was *Kleine Geschichte der Leipziger Studentenschaft 1409-1989* (Leipzig: Universitäts-Verlag, 2010).

<sup>87</sup> "Heither, Dietrich," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 14-143.

<sup>88</sup> "Gehler, Michael," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 107-108.

<sup>89</sup> Dietrich Heither, Michael Gehler, Alexandra Kurth and Gerhard Schäfer, *Blut und Paukboden. Eine Geschichte der Burschenschaften* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1997). The two contributions by Michael Gehler on the Austrian fraternity system are very pertinent. Gehler is known for many relevant publications on Austrian student history and can be considered one of the best experts on this subject.

<sup>90</sup> Dietrich Heither, *Verbündete Männer. Die Deutsche Burschenschaft - Weltanschauung, Politik und Brauchtum*, (Köln: PapyRossa-Verlag, 2000, written at: Marburg, Univ. Diss., 2000).

<sup>91</sup> Alexandra Kurth, *Männer – Bünde – Rituale. Studentenverbindungen seit 1800. Männerbünde im Zivilisationsprozess* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2004, written at: Gießen, Univ. Diss., 2003).

traditions and anti-social habits, the overall development was nonetheless marked by tendencies towards domestication and civilization.<sup>92</sup> The reason for this level of vagueness is due to the fact that Kurth also did not use any unpublished sources. It is noteworthy that Kurth's arguments had an impact on the atmosphere of fraternity students despite her clear criticism of the traditions of male fraternities. For example, she was invited to write an essay for the special edition of the magazine *Academia*, which appeared on the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the color-wearing federation *Cartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen* (CV, Federation of Catholic German Student Fraternities).<sup>93</sup> In this article, her criticism of the fraternity system in light of its right-wing extremist tendencies in society was presented in a more differentiated manner as she focused primarily on the fraternities belonging to the federation *Deutsche Burschenschaft*.<sup>94</sup>

## 5. New Tendencies in Student History

### 5.1. Parting Ways with the Sonderweg idea

When one takes a look at the current trends in student history research, it becomes obvious that the previously described idea of the “German Sonderweg”, at least in its presented form, is no longer valid. This is mainly due to the fact well-researched works based on extensive archival research as well as partly internationally comparative works have made new insights possible.

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<sup>92</sup> For a more in-depth example see Stickler, “Verbindungsstudentische”.

<sup>93</sup> Alexandra Kurth, “Zwischen Affektkontrolle und rituell-kollektivem Kontrollverlust. Zur Soziologie katholischer Studentenverbindungen,” *Academia. Zeitschrift des Cartellverbandes der Katholischen Deutschen Studentenverbindungen* III (2006): 145-148.

<sup>94</sup> See for example Alexandra Kurth, “Ein Mangel hinsichtlich der Abstammung ist schlechterdings nicht ausgleichbar’. Rassismus und völkisches Denken in der Deutschen Burschenschaft,” in *Rassismus und Rechtsextremismus in Deutschland. Figurationen und Interventionen in Gesellschaft und staatlichen Institutionen*, ed. Mechtild Gomolla, Ellen Kollender and Marlene Menk (Weinheim/Basel: Beltz, 2018), 161-178 and Alexandra Kurth (with Bernhard Weidinger), “Burschenschaften: Geschichte, Politik und Ideologie,” in *Dossier Rechtsextremismus: Rechtsextreme Szenen und Medien. Jugendkulturen*, ed. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2017, available at: <http://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/256889/burschenschaften>.

One of these works was a dissertation supervised by Dieter Langewiesche,<sup>95</sup> written by Sonja Levsen<sup>96</sup> at the University of Tübingen. By using specific examples, she was able to show that while there were some differences between German and British students in the time before World War I in respect to the form and intensity of their masculine and militaristic behavior, the college students and the fraternity students shared a similar self-image. They believed that, as students, it was their patriotic duty to their country to know how to use weapons and to be ready to serve their nation in case of war. This mentality stemmed from their belief that they belonged to the elite class and from their sense of being able to justify and maintain their claim to social leadership in their respective countries. Levsen emphasizes the similarities between college students and fraternity students before 1914, and then shows how the turning point of 1918/19, which was traumatic for many, became a central reason explaining German fraternities' right-wing radicalization. Some might object to Levsen's findings by saying that Tübingen was a small regional university in Southern Germany and therefore hardly representative of the nation as a whole. However, in his dissertation, done jointly at the University of Oxford and the University of Heidelberg, Thomas Weber took a look at a truly national elite university in Imperial Germany.<sup>97</sup> While examining the situation in Germany, the author does not solely focus on student fraternities, even if they do take up a large amount of space as it is easier to find sources on them than on unaffiliated students. Weber's results show that it is impossible to present the British tradition as being only liberal and democratic and the German tra-

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<sup>95</sup> From the Langewiesche school of thought came the somewhat older but successful volume by Martin Biastoch, *Tübinger Studenten im Kaiserreich. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996, written at: Tübingen, Univ. Diss., 1993/94). Based on a previously published master's thesis, see Martin Biastoch, *Duell und Mensur im Kaiserreich. Am Beispiel der Tübinger Corps Franconia, Rhenania, Suevia und Borussia zwischen 1871 und 1895* (Vierow: SH, 1995) – but confidently expanding on the narrow framework of a remarkable social history study of the Tübingen student body, which analysed origin, financing, degrees achieved, leisure activities, political behaviour of the students as well as the fringe groups of the academic society (women, Jews and Catholics). The work gains special value in particular because Biastoch was able to look at large amounts of archive material from many Tübingen fraternities.

<sup>96</sup> Sonja Levsen, *Elite, Männlichkeit und Krieg. Tübinger und Cambridger Studenten 1900-1929* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006, written at: Tübingen, Univ. Diss., 2004/05).

<sup>97</sup> Thomas Weber, *Our Friend "the Enemy". Elite Education in Britain and Germany Before World War I* (Stanford: Stanford U. Press 2008). The title of the volume, which picks up a joking phrase from a contemporary report on a rowing competition between German and British students in Heidelberg two weeks before the outbreak of the First World War, is intended to express that the image students from both countries had of each other in August 1914 was by no means hostile despite the tense political situation in Europe.



dition as being just conservative and authoritarian. On closer inspection, the idea that this type of reading would even be possible seems to be shaped by *ex post* perspectives or a Whig reading of British history. In reality, Weber is able to prove that the similarities between the two pre-war societies far exceed the differences: the militaristic-social Darwinist values and views, and the notions of heroism and honor, which formed the basis of the German academic fencing system, can be found in a comparable form in the British college rowers or the paramilitary Officer Training Corps. Illiberalism, antisemitism, racism and xenophobia (especially towards people of color and Russian students) were present in both Oxford and Heidelberg. Moreover, Weber points out that the majority of students were generally much more tolerant in comparison to the very vocal activists. Thus, it was precisely these attitudes and practices that were minority phenomena at both universities. Another interesting fact underlined by Weber is the significantly more liberal situation for female students in Heidelberg than in Oxford. Finally, Weber argues that German and British students cultivated a “transnational nationalism” that was in no way directed against the other country or even aimed at preparing for a specific war. Quite to the contrary, it had a certain unifying effect.<sup>98</sup>

In her 2002 dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, which was funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and published as a book in 2011,<sup>99</sup> and later in additional essays,<sup>100</sup> Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker’s (née Swartout) has presented an overarching view of her extensive research

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<sup>98</sup> For more information on the University of Heidelberg in the 1920s see the dissertation by Arne Lankenau, „*Dunkel die Zukunft - Hell der Mut!*“. *Die Heidelberger Studentenverbindungen in der Weimarer Republik 1918-1929* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008). This dissertation presents a very differentiated view on the radicalization of the fraternities there. Unlike Norbert Giovanni’s study *Zwischen Republik und Faschismus. Heidelberger Studentinnen und Studenten 1918-1945* (Weinheim: Dt. Studien-Verl., 1990), Lankenau examined numerous internal documents from the student fraternities at the University of Heidelberg.

<sup>99</sup> Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, *Dueling Students. Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities, 1890-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011). Zwicker teaches since 2004 at the History Department of Indiana University South Bend.

<sup>100</sup> Lisa Swartout, “Culture Wars. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Students at German Universities, 1890-1914,” in *Religion und Nation. Nation und Religion. Beiträge zu einer unbewältigten Geschichte*, ed. Michael Geyer and Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2004), 157-175 and Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, “The Burschenschaft and German Political Culture 1890-1914,” *Central European History* 42, no. 3 (2009): 389-428, “Conservative Ideological Resurgence, Nationalist Rallying, and Students: The German Burschenschaft and Antisemitism, 1890-1900,” *Leo Baeck Institut Yearbook* 59 (2014): 73-90, “Liberal and Progressive Politics in the Wilhelmine Burschenschaft,” in Lönnecker, ed., “*Deutschland immer gedient zu haben ist unser höchstes Lob!*”, 925-976.

on the history of fraternities in imperial Germany. More specifically, Zwicker dealt with the traditions of academic fencing, whereby it should be particularly emphasized that she focuses on its heterogeneity. Zwicker also came to a different assessment of the *Freistudentenschaft* (the organization of the unaffiliated "free" students) and showed that many of the non-fraternity students were no strangers to antisemitic opinions. Within the context of academic antisemitism, Zwicker came to the conclusion that, despite the antisemitic propaganda spread primarily by the Associations of German Students (VDSt, *Vereine Deutscher Studenten*),<sup>101</sup> Jewish students were also able to qualify as fraternity members since they were part of a heterogeneous intellectual aristocracy, whose members were in competition with one another. Zwicker found similar results for Catholic students. Building upon the results from Christopher Dowe's important dissertation,<sup>102</sup> Zwicker speaks of an alternative elite that represented an alternative understanding of masculinity that was marked by a high degree of loyalty to their community and to their strong convictions. Overall, Zwicker rightly examines the openness of universities before the First World War and concludes: «The trajectory of student politics on the eve of the Great War was toward a more open, progressive, and reform-oriented society».<sup>103</sup> It is noteworthy that her argument also applied to some extent to the umbrella federation *Deutsche Burschenschaft* in the time after 1900.

Building on these results from Zwicker, Franz Egon Rode presented in 2021 his dissertation supervised by Wolfram Pyta at the University of Stuttgart on *Burschenschaften* in Imperial Germany.<sup>104</sup> He offers a well-balanced representation of the different movements inside the *Burschenschaften*, by looking at a very comprehensive list of sources directly from the fraternities and from their archives. Rode also shows that the all too one-dimensional arguments of a continuous right-wing development within *Burschenschaft*

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<sup>101</sup> For more information on Associations of German Students see among others: Hedwig Roos-Schumacher, *Der Kyffhäuserverband der Vereine Deutscher Studenten 1880-1914/18. Ein Beitrag zum nationalen Vereinswesen und zum politischen Denken im Kaiserreich* (Gifhorn: Akad. Verein Kyffhäuser e.V., 1986, written at: Köln, Univ. Diss., 1985), Marc Zirlwagen, *Der Kyffhäuser-Verband der Vereine Deutscher Studenten in der Weimarer Republik* (Köln: SH, 1999), Zirlwagen, ed., *Kaisertraue – Führergedanke – Demokratie. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Verbandes der Vereine Deutscher Studenten (Kyffhäuser-Verband)* (Köln: SH, 2000), ed., *1881-2006. 125 Jahre Vereine Deutscher Studenten*. 2 vols. (Bad Frankenhausen: Akad. Verein Kyffhäuser e.V., 2006).

<sup>102</sup> Christopher Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger. Katholische Studierende und Akademiker im Kaiserreich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006, written at: Tübingen, Univ. Diss., 2003).

<sup>103</sup> Zwicker, *Dueling Students*, 3.

<sup>104</sup> Rode, *Die Universitätsburschenschaften*.

ten – which are mostly based on evaluations of the national journal *Burschenschaftliche Blätter* (*Burschenschaft Review*) – do not depict the entire spectrum of all *Burschenschaften*. Instead, he examines how the fraternities in Imperial Germany after 1871 actually became less political and more supportive of the state. The involvement in politics fell out of favor due to a renewed focus on communal aspects, academic fencing in particular. In that respect, the *Burschenschaften* became closer to the *Corps*<sup>105</sup> by acting more as socialization groups and thereby losing their leading role as a political power for reform among the student body. Rode substantiates the latter point by using the well-known quotation from Thomas Nipperdey that the *Burschenschaften* of the German Empire were just “second-class *Corps*”.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, the *Burschenschaften*, precisely because they now saw themselves as supporting the state, cultivated the values typical for Imperial Germany – especially the nationalism directed against alleged “*Reichsfeinde*” (“enemies of the Reich”). The successful integration of the formerly revolutionary Greater German *Burschenschaft* fraternities into the Prussian-German Reich after 1871 meant that with its collapse in autumn 1918, the world order of the *Burschenschaft* fraternities fell apart. Their position against the Weimar Republic already from mid-1919 was also, and above all, a consequence of this deep identity crisis. The inclusion of the technical and Austrian fraternities<sup>107</sup> into the

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<sup>105</sup> For more on the *Corps*, see Rolf-Joachim Baum, ed., „Wir wollen Männer, wir wollen Taten!“ *Deutsche Corpsstudenten 1848 bis heute. Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Kössener Senioren-Convents-Verbandes*. ed. Kössener Senioren-Convents-Verband and Verband Alter Corpsstudenten (Berlin: Siedler, 1998) and the 2016 University of Würzburg dissertation by Manuel Weskamp, which was based directly on relevant archive sources, “*Ehre, Frohsinn, Eintracht: Selbstverständnis, Mitgliederrekrutierung und Karrieremuster von Akademikern am Beispiel des Corps Saxonia Göttingen (1840-1951)*” (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2018). See also Torsten Lehmann, *Die Hallenser Corps im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Eine Untersuchung zum studentischen Verbindungswesen von 1871 bis 1918* (Halle: Mittelalt. Verl., 2007). From the student Corps arose the “Verein für corpsstudentische Geschichtsforschung” (*Association of Corps Student Historical Research*) in 1955 (<https://www.vfcg.eu>, cited January 22, 2022). Since its founding, this organization has published numerous papers, including the very important yearbook *Einst und Jetzt. Jahrbuch des Vereins für corpsstudentische Geschichtsforschung e.V.*

<sup>106</sup> Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918*. vol. 1, 583.

<sup>107</sup> Frank Grobe, *Zirkel und Zahnrad. Ingenieure im bürgerlichen Emanzipationskampf um 1900 – Die Geschichte der technischen Burschenschaft* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2009, written at: Aachen, Univ. Diss., 2009) and Harald Lönnecker, “... das deutsche Volk in der Zeit tiefer nationaler Erniedrigung aufzurütteln, für ein einiges und freies deutsches Vaterland zu begeistern und gegen innere und äußere Bedränger anzuführen’ – Die Burschenschaft der Ostmark (BdO) und ihre Vorläufer 1889-1919,” in “... ein großes Ganzes ..., wenn auch verschieden in seinen Teilen’ – Beiträge zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft”, ed. Helma Brunck, Harald Lönnecker and Klaus Oldenhage (Heidelberg: Winter, 2012), 516-630.

*Deutsche Burschenschaft* umbrella organization ultimately accelerated the shift to right-wing politics.

As far as international studies are concerned, Antonin Dubois 2019 dissertation must be mentioned. It was originally written as part of a binational doctorate program at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* in Paris and the University of Heidelberg. The dissertation has also now been made into a book.<sup>108</sup> Both the book and the dissertation emphasize the fact that, despite the serious differences that characterized student organizations in France and Germany, the student fraternities actually knew similar developments between 1880 and 1914 in many ways. In an essay published in German, which summarizes his main results concerning students' politicization, Dubois points out how similar the process of integrating the students as a social group into the political and social order in France and Germany was. However, their concrete opportunities to act politically, and thus their political socialization, were unequal because of the different democratization of the two countries.<sup>109</sup>

## 5.2. New research results on Catholic students

Catholic students and their fraternities have already been mentioned.<sup>110</sup> The previously cited study by Christopher Dowe is a good example of modern research in the history of students. His research also includes methods and results from the more recent history of Christianity as well as research on civil societies. Under the well-known dominance of the culturally Protestant and

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<sup>108</sup> Antonin Dubois, *Organiser les étudiants. Socio-histoire d'un groupe social (Allemagne et France, 1880-1914)* (Vulaines-sur-Seine: Éditions du Croquant, 2021).

<sup>109</sup> Antonin Dubois: "Die Grenzen der Politisierung. Politische Mobilisierung und soziale Integration der deutschen und französischen Studenten (1880-1914)," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 107, no. 3 (2020): 300-332, here 327.

<sup>110</sup> For an overview, see Harald Lönnecker, "'Demut und Stolz, ... Glaube und Kampfesinn'. Die konfessionell gebundenen Studentenverbindungen – protestantische, katholische, jüdische," in *Universität, Religion und Kirchen*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges, (Basel: Schwabe, 2011), 479-540 and Matthias Stickler, "Katholisches Verbindungswesen als Träger von Konfessionalisierungen 1871 bis 1933," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 155 (2019): 187-206. The German Catholic fraternities have not been researched as much as the duelling fraternities. Some important well-researched works that should be mentioned are: Stitz, *Der akademische Kulturkampf* and *Der CV 1919-1938*, Siegfried Schieweck-Mauk, *Lexikon der CV- und ÖCV-Verbindungen* (Köln: SH, 1997), Wolfgang Löhr, ed., *Rückbesinnung und Ausblick. KV-Studententum nach 150 Jahren* (Köln: SH, 2006).

educated bourgeoisie in the society of imperial Germany, the special function of the Catholic associations and fraternities was above all to fight for equality for their members and to create social opportunities of advancement. Catholic associations and fraternities represented about 40% of the male and 25% of the female Catholic students in the time before the First World War.

In his study, Dowe does not start from a dogmatic belief or the idea of a closed Catholic society largely sealed off from the outside world, but rather emphasizes how open it was. Dowe's thesis, hence the title of his book, is that there were «important groups of faithful Catholics who belonged to the educated middle class and at the same time still had a place within Catholicism.»<sup>111</sup> He states that the Catholic student associations and fraternities<sup>112</sup> played a key role with regard to the shaping and reproduction of these groups. Dowe's interpretation delivers a reasonable explanation of Catholics' integration in imperial Germany, which reached its climax during World War I. This integration could be observed more and more after the end of the *Kulturkampf*, and their reconciliation with the founding of the "small" (without Austria) German Reich in 1871. Before his research, another dissertation had been written under the supervision of Langewiesche on this specific topic, which Dowe picks up on.<sup>113</sup> The popularity that the Catholic fraternities received in the first decades of their existence meant that they were able to catch up with the much older fraternities and *Corps* in terms of membership numbers by the 1920s. Furthermore, they, and Catholics in general, proved to be more resistant to National Socialism than other organizations.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger*, 11.

<sup>112</sup> See also Christopher Dowe, "Doppelte Eliten. Die Mitglieder der katholischen Studentenkorporationen im deutschen Kaiserreich," in *Religiöse und konfessionelle Minderheiten als wirtschaftliche und geistige Eliten (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)*. *Büdingen Forschungen zur Sozialgeschichte 2006 und 2007*, ed. Matthias Asche, Markus A. Denzel and Matthias Stickler (St. Katharinen: Scripta-Mercaturae-Verlag, 2009), 261-282.

<sup>113</sup> Stephan Fuchs, *"Vom Segen des Krieges". Katholische Gebildete im Ersten Weltkrieg. Eine Studie zur Kriegsdeutung im akademischen Katholizismus* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004). On students in general during the First World War, see Andrea Wettmann, *Heimatfront Universität. Preußische Hochschulpolitik und die Marburger Universität im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Köln 2000), Marc Zirlewagen, ed., *„Wir siegen oder fallen“. Deutsche Studenten im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Köln: SH, 2008), Philip Rosin, "'...den Heldentod für Kaiser und Reich erlitten'. Deutsche Studenten im Ersten Weltkrieg," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 17 (2014) [2016]: 201-221, Trude Maurer, *"... und wir gehören auch dazu". Universität und Volksgemeinschaft im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015).

<sup>114</sup> Stitz, *Der CV 1919-1938*, Hans Jürgen Rösgen, *Die Auflösung der katholischen Studentenverbände im Dritten Reich* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1995), Peter Claus Hartmann, *Kampf und Widerstand. Münchner Katholiken gegen Hitler 1922-1945* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019).

### 5.3. New publications on student violence

The topic of student deviance or more specifically student violence in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century has been discussed more frequently lately and with less nostalgic/romantic exaggeration than before. The German *Yearbook of University History* dedicated its 21<sup>st</sup> volume to the topic "Student violence in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century".<sup>115</sup> The two editors of the issue, Oliver Auge and Martin Göllnitz, argued in their introduction that the readiness for and the acceptance of violence were an integral part of student culture and radicalism, and the violence itself was a means of communication.<sup>116</sup> The range of observed violent phenomena ranges from the early fraternities to the "Tupamaros West Berlin" of 1969/70, to the protests against the Bologna reforms, and to the "uni-brennt" ("university is burning") movement of 2009/10. Holger Zinn, who has made a name for himself with numerous works on student history,<sup>117</sup> summarizes the results of the volume in his conclusion<sup>118</sup> in a series of considerations. The quantitative participation of students in acts of violence is declining, participation in student campaigns can serve as a career springboard, the political direction of radicalism has been subject to repeated changes. Student fraternities are becoming less important and are leaving behind an institutional vacuum, the media are an important tool for the self-image of the radicals, violence in its various forms is a tradition among students. Student involvement in military units was unprofessional and radicalism is hardly possible during one's studies due to the general conditions of university life. Zinn recognizes the lack of analyzes of individual student biographies and how the range of

<sup>115</sup> The 2006 Yearbook dealt with this topic for the first time, see Christian Saehrendt, "Studentischer Extremismus und politische Gewalt an der Berliner Universität 1918-1933," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 9 (2006): 213-233. See also Martin Göllnitz, *Der Student als Führer? Handlungsmöglichkeiten eines jungakademischen Funktionärskorps am Beispiel der Universität Kiel (1927-1945)* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018, written at: Kiel, Univ. Diss., 2017).

<sup>116</sup> Oliver Auge and Martin Göllnitz, "Radikale Überzeugungstäter? Studentische Gewalt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Konzeption und Fragestellung," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021]: 89-101.

<sup>117</sup> "Zinn, Holger," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 364. See, among others, Holger Zinn, *Das studentische Kameradschaftswesen, Zwischen Republik und Diktatur. Die Studentenschaft der Philipps-Universität Marburg in den Jahren von 1925 bis 1945* (Köln: SH, 2002), "Die studentische Selbstverwaltung in Deutschland bis 1945," in „Klassische Universität“ and „akademische Provinz“. *Studien zur Universität Jena von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis in die dreißiger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Matthias Steinbach/Stefan Gerber, (Jena/Quedlinburg: Bussert & Stadel, 2005), 439-473.

<sup>118</sup> Holger Zinn, "Ergebnisse und Ausblick," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021]: 257-269.

activities of student radicalization has rarely been made into the main goal of research. In this regard, another special issue published in 2019 on “*Studentische Gewalt / Violenza studentesca*” (“student violence”), edited by Martin Göllnitz and Matteo Millan, deals with this topic by using and comparing examples from Germany, Italy, Macedonia, Austria, and Spain.<sup>119</sup> Some extremely pertinent and well-written essays in this issue are the contributions by Florian J. Schreiner on academic networks and the repression of the Munich soviet republic, and from Juliane Deinert on student riots at the University of Rostock before and after the National Socialist takeover. What all the aforementioned works have in common is that the specific student violence is not classified in teleologically oriented master narratives or traditional contexts, and in this way the actors are not elevated to heroes.

Harro Zimmermann’s book on the *Burschenschaft* member Carl Ludwig Sand (1795-1820), published in 2020, follows the same pattern. Sand was a heroic figure well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century for the German bourgeois national movement.<sup>120</sup> Sand’s assassination of August von Kotzebue on 23 March 1819 is deconstructed by Zimmermann, and the book’s subtitle places it in the context of modern, religious or pseudo-religious fundamentalism. However, the author does not have modern Islamist “Jihadists” in mind but much more the romantically-founded nationalism Sand developed as a Protestant theologian, which can be related to modern forms of right-wing extremist violence. The fact that Sand’s act points to modern-day terrorism is indeed obvious, but the author and his publisher minimize the book’s importance by presenting it as just a lucid contribution to the cultural archeology of right-wing radicalism in Germany, when in fact it is actually an important contribution to student historical research. Self-empowerment, ideologically based justifications for one’s own actions, and the willingness to accept death for one’s own convictions are by no means only specific to right-wing radicalism, considering these beliefs were also a deeply-rooted part of the self-image of Red Army Faction terrorists. Making a historical topic more interesting for certain readers by using sensational modern-day analogies may be good way to sell books, but from an academic point of view, such actions essentially oversimplify the issue, and they simply do not do justice to the complexity of the phenomenon of Carl Ludwig Sand or how his actions were received.

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<sup>119</sup> Martin Göllnitz and Matteo Millan, ed., *Studentische Gewalt / Violenza studentesca, Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione* 28, no. 1 (2019) (Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen: Studienverlag, 2019).

<sup>120</sup> Harro Zimmermann, *Ein deutscher Gotteskrieger? Der Attentäter Carl Ludwig Sand. Die Geschichte einer Radikalisierung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2020).

#### 5.4. New research on Jewish students and academic antisemitism

An inclusive approach to the topic of Judaism in Germany has become the norm in recent years, i.e., being Jewish is understood as part of Germany's identity and not as something external. That has led to "Jewish topics" being increasingly taken up within the context of student history. This is particularly the case of Jewish student fraternities, which are today, unlike in the days of academic anti-Semitism, understood as a self-evident part of German university and student history. One example of this is the well-researched dissertation written by Miriam Rürup in 2008.<sup>121</sup> Building up on older works,<sup>122</sup> she showed that Jewish students also adopted organizational forms, values and symbolic practices of fraternities at the time of the foundation of the German Empire.

The Jewish fraternity system, which in its diversity could easily compete with the non-Jewish one, was an important part of academic Germany. Even despite all the hostility it faced from anti-Semites, it was a system that was to be reckoned with until it was destroyed by the National Socialists after 1933. Although the Jewish fraternities never managed to organize the majority of Jewish students, which is why the students affiliated with these fraternities could certainly be described as being a minority within a minority, the leading elites in the Jewish organizations during the Weimar period had mostly been socialized in Jewish fraternities. In this respect, these fraternities actually had a similar vanguard function for German Judaism, much like the *Corps* students did for the educated, wealthy, culturally Protestant bourgeoisie. Mi-

<sup>121</sup> Miriam Rürup, *Ehrensache. Jüdische Studentenverbindungen an deutschen Universitäten 1886-1937* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2008, written at: Berlin, Techn. Univ. Diss., 2006/07).

<sup>122</sup> See Thomas Schindler, *Studentischer Antisemitismus und jüdische Studentenverbindungen 1880-1933. Mit einem Beitrag von Robert Hein* (Jever: Studentengeschichtliche Vereinigung des Coburger Convents, 1988). Schindler was already researching the topic of "Jewish student fraternities" at a time when this was still considered a rather remote field of research. Also see his other publications: "Studentischer Antisemitismus und jüdische Studentenverbindungen in Würzburg 1880-1914," in *Begegnungen. Judentum und Antisemitismus in Zeit und Geist*, ed. Peter Herde, Thomas Schindler, Kurt Schobert and Stefan Veghazi (München: Schobert, 1986), 57-88, "Steinerne Zeugnisse jüdischen Studentenlebens in Würzburg," in Golücke, ed., *Korporationen und Nationalsozialismus*, 73-85, "Der Kampf des Kartell-Convents (K.C.) gegen den Antisemitismus," *Einst und Jetzt* 36 (1991): 189-203, "Was Schandfleck war, ward unser Ehrenzeichen...! Die jüdischen Studentenverbindungen und ihr Beitrag zur Entwicklung eines neuen Selbstbewußtseins deutscher Juden," in Brandt/Stickler, ed., "Der Burschen Herrlichkeit", 337-354, Andreas Dornheim and Thomas Schindler, *Wilhelm Aron (1907-1933). Jude, NS-Gegner, Sozialdemokrat und Verbindungsstudent* (Bamberg: Selbstverlag des Historischen Vereins Bamberg, 2007). For more on antisemitism, see Konrad H. Jarausch, "Die Vertreibung der jüdischen Studenten und Professoren von der Berliner Universität unter dem NS-Regime," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 1 (1998): 112-133.



riam Rürup does not interpret the emergence of the Jewish fraternity system simply as a reaction to growing academic anti-Semitism and the tendencies of the time, especially in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to deny Jews membership. Rather, she sees it as an attempt to gain recognition and respect from their opponents by demonstrating strength and “honor”. Beginning in 1886, a broad spectrum of ideologically and religiously differently oriented Jewish fraternities and associations were founded and often stood in sharp contrast to one another. These groups ranged from the “*deutsch-vaterländisch*” (patriotic German) minded *Kartellconvent der Verbindungen jüdischen Glaubens* (KC, Union of the fraternities of Jewish faith) to the Zionist aligned *Kartell Jüdischer Verbindungen* (KJV, Union of Jewish Fraternities). The student fraternity hegemonic culture of Imperial Germany was not simply adapted but filled with new content. This ultimately promoted and solidified the formation of a specific group identity. However, the efforts of the Jewish fraternities to gain wider recognition in society ultimately remained unsuccessful, despite the high death toll that their members paid for Germany during the First World War. At this point and from today’s perspective, one must critically state that the Jewish fraternities’ assumption that it was enough to fight anti-Semitism primarily by means of fraternity students’ traditions was a misjudgment. Rürup rightly points out, however, that these traditions did not simply disappear with the destruction of the Jewish fraternity system in Germany, but continued to have an effect even after their emigration and, thus, contributed to the fact that new Jewish life emerged and asserted itself in new places. In this respect, although the reactivation of Jewish fraternities did not succeed after 1945, their history is also part of the history of the State of Israel.<sup>123</sup>

Unfortunately, Rürup’s study neglects the topic of “*paritätische Verbindungen*” (“equal fraternities”), i.e., the fraternities that accepted both Jews and non-Jews. These fraternities did not see themselves as Jewish at all but were, for all intents and purposes, exactly that. Furthermore, they were also perceived as such by the outside world as fewer and fewer non-Jews joined over time. There were a number of equal fraternities and umbrella federations. The most important of these was the *Burschenbund Convent* (B.C.),<sup>124</sup>

<sup>123</sup> For new research on this topic, see Miriam Rürup, “Eine Frage der Ehre. Anerkennungskämpfe jüdischer Studentenverbindungen in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik,” *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021], 135-154. For the history of Jewish fraternities, see Kurt U. Bertrams, *Der Kartell-Convent und seine Verbindungen* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2009) and *Jüdisch-nationale Studentenverbindungen und Verbände* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2013). Both volumes contain important data and facts about Jewish fraternities.

<sup>124</sup> Matthias Stickler, “Jüdische Studentenverbindungen. Anmerkungen zu einem zu wenig beachteten Thema der Universitäts- und Studentengeschichte,” *Einst und Jetzt* 61 (2016): 11-56,

which was founded in 1919 and strongly oriented around *Burschenschaft* ideals. It additionally saw itself as the true heir of the free and liberal traditions of the original *Burschenschaft* movement. The B.C. had a small revival in the early Federal Republic that lasted until the early 1970s and consisted of many Old Boys organizations, but only three active fraternities. One of the B.C.'s most prominent (non-Jewish) members was the liberal politician Thomas Dehler (1897-1967), who was the chairman of the Liberal Party (FDP) and Federal Minister of Justice. Dehler joined a Coburg Convent fraternity after 1945, but he also continued to belong until his death to the *Burschenbund Südmark-Monachia* in Munich, founded in 1923.<sup>125</sup>

As far as anti-Semitism in the student fraternities is concerned, a comprehensive study based on archive sources is now available for the first time.<sup>126</sup> The fraternities themselves have withdrawn from this debate for decades or made mainly apologetic contributions,<sup>127</sup> as becomes very clear in Jürgen Herrlein's dissertation on legal history submitted at the University of Bremen in 2015. It is all the more remarkable that Herrlein, a passionate student historian, who is both a lawyer by profession and belongs to five *Corps*, presented this study, which takes a very critical look at the behavior of the corporations and avoids any misguided consideration. Contrary to what the title suggests, the focus lays on the *Kösener Corps*, which was the second largest German corporation association until the 1930s. The other associations are also dealt with by the use of relevant secondary literature, therefore limiting the possible explanations. However, future research on academic anti-Semitism will not be able to ignore this important work.

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here especially 14-20, 27-36, and 38-44. A useful reference book on the history of equal fraternities is Kurt U. Bertrams, *Paritätische Verbindungen und Verbände* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2011).

<sup>125</sup> Matthias Stickler, "Thomas Dehler (1897-1967) als Korporationsstudent - Anmerkungen zu einem bisher wenig beachteten Thema," in Mohr, ed., *150 Jahre*, 345-367.

<sup>126</sup> Jürgen Herrlein, *Zur "Arierfrage" in Studentenverbindungen. Die akademischen Korporationen und der Prozess der Ausgrenzung der Juden vor und während der NS-Zeit sowie die Verarbeitung dieses Vorgangs nach 1945* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015). Two important older works must be mentioned in this context: Kampe, *Studenten* and Heike Ströle-Bühler, *Studentischer Antisemitismus in der Weimarer Republik. Eine Analyse der Burschenschaftlichen Blätter 1918-1933* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1991).

<sup>127</sup> Helmut Neuhaus's very well-done study, *Die Konstitutionen des Corps Teutonia. Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsentwicklung eines Kösener Corps in seiner 150jährigen Geschichte* (Marburg a.d. Lahn: Stelbstverl. d. Verf., 1979), was also written on the basis of internal source material and dealt in detail with anti-Semitism in the Corps Teutonia of Marburg (even though this was not made clear by its title). The study is an early, impressive example of the painful coming to terms with this topic. Unfortunately, this study, although publicly available in libraries, has received little attention thus far.

## 5.5. New works on female students

In recent years, as a consequence of the increasing importance of gender as a analysis tool in academic historical research, new and innovative topics like women's studies and the self-organization of women at universities have come into the focus of many, in particular female, researchers.<sup>128</sup> The topic of women's studies in particular has been comparatively well researched. This new research began in the 1990s in connection with the then upcoming hundredth anniversary of the admission of women to universities in the majority of German federal states at the turn of the century.<sup>129</sup> The habilitation thesis of Claudia Huerkamp (1952-1999), who was a student of Wehler and who sadly died prematurely, must also be mentioned here.<sup>130</sup> She looked at how public pressure to allow women to study was put on universities and the governments of the individual German states. This pressure arose above all from the fact that foreigners from countries in which women were already allowed to study were attracted by the excellent reputation of German

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<sup>128</sup> Angelika Schaser and Falko Schnicke, "Wege zu einer Geschlechtergeschichte der Universitäten und Geisteswissenschaften: Forschungsstand und Desiderata," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 20 (2017) [2019]: 27-42. This volume's main focus lays on Gender History at Universities and in the Humanities. See also the contribution from Elisabeth Grabenweger, "Die Selbstverständlichkeit der großen Zahl. Die ersten Promovendinnen der Wiener Germanistik (1903-1938)": 97-118. Relevant articles were also repeatedly published in earlier issues of the yearbook: Christine von Oertzen, "Universitärer Nationalismus versus akademische Verständigung. Zur Wirkungsmacht weiblicher Netzwerke, 1918-1933," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 28 (2015) [2017]: 81-100, Trude Maurer, "Ein Lehrstück über die Dialektik des Fortschritts. Die Zulassung von Frauen an der Universität Straßburg: Reichsländische Variationen zu einem gesamtdeutschen Thema (1873-1909/1918)," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 16 (2013) [2015]: 9-50, Sabine Bertram, "Frauen promovieren: Doktorandinnen der Nationalökonomie an der Berliner Universität 1906-1936," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 11 (2008): 111-133, Patricia Mazón, "Die Auswahl der ‚besseren Elemente‘. Ausländische und jüdische Studentinnen und die Zulassung von Frauen an deutschen Universitäten 1890-1909," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 5 (2002): 185-198. Aspects of gender history were also included in the anthology published at the end of the 1990s, see Wolfgang Lipp, "Verbindungen als Männerbünde," and Wolfgang Wippermann, "Männer und Masuren. Waffenstudenten in geschlechtergeschichtlicher Sicht," in Brandt/Stickler, ed., „*Der Burschen Herrlichkeit*“, 375-391 and 239-253.

<sup>129</sup> Such as Marianne Koerner, *Auf fremden Terrain. Studien- und Alltagserfahrungen von Studentinnen 1900-1918* (Bonn: Didot, 1997) and Ilse Costas, "Von der Gasthörerin zur voll immatrikulierten Studentin: Die Zulassung von Frauen in den deutschen Bundesstaaten 1900-1909," in *Der Weg an die Universität. Höhere Frauenstudien vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Trude Maurer (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2010), 191-210.

<sup>130</sup> Claudia Huerkamp, *Bildungsbürgerinnen. Frauen im Studium und in akademischen Berufen 1900-1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

universities at the time, including and above all American women.<sup>131</sup> After the turn of the millennium, a number of important overview works were written against the backdrop of additional research on women's emancipation at universities.<sup>132</sup> Particularly noteworthy here are the very successful anthologies edited by Ulrike Auga and her colleagues,<sup>133</sup> by Trude Maurer,<sup>134</sup> as well as the monographs by Patricia M. Mazón<sup>135</sup> and Marco Birn,<sup>136</sup> which offer well-founded and material-rich general overviews. Mazón's approach, however, is much more committed to a gender-historical approach than Birn's. For the "short 20<sup>th</sup> century", comparable source-based monographic works are so far a desideratum.

Research on the self-organization of female students was slower to start. This is probably related to the fact that sororities did not reappear after the Second World War until the late 1970s.<sup>137</sup> Traditional fraternity histo-

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<sup>131</sup> Sandra L. Singer, *Adventures Abroad. North American Women at German-speaking Universities 1868-1915* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003). For transnational aspects, see for example: Ilse Costas, "Der Kampf um das Frauenstudium im internationalen Vergleich. Begünstigende und hemmende Faktoren für die Emanzipation der Frauen aus ihrer intellektuellen Unmündigkeit in unterschiedlichen bürgerlichen Gesellschaften," in *Pionierinnen, Feministinnen, Karrierefrauen? Zur Geschichte des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland*, ed. Anne Schlüter (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verl.-Ges., 1992), 115-144, "Der Zugang zu akademischen Karrieren. Ein internationaler Überblick," in *Bedrohlich gescheit. Ein Jahrhundert Frauen und Wissenschaft in Bayern*, ed. Hiltrud Häntzschel and Hadumod Bußmann (München: Beck, 1997), 15-34, and "Professionalisierungsprozesse akademischer Berufe und Geschlecht – ein internationaler Vergleich," in *Barrieren und Karrieren. Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland. Conference notes from the conference „100 Jahre Frauen in der Wissenschaft“ im Februar 1997 at the Universität Bremen*, ed. Elisabeth Dickmann and Eva Schöck-Quinteros (Berlin: Trafo-Verl., 2000), 13-32, Christine von Oertzen, *Strategie Verständigung. Zur transnationalen Vernetzung von Akademikerinnen 1917-1955* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2012).

<sup>132</sup> Annette Vogt, *Vom Hintereingang zum Hauptportal? Lise Meitner und ihre Kolleginnen an der Berliner Universität und in der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), Michael Grüttner, "Zwischen Numerus clausus und Dienstverpflichtung. Studentinnen im Nationalsozialismus," in *Die BDM-Generation. Weibliche Jugendliche in Deutschland und Österreich im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Dagmar Reese (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2007), 321-341.

<sup>133</sup> Ulrike Auga, Claudia Bruns, Levke Harders and Gabriele Jähnert, ed., *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften. Zur Geschichte von Akademikerinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2010)

<sup>134</sup> Maurer, ed., *Der Weg*.

<sup>135</sup> Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education 1865-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

<sup>136</sup> Marco Birn, *Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland. Das Streben nach Gleichberechtigung von 1869-1918, dargestellt anhand politischer, statistischer und biographischer Zeugnisse* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2015).

<sup>137</sup> Simone Ruoffner, "Neue Wege: Das Damenverbindungswesen in Deutschland nach

riography recognized very early on that after the turn of the century women discovered sorority life for themselves and founded their own organizations with their umbrella federations. This corresponded to the described logic of the university in its classic phase, in which, as previously mentioned, fraternity students were the norm and not the exception. In the period that followed, the following sororities came into existence: in 1904 the Protestant-influenced *Deutsche Christliche Vereinigung Studierender Frauen* (DCVSF, German Christian Association of Women Student), in 1906 the bourgeois, liberal-conservative *Verband der Studentinnenvereine Deutschlands* (VStD, Federation of Female Students' Associations in Germany), in 1913 the Catholic and color-wearing *Verband der katholischen deutschen Studentinnenvereine* (VKDSt, Federation of Catholic German Female Students' Associations), in 1914 the right-wing, conservative, nationalist and color-wearing *Deutscher Verband akademischer Frauenvereine* (DVAF, German Federation of Academic Women's Associations), in 1912 the *Gruppe jüdischer Studentinnen* (Group of Jewish Female Students) Beruria (sometimes also referred to as *Bund jüdischer Akademikerinnen*, Union of Jewish Women Academics) and in 1917 the *Hochland-Verband der katholischen neudeutschen Verbindungen* (HV, Highland Federation of Catholic New German Fraternities), which was initially a masculine association, but began to admit women during the First World War, whose sororities were closely affiliated to theirs. All of these associations and umbrella organizations developed quite well and existed until the National Socialists came to power. Between the years of 1933 and 1938 they ultimately fell victim to the general forced disbanding of all fraternities and sororities. This topic has been researched very little thus far, mostly because of the relative scarcity of sources. The first works to be written about the history of the VKDSt and the DCVSF appeared in the 1990s.<sup>138</sup> Petra Gärdtner<sup>139</sup> was one of the first researchers to deal systematically with sororities. It is unfortunate that she did not continue with these first promising approaches. A useful, factual, and generally well-researched reference work,

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1945," in *Tübinger Töchter. Frauen an der Tübinger Universität im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Marvin Gedigk, Wiebke Ratzeburg, Simone Ruoffner and Andreas Strecke (Tübingen: Universitätsstadt Tübingen, 2019), 95-103.

<sup>138</sup> Ulrike Hoppe, *Katholische Studentinnenvereine 1909-1936. Ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Vorstellung vom weiblichen Lebenszusammenhang*, ed. Bund katholischer deutscher Akademikerinnen (Bonn: Bund kath. dt. Akademikerinnen, 1990) and Christiana Hilpert-Fröhlich, "Vorwärts geht es, aber auf den Knien". *Die Geschichte der christlichen Studentinnen- und Akademikerinnenbewegung in Deutschland 1905-1938* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verl.-Ges., 1996).

<sup>139</sup> Petra Gärdtner, *Frau und Couleur. 1. Teil: Das Umfeld* (Wien: Österr. Verein für Studentengeschichte, 1989).

which contains a list of sources and a bibliography, is Bertram's volume on *Sororities and Girls' Associations*.<sup>140</sup> The topic of sororities has now been addressed in many works on women's studies.<sup>141</sup> Modern-day network theory research<sup>142</sup> also raised interest in this specific form of socialization. Simone Ruoffner-Unterrainer's dissertation, which is currently being reviewed, provides significant new results based on a comprehensive evaluation of the relevant sources and literature.<sup>143</sup> Ruoffner is already well-known for being a researcher of sorority organizations.<sup>144</sup> Her study, which goes beyond a purely local study, is likely to become an important standard work that will undoubtedly inspire further research.

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<sup>140</sup> Kurt U. Bertrams, *Damenverbindungen und Mädelschaften. Von den Anfängen bis 1945* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2018).

<sup>141</sup> Koerner, *Auf fremdem Terrain*, Britta Lohschelder, "Die Knäbin mit dem Dokortitel". *Akademikerinnen in der Weimarer Republik* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verl.-Ges., 1994), Heike Hessenauer, *Etappen des Frauenstudiums an der Universität Würzburg, 1869-1939* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1998), Marianne Koerner, "Preis der Partizipation. AStA-Beteiligung der Studentinnenvereine vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Karrieren und Barrieren*, ed. Diekmann and Schöck-Quinteros, 303-313, Wiebke Reichmann, *Von der Couleurdame zur Studentin? Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums und der Studentinnenverbindungen an der Universität Münster 1900 bis 1920* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verl. Dr. Müller, 2009), Gedigk, Ratzeburg, Ruoffner and Strecke, ed., *Tübinger Töchter*, 1-29.

<sup>142</sup> Stephanie Bock, "Frauennetzwerke: Geschlechterpolitische Strategie oder exklusive Expertinnennetze?," in *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung*, ed. Ruth Becker and Beate Kortendiek, 2<sup>nd</sup>, revised and extended edition (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 870-878.

<sup>143</sup> Simone Ruoffner-Unterrainer, *Zwischen Verein, Korporation und Gesinnungsgemeinschaft – die Damenverbindungen an den Universitäten Tübingen und Würzburg von den Anfängen bis zum Nationalsozialismus*.

<sup>144</sup> Simone Ruoffner, "Die Tübinger Damenverbindungen," in *Burschen und Bürger. 200 Jahre Tübinger Studentenverbindungen*, ed. Marvin Gedigk, Wiebke Ratzburg, Anne-Jacqueline Schneider und Andreas Strecke (Tübingen: Universitätsstadt Tübingen, 2016), 99-107, "Wir wollten nicht gegängelt werden!'. Damenverbindungen im Deutschen Reich von ihrer Entstehung bis zu ihrer Gleichschaltung," in *Die Vorträge der 77. Deutschen Studentenhistorikertagung Halle an der Saale 2017*, ed. Sebastian Sigler (München: Akademischer Verlag, 2018), 173-190, "Verlorene Erinnerung – Traditionsbrüche und fehlende Erinnerungsarbeit bei Damenverbindungen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik," in *Erinnern, vergessen, umdeuten? Europäische Frauenbewegung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Angelika Schaser and Sylvia Schraut (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2019), 155-172, Simone Ruoffner and Florian J. Schreiner, "Vom „Corps Schlamponia“ zur „Frau Kommilitonin“. Emanzipation und Assimilierung von Studentinnen in der Frühphase der Weimarer Republik," in *Ariadne – Forum für Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte* 73/74 (2018): 110-117.

## 6. Conclusion

Student history has become a thriving branch of university history since the 1990s. This also led to a rapprochement between academic research and the very heterogeneous group of the so-called student historians, whose works are mostly being read again today. However, as a result of the breaks of 1933/45 and 1968 and the resulting loss of importance of fraternities, many academics socialized at university remain rather unfamiliar with the colorful world of student fraternities and the associations affiliated with them, which is why they often find it difficult to deal with this topic. A bridging function was and is being taken on here by relevant university researchers who, as it were, as wanderers between these two worlds, are familiar with both sides. It would be desirable for this insight to prevail since only through increased cooperation and the attentive perception of the respective research results can university and student history as a whole be enriched.

In university research, the great importance of the fraternity system for the history of German universities in their classical phase should be acknowledged and done so without judgment. Acknowledging this does not necessarily imply a glorified or apologetic view of fraternities. Rather, this topic should be seen for all of its diversity in ideology and beliefs, and it should not be seen as closed topic. Such a differentiated perspective sharpens the view both for sensitive aspects of the history of German students since the 1880s and for the fundamental openness of the situation at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which Zwicker and Rode pointed out in their research.

It is striking, and possibly also a result of the previous marginality of the fraternity system in university research, that cultural-historical aspects of student history has received such little attention until now. A few examples of topics and individual publications that have been published so far will have to suffice here: the interesting field of fraternity and student houses,<sup>145</sup> student songs,<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Peter A. Süß, "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus. Würzburger Verbindungshäuser. Einige Anmerkungen zur Geschichte, Typologie und Kunst der Korporationsheime," in Brandt/Stickler, ed., „*Der Burschen Herrlichkeit*“, 465-484, Antonin Dubois, "Les maisons des organisations étudiantes en France et en Allemagne. Un lieu de sociabilité masculine et d'encadrement (1871-1914)," *Agora débats/jeunesses* 73 (2016): 35-48, as well as the notes from Harald Lönnecker, "... dienten stets auch der freundlichen Zusammenkunft' – Geselligkeit in akademischen Verbindungen und Vereinen an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," in Asche and Klenke, ed., *Von Professorenzirkeln*, 123-146, here 123.

<sup>146</sup> See for example the works of Raimund Lang on student songs: *Ergo cantemus – Texte und Materialien zum Studentenlied* (Köln: SH, 2001), *Cantus – Hymne – Burschenlied. Vom*

clothing, living together,<sup>147</sup> nutrition and consumption, forms of camaraderie and socializing,<sup>148</sup> forms of visual representation,<sup>149</sup> as well as questions of style and form, the construction of identity,<sup>150</sup> or the role of women beyond stereotypes such as "Filia hospitalis" or "decorative accessories".<sup>151</sup> Unlike in most other countries with traditional higher education systems, traditional symbolic practices at German universities today do not play any role in consensus building or integration into university life. Thus, these corresponding fields of research no longer come into the view of "post-classical" socialized scholars, as they are viewed as alien or disconcerting. That is unfortunate since these topics are connected not only to classical history, but also to subjects such as German studies, art history, European ethnology, folk studies, and musicology. Therefore, one does not need to possess any prophetic abilities to know that the history of students will continue to be an important research topic.

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<sup>147</sup> See the interesting contribution from Barbara Krug-Becker, "Hund und Student – eine Mentalitätsgeschichte (18.-20. Jh.)," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 10 (2007): 77-104.

<sup>148</sup> See the notes from Stickler, "Verbindungsstudentische" and Lönnecker, „... dienten stets auch der freundlichen Zusammenkunft“.

<sup>149</sup> See for instance Cornelius Lange, "‘Rührende Geschmacklosigkeiten’? Photographische Studentenporträts im Würzburg Dauthendey's," in *Der Photopionier Carl Albert Dauthendey. Zur Frühzeit der Photographie in Deutschland und Russland*, ed. Eckhard Leuschner (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2021), 177-187.

<sup>150</sup> Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Das Kriegerdenkmal der Berliner Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität 1919-1926: Siegesexegese der Niederlage," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 5 (2002): 87-116

<sup>151</sup> Marvin Gedigk, "Vorreiter oder konservative Bastion? Die Couleurdamen der Tübinger Studentenverbindungen," in Gedigk, Ratzeburg, Ruoffner and Strecke, ed., *Tübinger Töchter*, 43-71.



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# The History of Austrian Students Between Academic Status and Socio-Political Activity 1848-1938

La historia de los estudiantes austriacos entre el estatus académico y la actividad sociopolítica 1848-1938

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*Abstract:* The development of a scholarly and objective historiography of students in the Habsburg monarchy and the First Austrian Republic only began at the end of the twentieth century. Several factors explain why it was only after gaining a certain temporal and emotional distance that historians were able to write a more scientifically objective history of universities and students. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that students, who were strictly controlled by the state and the Catholic Church until 1859, were able to emerge as an independent group of actors. The multitude of associations founded according to the ideal model of the German fraternities were subject to a highly ideo-

*Resumen:* El desarrollo de una historiografía académica y objetiva de los estudiantes de la monarquía de los Habsburgo y la Primera República de Austria solo comenzó a fines del siglo XX. Varios factores explican por qué fue solo después de ganar cierta distancia temporal y emocional que los historiadores pudieron escribir una historia científicamente más objetiva de las universidades y los estudiantes. No fue hasta mediados del siglo XIX que los estudiantes, que estuvieron estrictamente controlados por el Estado y la Iglesia Católica hasta 1859, pudieron emerger como un grupo independiente de actores. La multitud de asociaciones fundadas según el modelo ideal de las fraternidades alemanas estuvo sujeta a un

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logical polarisation process. This also extends to the professoriate of the university, which was belatedly established as an autonomous institution. Therefore, the history and humanities departments in particular became the forerunners of a nationalist antisemitic ideology rather than rationally scientific critical instances. The politics of exclusion continued uninterrupted into the First Republic and ultimately led to the loss of university autonomy and the students' right of free association after Austria became part of the National Socialist German Reich in 1938.

*Keywords:* student body, Habsburg monarchy, First Austrian Republic, Austria, 1848, 1938, university

proceso de polarización ideológica muy fuerte. Esto también se extiende al profesorado de la universidad, que se estableció tardíamente como una institución autónoma. Por lo tanto, los departamentos de historia y humanidades en particular se convirtieron en los precursores de una ideología nacionalista antisemita en lugar de instancias críticas racionalmente científicas. La política de exclusión continuó ininterrumpidamente en la Primera República y, en última instancia, condujo a la pérdida de la autonomía universitaria y el derecho de libre asociación de los estudiantes después de que Austria se convirtiera en parte del Reich Nacionalsocialista Alemán en 1938.

*Palabras clave:* cuerpo estudiantil, monarquía Habsburgo, Primera República Austriaca, Austria, 1848, 1938, universidad.

## *Introduction*

Two mutually influencing aspects need to be considered in order to understand whether and since when students have emerged as a socially active collective in Austria between the revolution of 1848 and its annexation by National Socialist Germany in 1938: their status as members of the university and the development of socially and politically active associations. It is based on these assumptions that the historiographical representation of the student body in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, between neo-absolutism and constitutional monarchy (1849-1918) and Republic (1918-1938), has to be examined.

After a brief introduction on the emergence of the special type of the Austrian university, the article begins with the struggle of the student body for freedom of association within the framework of the liberal state university during the revolution of 1848. The second part presents the period between 1873 and 1918, during which the legalisation of the student fraternities took place, allowing the emergence of the type of the “colour-bearing” student adopted from Germany. For a very long time, the period between 1848 and 1918 was only covered by subjective publications on the revolution of 1848 and on various student fraternities. The third part examines the period of the First Republic from 1918 to 1938, in which the colour-bearing student fraternities became the general model of student associations with their own representative body in the university. This phase was also mainly presented through primary sources from the student

fraternities and partially through a strongly ideologized academic contemporary history. Both parts on the periods from 1848 to 1918 and from 1918 to 1938 concentrate mainly on the research led during this century. After a brief segment on the social, linguistic and religious composition of the student body, the last section is dedicated to the objective student history research that only began after 1945. This new historiography is based on the one hand on publications by private student history institutes and associations, and on the other hand on academic historical research that was first only carried out in the course of the great jubilee celebrations of the various Austrian universities.

### *1. The development of the European and Austrian universities*

The emergence and further development of the European university was determined from the beginning by two powers: the Catholic Church, which claimed spiritual control over the papal foundation, and the secular rule, which ensured the economic existence of the newly founded institution. The Austrian *Korporationsuniversität* (corporation university) was developed partly from the Parisian model, a university of graduates (doctors and professors), and partly from the Bologna model (the student university), that considered the students as a co-determining group within the institution as a whole. The latter form was decisive for the foundation of universities in the Habsburg Empire of the late Middle Ages and early modern times, especially in Prague (1348) and Vienna (1365), but also in Krakow (1364), Olmütz (1581-1860), Graz (1585), Salzburg (1622-1850), Lemberg (1661), Innsbruck (1669), and Budapest (1777-1867). The universities of Bologna (1088) and Padua (1222) were also Habsburgian from 1741 until respectively 1859 and 1866.

In almost all European states, the Catholic corporation model was radically eliminated in the course of the formation of the nation-state or of the German territorial states and replaced by exclusively state-regulated educational institutions based on the model of the Napoleonic and Prussian reforms. This transformation took place in the Austrian Empire only after the 1848 revolution. Only Vienna, Prague, Graz, and Innsbruck possessed all structural characteristics of the Catholic corporation university. The first two retained their corporation structure in part until 1873. The universities in Graz, Innsbruck, and Olmütz were abolished in the course of the period and downgraded to a less prestigious form of higher learning institution



called *lyceum*. The later universities of Klausenburg (1873), Agram (1874) and Czernowitz (1875) were founded as state institutions.<sup>1</sup>

The period from the foundation of the first Habsburg universities until 1849 was comprehensively covered by the contemporary historiography, which was reorganised within the framework of Thun's university reform in the 1850s.<sup>2</sup> During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, historians mainly focused on the first centuries of the Catholic corporate university or the reforms more strongly oriented towards the interests of the absolutist state under Maria Theresa and Joseph II. They generally did not cover the (only passive) role of the student body, constituted in the university in the form of academic nations.<sup>3</sup>

The revision of the image of the permanent fight between the "Catholic University" against the "German university" required a temporal distance of hundred years. University archivist and university teacher Franz Gall offered a seminal publication contributing to this revision on the occasion of the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Vienna, titled *Alma Mater Rudolphina 1365-1965*. In this book, not only the ideas, the development and the end of the Catholic corporation university in Austria and Europe were explained in a well-founded manner, but the student body was also included as an independent actor alongside the collective of doctors and professors. A comparable account for the University of Graz on the occasion of its 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary was given by the university archivist and historian Walter Höflechner, who focused above all on the elimination of the Jesuits' influence through the secular reforms of Joseph II. It is only fifty years later that the complex system of the corporation university in Vienna and its slow transformation into a reformed state institution was taken up again by Kamilla Staudigl-Ciechowicz, who presented the shift of power from the

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<sup>1</sup> Laetitia Böhm and Rainer A. Müller, *Universitäten und Hochschulen in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Eine Universalgeschichte in Europa und im alten Ungarn* (Düsseldorf: Econ Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983), Jan Jakub Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria 1848-1918. A Social History of a Multilingual Space* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> These reforms are central to the Habsburgian university history but cannot be presented here. There have been precisely examined by Christof Aichner and Brigitte Mazohl, ed., *The Thun-Hohenstein University Reforms 1849-1860. Conception – Implementation – Aftermath* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2017). For a detailed case study, see Christof Aichner, *Die Universität Innsbruck in der Ära der Thun-Hohenstein'schen Reformen 1848-1860. Aufbruch in eine neue Zeit* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2018).

<sup>3</sup> Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien*, 3 vols. (Wien: Carl Gerold & Sohn, 1854), Joseph von Aschbach, Wenzel Hartl and Karl Schrauf, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität* (Wien: Verl. der k.u.k. Universität, 1865), Karl Schrauf, *Die Geschichte der Wiener Universität in ihren Grundzügen* (Wien: Holzhausen, 1901).

doctors' colleges to the professoriate with great clarity. In his contribution on the fragile autonomy of the university since 1848, Johannes Feichtinger traced the anchoring of the university's autonomy based on the freedom to teach and learn, which was only partially achieved in the monarchy and challenged from within in the First Republic by "affirmative science". In 2017, the topic of university reform (with special reference to the University of Innsbruck) was taken up again in an anthology by Christoph Aichner and Brigitte Mazohl, but without any special mention of the role of the student body.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, a series of specifically Austrian contributions on the university and its students before and after the reforms of Leo Thun appeared in the anthology edited by Otto Neuloh and Walter Rüegg as early as 1975.<sup>5</sup> The long history of the Catholic university is now well examined by academic research throughout Europe.

Furthermore, the analysis of higher education during the *Vormärz* period (the period between the Congress of Vienna of 1815 and the 1848 revolutions) by Roman Lustig from 1987 and the more comprehensive dissertation by Jan Surman (2012) on *The Universities of the Monarchy from 1848* should be cited here. Both expanded on and corrected Josef Hochgerner's overly ambitious long-term study of academic development and student history since the foundation of the University of Vienna.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Franz Gall, *Alma Mater Rudolphina 1365-1965. Die Wiener Universität und ihre Studenten* (Wien: Verlag Austria Press, 1965), Walter Höflechner, "Zur Geschichte der Universität Graz", in *Tradition und Herausforderung: 400 Jahre Universität Graz*, ed. Kurt Freisitzer and Walter Höflechner (Graz: Akad. Dr.- u. Verl.-Anst., 1985), Kamilla Staudigl-Ciechowicz, "Zwischen Aufbegehren und Unterwerfung. Politik und Hochschulrecht 1848-1945", in *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft. 650 Jahre Universität Wien. Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer (Wien: Vienna University Press, 2015), 429-460, Johannes Feichtinger, "Die verletzte Autonomie Wissenschaft und ihre Struktur in Wien 1848-1938", in *Universität – Forschung – Lehre. Themen und Perspektiven im langen 20. Jahrhundert. 650 Jahre Universität Wien. Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, ed. Friedrich Stadler (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2015), 261-292, Aichner and Mazohl, *The Thun-Hohenstein*.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Neuloh and Walter Rüegg, ed., *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien und Materialien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975).

<sup>6</sup> Roman Lustig, *Das vormärzliche österreichische Hochschulwesen im Spiegel des zeitgenössischen sowie des neoabsolutistischen publizierten Schrifttums: Beurteilungen und Reformvorschläge aus den Jahren 1815 bis 1855/56*, Diploma Thesis (Wien, 1997). Surman's 2012 PhD thesis was published as Surman, *Universities*. Josef Hochgerner, *Studenten in Bewegung: österreichische Studentengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Studium und Wissenschaftsentwicklung im Habsburgerreich: Studentengeschichte seit der Gründung der Universität Wien bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Wien: Ed. ÖH, 1983).

## 2. The struggle for the freedom of student associations in an autonomous state university 1848 until 1918

### 2.1. 1848 – Revolution and myth

Until 1848, the student body was controlled by the corporation university. It remained a passive collective, apart from short-term periods due to the military operations against the Ottomans and during the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>7</sup>

The constitution of the student body into a university association and thus its control by the university organs, as well as the intensified domestic political repression and censorship under Metternich after 1815, guaranteed for the time of *Vormärz* an ostensibly apolitical and system-loyal student body. The national aspirations within the German student body in the course of the wars of liberation against Napoleon and shortly afterwards (foundation of the first student fraternity called *Burschenschaft* in Jena in 1815, the first Wartburg Festival in 1817) also had an impact in Austria. For example, short-lived fraternities were founded at Austrian universities after 1816. The later German nationalist student historical research attributed an excessive importance to these fraternities as the initiators of the March Revolution in Vienna.<sup>8</sup>

The eruptive power with which all three university-based groups – students, doctors, and professors – transformed themselves into one revolutionary collective in 1848 manifested itself in the *Akademische Legion* (military Academic Legion) and the Student Committee. They were, among others groups, *de facto* decision-makers. This explains the myth of the “student and doctor revolution” which was either glorified or condemned in the literature and which had an impact beyond the end of the monarchy.<sup>9</sup> This revolutionary spark also mobilised students from all other existing universities, albeit with varying intensity and duration, and in some cases with nationalist goals as well (Budapest, Bologna, Padua, Krakow). Only the absolutely dynasty-loyal University of Innsbruck proved atypical, whose academic military company took part in the defence of the country’s borders against the revolutionary Italians.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Gall, *Alma Mater Rudolphina*, 139-163.

<sup>8</sup> Max Doblinger, *Geschichte und Mitgliedsverzeichnis burschenschaftlicher Verbindungen in Alt-Österreich und Tübingen 1816-1936* (Heidelberg, 1940).

<sup>9</sup> Gernot Stimmer, “Die Mythologisierung der Revolution von 1848 als Modell einer Studentenrevolution”, in *Student und Hochschule*, 243-302, Gernot Stimmer, “‘Alles bewilligt!’. Die Wiener Studenten im Mai 1848”, in *1818: Revolution in Österreich*, ed. Ernst Bruckmüller and Wolfgang Häusler (Wien: ÖBV & HTP, 1999), 55-69.

<sup>10</sup> Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 139-154.

After the suppression of the revolution in October 1848, the neo-absolutist monarchy felt compelled to introduce fundamental university reforms, which were based on the principles of freedom of teaching and learning, but did not establish a pure state institution in the sense of the Humboldt's university model. The full implementation of the "Professors' University" therefore only took place with the rise of political liberalism and the constitutional transformation of the monarchy from 1873 onwards. This new liberalism also allowed the creation of student associations of all kinds, which were still forbidden under neo-absolutism. The dramatic phase of the transformation of the Catholic corporate university into a state university thus took place between 1849 and 1873. This transformation, was, however, ignored by the university historiography of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or treated in a polemical manner, depending on the ideological-political position of the authors. This can be explained by the fierce fight between Catholic conservatives and liberals, especially in Vienna, both in public and on academic ground. The first ones fought against the dismantling of the of the Catholic corporate university's structures while the latter welcomed the transformation of universities into state institutions.<sup>11</sup>

The dispute was especially fierce around the question of the role of doctoral colleges, which were fully integrated alongside the professorial colleges at the universities of Vienna and Prague, even after 1849. The problem of the participation of doctors working in their (civil or state) academic professions in teaching and research more generally divided liberal society for years. The conservative Catholic side therefore operated with the argument that the old corporate order defended the status of the students integrated into the university, while the liberals, on the other hand, vehemently united with the professors against the "Catholic" character of the university and for the students' freedom of association.<sup>12</sup>

The literary and academic debate about the role of the student body as an independent collective actor in the revolutionary year of 1848 was comparable to this strongly ideological debate about university reform after

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<sup>11</sup> Kink, *Geschichte*, Joseph Rit. v. Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, 3 vols. (Wien: Verlag der K. K. Universität, 1865-1877), Schrauf, *Geschichte*.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Schrauf, Corporation oder Staatslehranstalt? Wien 1901, Oskar Scheuer, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Deutschen Studententums in Österreich mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Universität Wien von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart*, (Wien: 1910), 192-200; Die Lesevereine der deutschen Hochschüler an der Wiener Universität, (Wien 1912); Franz Gall, "Die Doktorenkollegien der vier Fakultäten an der Wiener Universität (1849-1873)", in *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien und Materialien*, ed. Otto Neuloh and Walter Rüegg (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 47-62. Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina* 88-89.

1849. Many (fugitive) key actors and other contemporary witnesses flooded the book market with their publications. These publications on the student revolution can be classified either as a justificatory literature or as critical-conservative counter-accounts. The contemporary historiography did not succeed in producing a more objective account of the revolution and its main protagonists. Even the fiftieth commemoration year of the revolution did not provide an opportunity for comprehensive and distanced representations of the revolution and its actors.<sup>13</sup> At that time, in addition to the student associations, the political party groups that were forming were already appropriating the content and symbolism of the 1848 revolution in the sense of their respective ideological orientations. This contributed to the new polarisation of the topic. Fifty years after the revolution, its ideological legacy was divided between the liberals, who still defended the achievements of the democratic constitutional state, the German nationalist camp, which celebrated 1848 only as a “German revolution against the Habsburg dynasty”, and a socialist interpretation of history, which primarily glorified the role of the working class in solidarity with the students. For the Catholic-conservative camp, the year 1848 had only negative connotations, a position that was maintained even in the centenary year.<sup>14</sup> The historical portrayal of the revolution and its actors was influenced by the biography of the authors and their social-political careers, even decades after the event, as can be illustrated by two publications. The German liberal journalist and *Reichsrat* deputy Heinrich Reschauer and the member of the Academic Legion, exile, and writer Moritz Smets defended political liberalism through their analysis of 1848. On the contrary, Josef Freiherr von Helfert – who was Under-Secretary of State in 1848, Minister of Education in 1860, and later founder of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research and President of the Catholic Leo Society – expressed in his book a clear Catholic-conservative reaction to the revolution. The University of Vienna also avoided paying tribute by turning the revolutionary year 1848 into the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the emperor’s throne.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Hubert Lengauer, “Hab Acht vor dem Menschenbild! Zur Leitliteratur der österreichischen Revolution im Jahre 1848”, in: *1848 Revolution in Österreich*, ed. Ernst Bruckmüller and Wolfgang Häusler (Wien: öbvethpt Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 72-73.

<sup>14</sup> Stimmer, “Alles bewilligt”, 67, Heinrich Drimmel, “Albert Ehrhard und seine Studenten in Wien um 1900”, in *Miscellanea IV aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Institut der Kath.-Theol. Fakultät Wien* (Wien, 1976).

<sup>15</sup> Heinrich Reschauer and Moritz Smets, *Das Jahr 1848* (Wien: Waldheim, 1876), Joseph Alexander von Helfert, *Geschichte der österreichischen Revolution: im Zusammenhange mit der mitteleuropäischen Bewegung der Jahre 1848-1849* (Freiburg i. Br. and Wien: Herder, 1907-1909). See for a more detailed analysis, Katharina Kniefacz and Herbert Posch, “Selbstdarstel-

## 2.2. The colour-bearing “duelling” fraternity as an ideal type of student association. Plurality and polarisation

With the constitutional anchoring of freedom of association and assembly in 1867, the German colour-bearing and “*schlagende*” (“fencing/duelling”)<sup>16</sup> type of corporation became the basic model of social and political association in the Austrian student body. Within a few decades, the prefiguration of supranational and interconfessional student “clubs” as well as “reading and speaking halls” led to the reception of the entire range of corporation types already existing in Germany, such as the *Burschenschaften*, *Landsmannschaften*, and *Corps*. The success of this type of student corporations laid in the integrative power of the highly personalised lifetime friendship association with only a few dozen members at a time, hierarchised into *Fuxen* (probatory members), active and non-active *Burschen* (full members), and supported by the *Alt-Herrenverband* (old men’s association) of already professionally established past active members.

With the fusion of the individual types of corporations into umbrella organisations within the Austrian monarchy, which were integrated into the German unions after the First World War, student organisations emerged with thousands of members, divided in many local associations, which could offer social and professional support to the member. In addition, the corporation model also had an effect on the student body of secondary schools, where *Pennalien* (high school fraternities) of a German-liberal, German-national or Catholic orientation were created and emerged as independent general associations after 1918.<sup>17</sup> This structural uniformity of the corporation model was contrasted by rapid ideological-political differentiation and polarisation, which, however, did not detract from its unrivalled attractiveness. The division of the student fraternities ran along the (partly overlapping) positions of anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, anti-liberalism/anti-socialism, and anti-Slavism.<sup>18</sup>

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lung mit Geschichte. Traditionen, Memorial- und Jubiläumskultur der Universität Wien”, in *Universität – Forschung – Lehre*, 381-410.

<sup>16</sup> The term “*schlagende*” means fraternities with regularly ritualized fencing with saber and a “satisfaction principle”. For an English-speaking study of the German case, see Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, *Dueling Students. Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities. 1890-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 114, Gernot Stimmer, *Eliten in Österreich: 1848-1970* (Wien: Böhlau, 1997), 117-144.

<sup>18</sup> Kurt Knoll, *Die Geschichte der wehrhaften Vereine deutscher Studenten in der Ostmark von den anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Wien: Selbstverlag der Schlesischen Akad. Landsmannschaft Oppavia, 1924), 275-300, 319-320, 385, Kurt Knoll, *Die Geschichte der schlesischen ak-*

The appeal of the emphatically male-military, national, colour-bearing student, with its code of honour borrowed from the officer corps, also extended to the non-German students at the universities and colleges of Cisleithania. In Hungary, Poland, and the Baltic states, students also organised themselves into comparable male associations, and aimed at being recognised as equals by the German corporations.<sup>19</sup> This motive also applied to Jewish students, who were increasingly excluded from the German majority, and who partly joined together to form nationally liberal corporations or Jewish-national (Zionist) fraternities, both adopting the ritualised fencing and satisfaction principle.<sup>20</sup> The Catholic fraternities, promoted by the Catholic Church, also adopted the German student model with all of its rituals, with the exception of fencing and the satisfaction principle, in accordance with the general Catholic ban of the duel.<sup>21</sup>

The corporation being socially recognised as the main form of student association, its members claimed to represent the student body as a whole at university level vis-à-vis the academic authorities. This representative aspiration manifested itself in the struggle for the right to parade and to appear wearing one's corporation's specific colours at academic events and inside of the university. The members of corporations were quantitatively minoritarian within the student body (at most 7% of all German students). However, the majority of non-incorporated student groups (called *Finkenschaft*) receded com-

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ademischen Landsmannschaft „Oppavia“ in Wien im Rahmen der *allgemeinen studentischen Entwicklung an den Wiener Hochschulen.*, 2 vols. (Wien: Eigenverlag, 1923-1924), 230-234, Scheuer, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung*, 317.

The subordination of academic rationality to current German nationalist slogans already in the Monarchy is very aptly portrayed by Alexander Graf 2015 in his analysis of the typical German nationalist academic milieu. See Alexander Graf, *„Los von Rom“ und „heim ins Reich“. Das deutschnationale Akademikermilieu an den cisleithanischen Hochschulen der Habsburgermonarchie 1859-1914* (Münster: LIT Verl, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> „Ungarn“, *Acta Studentica* (Doppelfolge 198/199, 47. Jg., Wien: Dezember 2016), 14-18; *Acta Studentica* (Folge 219, 52. Jg.), 4-13. Harald Seewann, „Die baltischen studentischen Zusammenschlüsse in Graz. Eine Dokumentation“, in *Schriftenreihe des Steirischen Studentenhistoriker-Vereins* (Graz, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> F. Roubicek, *Von Basel bis Czernowitz. Die jüdisch-akademischen Studentenverbindungen in Europa*, in: *Beiträge zur österreichischen Studentengeschichte ed. Österreichischer Verein für Studentengeschichte*, Vol. 12, Wien 186; Harald Seewann, *Zirkel und Zionsstern. Bilder und Dokumente aus der versunkenen Welt des jüdisch-nationalen Korporationswesens. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zionismus auf akademischem Boden*, 10 vols. (Graz: Eigenverlag H. Seewann, 1990-2017).

<sup>21</sup> Paulgerhard Gladen, *Gaudeamus igitur. Die studentischen Verbindungen einst und jetzt* (Köln: Parkland Verlag, 2001), 30. Stich, Ignaz. *Die katholisch-österreichischen Studenten-Verbindungen „Austria“ und „Rudolfina“ in Wien: ihr Wesen und ihre Ziele*. Wien, 1899. 16-19.

pletely into the background. These groups organised themselves in alternative Catholic, liberal or socialist associations, with varying degrees of rejection of the corporation principle. A particularly effective alternative form was the German *Jugendbewegung* (youth movement), under whose influence student *Jugendbünde* (friendship youth associations) were formed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in conscious rejection of the corporative model. They very quickly merged along the general ideological dividing lines into national, Catholic, socialist, Zionist and other individual associations.<sup>22</sup> The organisational exclusion also applied to female students, who were admitted to academic studies relatively late in the Habsburg monarchy (1887, full equality in 1897), but then until 1938 accounted for up to 25% of students in some cases. They organised themselves in partly equal student youth associations, for example in the Catholic youth movement Neuland or in socialist-communist student associations.<sup>23</sup>

The last decades of the monarchy saw the emergence of more violent conflicts, not only in literary and verbal forms. The German nationalist corporations primarily formed the militant spearhead against the “recatholicisation” or the “Judaisation” and “Slavization” (in the conflict between the German and the Czech universities of Prague) of the universities. More generally, the entire student body was highly mobilised around 1900 and students confronted each other over many political conflicts related to the dynasty, the existence of the dual monarchy, the Catholic Church and certain student minorities (Jews, Czechs, Italians). These oppositions led to street fights between students as well as against the police and the military.<sup>24</sup>

### 2.3. The “Couleurstudent” in the mirror of the student historiography

The contemporaries of this process of development and differentiation of student associations between 1859 and 1918 presented and documented it in numerous publications. These consisted for the most part of individual accounts on specific corporations and associations. They provided precisely

<sup>22</sup> Werner Kindt, *Die deutsche Jugendbewegung 1920-1933. Die bündische Zeit. Quellen-schriften ed. on behalf of „Gemeinschaftswerkes Archiv und Dokumentation der Jugendbewe-gung* (Düsseldorf:1974),1264,1269,1276, 1272, 1404-1407.

<sup>23</sup> Scheu, Friedrich. *Ein Band der Freundschaft: Schwarzwald-Kreis und Entstehung der Vereinigung Sozialistischer Mittelschüler* (Wien: Böhlau, 1985), 17-24, Gerhard D. Seewann, *Österreichische Jugendbewegung: 1900-1938: die Entstehung der Deutschen Jugendbewegung in Österreich-Ungarn 1900 bis 1914 und die Fortsetzung in ihrem katholischen Zweig «Bund Neuland» von 1918 bis 1938*, 2 vols., (Graz: Dipa Verlag, 1974).

<sup>24</sup> Stimmer, “Mythologisierung”, 288-291, Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 185-186.



researched facts, but were far from being objective historical studies. The increasingly violent opposition to the monarchy, the state, and the Catholic Church reinforced this subjective portrayal in the various student journals and in the general the press.

Professional historical research in this period deliberately ignored any critical treatment of the university and of the student body. The German nationalist mainstream focused specifically on defending the “German character” of the university. This is abundantly illustrated in the development of the Academic Association of German Historians, constituted within the History Department of the University of Vienna in 1889.<sup>25</sup> Officially founded to “deepen historical studies” in the form of non-academic events, it was in fact dedicated to exclude Slaves, Czechs, and Jews from the Austrian historical research. By 1911 at the latest it had transformed itself into a clearly anti-Semitic instrument of intervention, adopting corporate organisational elements (*de facto* “aryanisation statute”). From 1930 it turned seamlessly towards the National Socialist ideology.

Against this ideologised history, serious historical research and findings, such as those of the *Interdisziplinäre Zeitschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (*Interdisciplinary Journal of Social and Economic History*) founded by Carl Grünberg and Ludo Hartmann in 1893, found no resonance.<sup>26</sup> In general, the academic representatives of history and the humanities at the German universities of Cisleithania took sides with the German-national student groups. This applies to an even greater extent to the historiography of the First Republic, which was fully committed to all-German unity. It was not until the later historiography of the Second Republic that this phase of violent protests was analysed more precisely, but rather under the aspect of the general nationality struggle in the Dual Monarchy.<sup>27</sup>

The journals that emerged with the formation of student fraternities can be seen as a partial substitute for the lack of university research on student history, such as the *Alma Mater* in Vienna, which was only published for a few years (1876-1880), or the equally short-lived *Deutsche Hochschule, Organ der Deutschen Studentenschaft* (*German University, Organ of the German Student Community*) in Prague (1882-1886). In contrast, the journals publis-

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Winkelbauer, *Das Fach Geschichte an der Universität Wien. Von den Anfängen um 1500 bis etwa 1975* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, Vienna University Press, 2018).

<sup>26</sup> Winkelbauer, *Das Fach*, 151- 159, 208-212.

<sup>27</sup> From a Hungarian socialist point of view, see: Imre Gonda and Emil Niederhauser, *Die Habsburger ein europäisches Phänomen* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1978), trans. in German Heribert Thierry, (Wien: Verlag Kremayr & Scherian, 1983), 198-302.

hed by the student associations had much longer publication periods. They claimed to address student and academic affairs and problems in a scholarly manner, but each from the perspective of their ideological communities.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, new perspectives were offered at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Oskar Scheuer's comprehensive essay on the development of German student life in Austria, focusing on the University of Vienna, appeared in 1910. The book by Friedrich Schulze and Paul Ssymank on the student life of the whole German-speaking area was published the same year. All three authors were experts in student historiography without being academic historians. They were at the same time atypical for the dominant German nationalist corporate milieu. Oskar Scheuer was a Jewish physician, member of a German liberal *Burschenschaft* (including Jewish students), and fought against the anti-Semitism of the German fraternities until his death in the Lodz ghetto in 1941. Friedrich Schulze (museum director) and Paul Ssymank (high school professor, lecturer in student history) were both active in the non-incorporated *Frei-student* ("free student") movement. The student history library they had compiled was transferred in 1939 to the *Institut für Hochschulkunde* (Institute for Higher learning research) of the University of Würzburg.<sup>29</sup> These early studies remained exceptions in the historiographical landscape for many decades.

<sup>28</sup> Stimmer, *Eliten*, Vol. II, 1102-1103. See the journals *Alma mater* (Vienna, 1876-1880); *Deutsche Hochschule. Organ der Deutschen Studentenschaft* (Prague, 1882-1886), *Die Wartburg. Zeitschrift für den ostmärkischen Burschenschaftler* (Vienna, 1891-1918), *Burschenschaftliche Blätter: Monatszeitschrift für den deutschen Burschenschaftler*, ed. by Deutsche Burschenschaft und Vereinigung Alter Burschenschaftler, (Berlin, 1887- 1940), *Der Kyffhäuser. Zeitschrift für die wehrhaften Vereine deutscher Studenten in der Ostmark und ihre Alten-Herren* (Vienna, 1906-1915), *Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte* (Wien, 1883-1902), *Deutsche Hochschulstimmen aus der Ostmark* (Vienna, 1909-1918) continued as *Deutsche Hochschulzeitung* later *Deutsche Akademiker-Zeitung*, *Deutsche Hochschule. Blätter für deutschnationale freisinnige Farbenstudenten in Österreich* (Vienna, 1919-1922) continued as *Deutsche Hochschule. Zeitschrift des Burschenbunds-Convents (B.C.) Verbandes paritätischer Korporationen und der deutschnational-freiheitlichen Studentenschaft*, *Academia. Monatszeitschrift des C.V. der katholisch-deutschen Studentenverbindungen* (Munich, 1917-1933); *Neue Jugend (Neuland)*, ed. by Bund Neuland, *Bund katholischer Jugendbewegung in Österreich* (Vienna, 1919-1938), *Der freie Student. Organ der sozialistischen Studenten- und Akademikervereinigungen Deutschlands und Österreichs* (Vienna, 1923-1924), *Der rote Student*, ed. by Reichsverband freier sozialistischer Studenten (Berlin, 1930-1931).

<sup>29</sup> Oskar Scheuer, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des deutschen Studententums in Österreich* (Wien: Beyer, 1910); Friedrich Schulze and Paul Ssymank, *Das deutsche Studententum von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1910, 4th ed. München: Verlag für Hochschulkunde, 1932). Harald Seewann, "Dem Andenken des Studentenhistorikers Dr. Oskar Scheuer", *Einst und jetzt! Jahrbuch des Vereins für corpsstudentische Geschichtsforschung* 33 (1988), 239-242, Friedhelm Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon zur Studenten- und Hochschulgeschichte* (Köln: SH-Verlag, 2004), Schulze and Ssymank, *Das deutsche*, 302-303, 313-318.

### 3. The First Republic (1918-1938)

#### 3.1. From democratic student representation to racially selected corporate duopoly 1918-1933

The First World War was euphorically welcomed in Austria by the Austrian-German nationalist students in the perspective of a close and lasting connection with the German Empire. After 1918, the conditions for universities and students in the now Republic of Austria changed dramatically. The three universities of Vienna, Graz, and Innsbruck, the Faculty of Theology in Salzburg, the Technical Universities in Vienna, Graz, and Leoben, the University of Veterinary Medicine, the *Hochschule für Bodenkultur* (College of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences) and the *Hochschule für Welthandel* (College of World Trade), and the art academies counted a total of 20,095 students in 1919/1920 and 19,769 in 1935/36. In all these institutions, the representative strength of the student corporations transformed into a quasi-monopoly. During the First Republic, more than 140 corporations represented over 40% of the male student body (a proportion comparable to the 60% to 70% at German universities). Including the associations of non-incorporated students and of female students, about 75% of the German-speaking student body was organised in ideologically closed associations.<sup>30</sup> On the political and university level, the German national corporations dominated even more strongly, now in close cooperation with the Catholic corporations, the latter being considerably strengthened by the rise of the Christian Social Party, which became the permanent governing party until 1933.

The student body as a collective actor has become polarised in the tension between its position within the university (defined by the student law) and its role in society and politics. This duality, which was already conflict-ridden in the monarchy, came to a dramatic end in the First Republic when the dominant Catholic-German nationalist corporations, in close alliance with large parts of the professoriate, pushed through an unconstitutional racial-biological student law against the democratic representative student chamber elected in 1919. After the official dissolution of the elected "Aryan" student body in 1933 due to the threat of a National Socialist takeover, there was a brief interlude followed between 1934 and 1938 by the *Österreichische Hochschülerschaft*. This Union of Austrian Students was divided into student councils and led by official administrators. However, its civic education

<sup>30</sup> Stimmer, *Eliten*, vol. I, 483-485, Gladen, *Gaudeamus Igitur*, 43-44.

mission, combined with compulsory patriotic lectures and military exercises, was largely sabotaged by the opposing national and socialist student groups. Finally, the annexation of Austria by the Third Reich in March 1938 meant the end of the university's previous autonomous status and the (partly voluntary) dissolution of all student associations and corporations in favour of a compulsory membership in a strictly "Aryan" *Deutsche Studentenschaft* (German Student Body) supervised by the National Socialist Student Association.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.2. The student body as a political actor in parliamentary democracy and in the *Ständestaat*

By the end of the Habsburg Empire several parliamentary party groupings had emerged. Three "camp parties" began to dominate the politics of the monarchy and then took the political control of the First Republic. After 1918, a process of political-organisational rapprochement with these parties led to a peak of student political activism. Although the traditional corporations had established themselves as an exclusive political and administrative elite potential, their members did not largely accept parliamentary democracy as such. They demonstrated their distance from the party system by turning to new, fundamentally anti-democratic, anti-parliamentary ideas of society and state through their student activism. This applied to an even greater extent to the non-incorporated students organised in alternative youth associations, who already opted for much more radical counter-designs of national, Catholic or communist provenance to the existing party state.

The high degree of politicisation of the student activism in the First Republic manifested itself in an increasing readiness for violence and did not exclude civil war scenarios, thus undermining the domestic political stability. The failure of parliamentary democracy in Austria, accompanied by two civil wars and the installation of a Christian-German *Ständestaat* ("Corporate State"), and finally the *Anschluss* to the National Socialist German Reich, formed the scenario in which the ideologically fragmented Austrian student body experienced the peak of political activity and at the same time pursued the end of its independent role as a political actor.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 89-91.

<sup>32</sup> Walter Höflechner, "Zur Geschichte der Universität Graz", in *Tradition und Herausforderung: 400 Jahre Universität Graz*, ed. Kurt Freisitzer, Walter Höflechner, Hans-Ludwig Holzer, and Wolfgang Mantl (Graz: Akad. Dr.- u. Verl.-Anst., 1985), 19-62, Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 91.

### 3.3. The complicity of the humanities and history

The self-image of historical scholarship that had already been established for the Monarchy, namely that Austrian historians «had to place themselves at the service of the political history»,<sup>33</sup> also applies to the phase of the First Republic. For instance, the dean of Austrian university historiography Heinrich Ritter von Srbik saw the task of the Austrian humanities and historical science as paving the way for an all-German conception of history.<sup>34</sup> This guiding goal of all-German unity also prompted specialists of student history to rethink historical events. In 1922, Graz historian Paul Molisch paid tribute to the merits of the Academic Legion in Vienna as a pioneer for the establishment of the constitution and the rule of law, without, however, referring to the high proportion of Jewish activists in 1848. During the same year, Molisch dealt with the German nationalist development at the German universities in Austria after 1848 in an essay that was extended in 1939 to all German universities during the period from 1848 to 1918. He also addressed the disputes before and after the German-Czech division of the Charles University in Prague (1882) from an all-German perspective, a position that did not disappear from German-speaking publications even long after 1945. Similar was the essay by Max Doblinger from the *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsschreibung* (Institute for Austrian historical research) and the *Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv* (Regional archive of Steiermark) on the special significance of early fraternities in the *Vormärz* period and their special contribution to the revolutions of 1848 in Vienna and Prague. The first edition appeared in 1936, the second with a co-author in 1940, both in National Socialist Germany.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Winkelbauer, *Das Lehrfach Geschichte*, 170.

<sup>34</sup> Ash and Ehmer, *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft*, 106.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Molisch, *Die Wiener akademische Legion und ihr Anteil an den Verfassungskämpfen des Jahres 1848*: (Wien: Hölzler, 1922); Paul Molisch, *Die deutschen Hochschulen in Österreich und die politisch-nationale Entwicklung nach dem Jahre 1848* (München: Drei Masken Verl., 1922); Paul Molisch, *Politische Geschichte der deutschen Hochschulen in Österreich von 1848 bis 1918* (Wien: Braumüller, 1939). Furthermore: Max Doblinger, “Der burschenschaftliche Gedanke auf Österreichs Hochschulen vor 1859”, in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, vol. 8, ed. Paul Wentzke (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925), Doblinger, *Geschichte. On the University of Prague*, see Wolfgang von Wolmar, *Prag und das Reich: 600 Jahre Kampf deutscher Studenten* (Dresden: Müller, 1943). For post-World War II publications, see: *Die Universität zu Prag* (München: Sudetendeutscher-Verlag, 1986) and Ferdinand Selbst, ed., *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1982 und die intellektuelle Desintegration der böhmischen Länder* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag 1984), quoted by: Lukas Fasora-Jiri Hanús, “University History of the Czech Republic”, in *CIAN-Revista de la historia de las Universidades*, 17, no. 1 (June 2017): 46.

These essays on the history of student life sometimes met academic standards in terms of methodology and source material, but must be seen in the light of an emerging ideological reinterpretation of the 1848 revolution. As large portions of the student body and professors turned away from the aims of the bourgeois revolution of 1848 in favour of alternative authoritarian-dictatorial concepts of state and society, the phenomenon of the revolution was also being relativised in the historical and social sciences in Germany as well as in Austria. Its ideas were explained as an expression of an anomaly of the “crazy year” of 1848 that did not correspond to the German understanding of the people and the state.<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, the demarcation against “un-German” influences within the academic teaching body was becoming much more aggressive. Interdisciplinary informal networks and associations undermined the legally regulated habilitation theses and appointment norms by ensuring in their own sphere of influence a complete prevention of non-affiliated ideologically appointments to the highest academic positions, habilitation theses or research work.<sup>37</sup> In close connection with the German National Catholic corporate groups, the professors also became involved at the political level. The type of “political professor” was strongly represented above all in the humanities and history, partly as politician in the parliamentary system, but also increasingly as an intellectual pioneer of alternative authoritarian and antidemocratic social concepts.<sup>38</sup> The Catholic student-academic intelligentsia in particular developed a philosophically and historically legitimised Catholic imperial ideology, which ultimately led to fascination with the Third Reich. This intellectual radicalisation very quickly turned into violent actions on the part of a polarised student body. This initially took place in various para-military formations, such as the *Heimatschutz* and the *Heimwehr*. From 1930 students became active in the legal (and then from 1934 illegal) National Socialist party and its combat formations. After the banishment of their party, the socialist student organisations turned in the likewise illegal socialist-communist opposition.

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<sup>36</sup> Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1848 „Das tolle Jahr“ *Chronologie einer Revolution* (24.9.29.11.1998), also Valentin Veit (German historian from 1918 left-liberal MP), *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-1849*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1930-1931, Reprint: Weinheim: Beltz Quadriga, 1998), Stimmer, “Alles bewilligt”, 67.

<sup>37</sup> These conspiracies were not scientifically investigated until: Winkelbauer, *Das Fach*, 180-183; Ash and Ehmer, *Universität- Politik-Gesellschaft*, 73-85.

<sup>38</sup> Johannes Feichtinger, “Die verletzte Autonomie. Wissenschaft und ihre Struktur in Wien 1848 bis 1938”, in *650 Jahre Universität Wien-Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert Vol. 1*, ed. Kastharina Kniefacz, Elisabeth Nemeth and Friedrich Stadler (Wien: Vienna University Press 2015), 282.

In contrast, the officials and executives of the *Ständestaat* (1934-1938) and its political organisations were recruited from the Catholic corporations.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4. The socio-cultural profile of the student body 1857-1938

For a better understanding of the effectiveness of the radical positions that determined and polarised the academic life of the Monarchy and the First Republic, some empirical key data of the student body of this period is presented in an appendix (see Table 1).<sup>40</sup> Based on this statistical material, three long-term trends can be distinguished.

##### 4.1. The liberal educational society

After an initially slow, then rapid increase in the number of students, the universities and colleges of the Monarchy (from 1867 Cisleithania and Hungary) had in 1910 the highest proportion of students per capita in the world. This trend continued after 1918, culminating in 1929-30 with 39 students per 10,000 inhabitants (compared to 24 in France and 16 in Germany). It was only during the Great Depression that the number of students dropped

<sup>39</sup> Klaus Breuning, *Die Vision des Reiches. Deutscher Katholizismus zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur (1929-1934)* (München: Hueber, 1969), 19, 34-38, 82-98; Stimmer, *Eliten*, vol. 2, 530-532, 823-843.

<sup>40</sup> All quoted figures in the table are based on: Gustav Otruba, "Die Universitäten in der Hochschulorganisation der Donaumonarchie- nationale Erziehungsstätten im Vielvölkerreich 1850 bis 1914", in *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert*, 75-158; Hans Sperl, "Die Gliederung der Deutschen Studentenschaft an den Hochschulen Österreichs und der Sudetenländer", in *Das akademische Deutschland*, Bd 3 (Berlin: 1930), 349-358. *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich*, ed. by Bundesamt für Statistik, Jg II- Jg XVI (Wien: 1920-1937); Hugo Frh v. Haan, *Statistische Streiflichter zur österreichischen Hochschulfrequenz mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des nationalen Moments* (Wien: Manzschke k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- u. Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1917), 5-41; Schriften der Fichte-Vereinigung für Österreich X. Jg. (1920), 8-12; Universitäts-Quästur Wien, Z.533 aus 1926/27, vom 01. Juli 1927, zwei Ausweise über Volkszugehörigkeit; Kurt Bauer, "Schlagring Nr. 1 Antisemitische Gewalt an der Universität Wien von den 1870-er bis in die 1930er Jahre", in *Alma mater Antisemitica. Akademisches Milieu, Juden und Antisemitismus an den Universitäten Europas zwischen 1918 und 1939*, ed. Regina Fritz, Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, and Jana Starek (Wien: New academic press, 2016), 152. Klaus Taschwer, *Hochburg des Antisemitismus: der Niedergang der Universität Wien im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Czernin, 2015), 41, 68; Gary B. Cohen, "Expansion and the Limits of Inclusion. The Students of the Vienna University 1860-1914", in *Universität- Politik-Gesellschaft. 650 Jahre Universität Wien*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2015), 510-513.

significantly until the end of the First Republic.<sup>41</sup> However, the course is very asymmetrical between the institutions in the big cities of Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and Lemberg, and the “provincial universities” of Graz, Innsbruck, Czernowitz, Krakow, Klausenburg, Agram, and, after 1918, between Vienna and the “Alpine universities” of Graz, Leoben and Innsbruck.

#### 4.2. The threat to the “German character” of the universities

The demand for the preservation of the “German university”, raised by German nationalist students and professors since the university reform of 1873, loses all possible justification in a long-term comparison of students between 1857 and 1938. Measured by native language, the German-speaking proportion at the universities of Vienna, Graz, and Innsbruck oscillated between 44% and 73% and even remained at 40% in Czernowitz in 1914. In Prague, after the German-Czech division of the technical college in 1879 and of the university in 1882, the respective national language share reached over 90%. In Lemberg and Krakow the Polish-Ruthenian language group dominated, in Budapest and Klausenburg the Hungarian one. During the First Republic, the proportion of German speakers generally increased to 80%-90% at universities and colleges, with the exception of the multinational character of the *Hochschule für Welthandel* (College for world commerce) in Vienna.

#### 4.3. The “Jewish question”

Closely connected with the postulate of the German university is the constant polemic against its “Judaisation”. Measured by confession, the long-term table shows a clear increase of the number of Jewish students at the Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Krakow, Lemberg, and Czernowitz higher learning institutions. Between 1870 and 1900, peak proportions of 30% to 60% in certain fields of study (law, medicine, technology) were reached in Vienna and Prague. This increased led to fierce reactions from students and, in some cases, professors. Due to the wave of refugees to Vienna in the aftermath of the First World War, a new peak of 42% was reached in 1917/18, which did not decline until after 1928/29. On the contrary, Jews represented before 1918 sometimes even less than 1% of all students in Graz, Leoben, and Innsbruck.

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<sup>41</sup> Haan, *Statistische Streiflichter zur österreichischen Hochschulfrequenz mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des nationalen Moments*, 15



In relation to the minimum proportion of the total population (4.4% in 1910), the overrepresentation of Jewish students at the universities and technical colleges of the Monarchy as a whole thus increased significantly from 8%-9% in 1867 to 17%-20% in 1910, and reached an overall average of 16.2%. This strategy of achieving emancipation and participation through the “*Bildungspatent*” (educational patent) was, however, also successfully implemented by all the other competing groups, all of which had student quotas exceeding their respective linguistic share in the total population. In the allocation to the nine language groups, the Jewish students recorded according to their confession appear in the language group they themselves indicate.

### 5. *The historiography of the student body in the Second Republic. The owl of the Minerva*

To use Hegel’s owl metaphor: it took almost a hundred years to subject the “century of ideologies” between 1848 and 1938 to proper historiographical scrutiny and evaluation.

#### 5.1. The “rediscovery” of the Austrian revolution of 1848

Early works on Austrian students during the revolution of 1848 included Julius Marx’s survey of the personnel structure of the Academic Legion as early as 1969, on which Gernot Stimmer’s analysis of the Legion’s officer corps in 1975 was based. The Graz Academic Legion was surveyed by Harald Seewann in 1983. Furthermore, the social causes of the revolution have been studied by Wolfgang Häusler in 1979.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, it was not until its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1998 that a broad scholarly account considering the revolution of 1848 as the first appearance of students as a collective actor in its most diverse aspects took place. This new consideration of the student role in 1848 was made possible by the contribution of Wolfgang Häusler, the dean of the history of the Austrian revolution. In 1999, as a member of the Institute for Austrian His-

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<sup>42</sup> Julius Marx, *Die Anfänge der Wiener akademischen Legion und ihr Offizierskorps 1848* (Wien: Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs Vol. 21, 1969), 165-213; Stimmer, “Die Mythologisierung”, 243-302, Julius Marx, *Die wirtschaftlichen Ursachen der Revolution von 1848* (Graz-Köln: Böhlau, 1965). Häusler, Wolfgang, *Von der Massenarmut zur Arbeiterbewegung: Demokratie und soziale Frage in der Wiener Revolution von 1848* (Wien [et.al.]: Jugend u. Volk, 1979); further, Harald Seewann, *Für Licht und Wahrheit. Daten, Fakten und Unterlagen zur Chronik der Grazer Akademischen Legion 1848* (Graz, 1983).

torical Research at the University of Vienna, Häusler published together with Ernst Bruckmüller the collective book *1848: Revolution in Austria*, in which, among the ten individual contributions, three specifically addressed the role of students.<sup>43</sup> The “rediscovery of the bourgeois revolution” was complemented by a special exhibition of the Historical Museum of the city of Vienna and the Austrian State Archive in the commemorative year 1998.<sup>44</sup>

## 5.2. The student associations and fraternities, 1859-1939

The impetus for research into the history of students and especially the history of corporations in the monarchy, the First Republic and the National Socialist Reich came from the corporation associations that re-emerged after 1945. The initiative came from the Austrian Association for Student History (ÖVfStG) founded in 1969 to research the history of Austria’s universities, colleges, their students and their organisations. However, the main focus laid in the history of the various corporate groups that emerged since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to publishing the quarterly journal *Acta Studentica* as well as the series *Beiträge zur österreichischen Studentengeschichte (Contributions to Austrian Student History)* and *Tradition und Zukunft (Tradition and Future)*, the ÖVfStG has organised the *Österreichische Studentenhistorikertagung (Austrian Student History Conference)* every two years since 1974. Since 1982, every second conference takes place together with the German and Swiss Student History Conferences. The association is supported at regional level by the Styrian Student Historians’ Association, founded in Graz in 1979, which publishes a series of publications on thematic topics.<sup>45</sup> Within this framework, Harald Seewann, among others, published many works on the corporation system in Austria and in Eastern Europe. His main work was dedicated to an outsider group, the national Jewish (Zionist) duelling associations in the monarchy and the First Republic, which he comprehensively presented in the series *Historia Academica Judaica* in ten parts between 1990 and 2017.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Ernst Bruckmüller and Wolfgang Häusler, ed., *1848 Revolution in Österreich*, see Wolfgang Häusler “Was kommt heraus mit kühnem Gange?” *Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Wiener Märzrevolution 1848*, 23-54; Stimmer, “Alles bewilligt”, *Die Wiener Studenten im Mai 1848*, 55-69; Waltraud Heindl, “Hoch, hoch an die Laterne”. *Aus dem Tagebuch der Wiener Oktoberrevolution*, 128-138.

<sup>44</sup> Lorenz Mikoletzky and Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, *Revolution- Revoluce- Rivoluzione- Forradalom 1848: Ausstellungskatalog 2. März - 31. August 1998* (Wien, 1998).

<sup>45</sup> *Acta Studentica*, “Nichts kommt von ungefähr...30 Jahre Steirischer Studentenhistoriker-Verein”, (F 170/ 40 Jg. Nov.2009), 6.

<sup>46</sup> Seewann, *Zirkel und Zionsstern*.

In 1967 the Österreichische Gesellschaft für die Erforschung der Studentengeschichte or *ÖGW* (Austrian Society for the Research of Student History) was founded in Vienna. It existed as a publishing house without its own research until 1994 and solely edited volumes on the history of fraternities. The *ÖGW*, which was in close connection with the archive of the University of Vienna since 1980 and included research results in the natural sciences and contemporary history, is also connected with the Society for University History in Germany, founded in 1995.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the corporations' umbrella organisations of the Second Republic are closely linked to one another in their student history work and have close relations with the umbrella organisations active in Germany and their respective historical research institutes. In contrast to the representations of the student historians of the monarchy, which only covered their respective corporation or association, the topics dealt within the framework of the student historians' conferences or in publications of the ÖVfStG is much broader and inter-corporate and certainly meet scientific standards. Antisemitism and resistance of students against the National Socialist regime are examples of topics relevant to all corporation groups. The long-term study – its first volume was published in 1988, the second in 2020 – *Farben tragen – Farbe bekennen 1938-1945: Katholische Korporierte in Widerstand und Verfolgung* includes over 400 biographies of members of the catholic student fraternities who were persecuted or died during the Nazi period.<sup>48</sup>

Although *Acta Studentica* also published research on the non-incorporated student body, the history of the *Freistudenten* or of the socialist-communist student associations was only peripherally covered. The Catholic youth movement received academic recognition in 1971 with Gerhard D. Seewann's two-volume dissertation on the Neuland association. The history of the socialist-communist student associations in the monarchy and the First Republic was the object of various publications, some of which appeared in the series edited by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for the History of the Labour Movement and others as dissertations, which appeared almost simultaneously in the 1970s.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> I am particularly grateful to Dr. Denk from the Archive of the University of Vienna for relevant information.

<sup>48</sup> Peter Krause and Herbert Fritz, ed., *Korporierte im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Tradition und Zukunft – Band III, Wien 1997). *Acta Studentica* (F.184/ 44, Jg. Juni 2013), 11. *Acta Studentica* (F 215 /51. Jg. Dezember 2020), 21.

<sup>49</sup> Seewann, *Österreichische Jugendbewegung*. Furthermore: Helge Zoitl, *Die Sozialistischen Studenten Österreichs, Vol. I, 189-1919* (Wien: 1975); Helge Zoitl, *Kampf um Gleichberechtigung*

The fragmentation of student history research in Austria since the 1960s through a multitude of private funds and institutions also applies to the self-representation of large corporate associations, in particular the Austrian Cartel Association (ÖCV). They have published thematically relevant works on their own educational institutions.<sup>50</sup> As a result, their subjects and research projects have also become the focus of professional academic historical research. Professional historians, however, needed an additional external impetus to make the theme of the university and the student body a stronger focus of their academic work. Comparable to the singular phenomenon of the 1848 revolution, the topic of the social role of the student body was only dealt with on a broad level through the commemorations of the foundation of the University of Vienna. Among the many publications, only the research results relevant to the specific research aspect of the students' collective role will be presented here in detail.

In the course of the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Vienna in 1965, official representations were entirely shaped by the student corporations. A critical debate on science and politics at Austrian universities and colleges began through the event "Symposion 600 – Gestaltung der Wirklichkeit" (Symposium 600 – Shaping Reality) of the Austrian Student Union, which was continued by the subsequent 1968 movement and found its expression in a broad spectrum of social science research projects and works. The already cited book by Franz Gall did not only describe the changes in the structures of the University of Vienna from a Catholic corporate university into a modern state institution, but

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*gung. Die Sozialdemokratische Studentenbewegung in Wien 1914-1925*, Diss. (Salzburg: 1976); Georg Tidl, *Schülerrätebewegung und Sozialistische Mittelschüler in Österreich 1918-1933*, PhD thesis (Wien, 1973); Marie Tidl, *Die Roten Studenten. Dokumente und Erinnerungen 1938-1945* (Wien: Europaverlag, 1976). Walter Göhring, *Der illegale kommunistische Jugendverband Österreichs*, PhD thesis (Wien, 1971). Wolfgang Neugebauer, *Bauvolk der kommenden Welt. Geschichte der sozialistischen Jugendbewegung in Österreich* (Wien: 1975). Wolfgang Speiser, *Die sozialistischen Studenten in Wien 1927-1938, Materialien zur Arbeiterbewegung* (Wien: Europaverlag, 1986). Friedrich Scheu, *Ein Band der Freundschaft. Schwarzwald-Kreis und Entstehung der Vereinigung Sozialistischer Mittelschüler* (Wien: 1985).

<sup>50</sup> Gerhard Popp, *Der Cartellverband der katholisch deutschen Studenten Verbindungen (CV) in Österreich 1864-1938. Organisation und Öffentlichkeitsentwicklung*, PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Wien, 1980); Gerhard Hartmann ed., *Der CV in Österreich, seine Entstehung, seine Geschichte, seine Bedeutung ÖCV Bildungsakademie* (Wien: 1977). Erich Leitner, *Politik und Hochschule, Der CV in der Steiermark 1918-1938*, Schriftenreihe der ÖCV Bildungsakademie, 2 (Wien: 1978), Robert Rehberger, *CV (Cartellverband) und Nationalsozialismus. Beitrag zur österreichischen und deutschen Studentengeschichte* (Wien, 1967), Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina, 182-185*, Maria Dippelreiter and Michael Dippelreiter, ed., "1968" in *Österreich: Aufbruch und Scheitern?* (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2018).

devoted for the first time special attention to the student body as a politically active collective in the university and society during this period.<sup>51</sup> This research methodology linking the university and the student body was also the basis of the still unsurpassed comprehensive accounts by Walter Höflechner, then head of the University Archive of Graz, from 1998 full professor of Austrian history. On the occasion of its 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Höflechner edited a commemorative publication on the history of the University of Graz from its foundation in 1685 to 1975, with a special focus on the political history of students between 1848 and 1938. In 1988, Höflechner presented a comprehensive essay on the history of higher education in Austria from 1815 to 1938, focusing on the universities of Vienna and Graz. This essay supplemented the preceding regional study on the Graz University's coming to terms with the past, a topic that was taken up again in 2020 by the University Archive.<sup>52</sup>

Michael Gehler published his standard works on the student body of the University of Innsbruck in 1987 and 1990. He examined specifically the corporations, a topic Andreas Bösche has taken up again in 2008.<sup>53</sup> The general political situation at the University of Innsbruck from 1933 was analysed as a contribution by the archivist of the university in a study on political purges at Austrian universities from 1934, published in 2017.<sup>54</sup> More generally, this phase of expulsion and exile was covered in an anthology by Christian Fleck and his colleagues in 2010.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 77-95, 172-192.

<sup>52</sup> Walter Höflechner, *Die Baumeister des künftigen Glücks. Fragment zur Geschichte des Hochschulwesens in Österreich vom Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts bis in das Jahr 1938* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1988). Verein kritische Sozialwissenschaft und politische Bildung, ed., *Grenzfeste deutscher Wissenschaft: über Faschismus und Vergangenheitsbewältigung an der Universität Graz* (Graz: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1985). Alois Kernbauer, *Der Nationalsozialismus im Mikrokosmos. Die Universität Graz 1938*, Publikationen aus dem Archiv der Universität Graz Vol. 48 (Graz: ADEVA, 2020). Walter Höflechner, "Zur Geschichte der Universität Graz", in *Tradition und Herausforderung; 400 Jahre Universität Graz*, ed. Kurt Freisitzer, Walter Höflechner, Hans-Ludwig Holzer and Wolfgang Mantl (Graz: 1985).

<sup>53</sup> Michael Gehler, *Die Studentenschaft an der Universität Innsbruck 1918-1938. Unter Berücksichtigung der Korporationen und ihrer Verbände*, PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Universität Innsbruck, 1987), in extended form: *Student und Politik. Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft an der Universität Innsbruck 1918-1938* (Innsbruck: Haymon-Verlag, 1990). Andreas Bösche, *Zwischen Kaiser Franz Josef und Schönerer. Über die Innsbrucker Studentenverbindungen* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2008).

<sup>54</sup> Peter Goller, "Die politische Lage an der Universität Innsbruck 2933/34-1938-1945/1950. Austrofaschismus-Nazismus-Restauration-Entnazifizierung", in *Säuberungen an österreichischen Hochschulen 1934-1945. Voraussetzungen, Prozesse, Folgen*, ed. Johannes Knoll (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2017).

<sup>55</sup> Christian Fleck, ed., *Vertriebene Wissenschaft* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2010).

The publications on the occasion of the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Innsbruck brought a significant expansion of student history research results. The three volumes on its history from 1669 to 2019 include, in addition to a multitude of other university-relevant topics, a series of often very short contributions on student history.<sup>56</sup> A series of specificities are underlined, such as South Tyrol after 1918 or the rural origins of the students, the strong position of Catholicism in the student body (Catholic fraternities and non-corporate associations) and professoriate until 1938, but also in the resistance against the Nazi regime. The *Ständestaat* regime occupied a special position at the University of Innsbruck, where it could count on much stronger support from students and professors than at other higher learning institutions. A great deal of space was given in the 2019 commemorative publications to articles on students after 1938 and during the war in the “German Alpine University” as well as after 1945. A special Innsbruck phenomenon was the “anti-Semitism without Jews”, i.e., a massive anti-Semitism at the university but a minimal number of Jewish students.

Since 2000, an increasing number of research papers and publications have also been devoted to anti-Semitism at the University of Vienna as a fundamental constant of Austrian society and especially at the university. In 2011, Andreas Huber, Katharina Kniewacz, and other historians edited an anthology on the responsibility of the University of Vienna for National Socialism. In 2013 was published a collective book supervised by Oliver Rathkolb on the permanent anti-Semitic current at the University of Vienna, in which Mitchell Ash specifically examined the situation and careers of Jewish academics, and, Klaus Taschwer presented his long-term study supported by empirical data on anti-Semitism during the Monarchy and the First Republic. An earlier publication by Herbert Posch and Friedrich Stadler was dedicated to the revocation of academic degrees at the University of Vienna between 1938 and 1945. A thematically comparable study was published in 2014 on the Vienna Faculty of Law, which specifically addressed the discrimination of Jewish and non-German students caused by the study law introduced after 1918.<sup>57</sup> The long-term effect of anti-Semitism was shown in the essay on

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<sup>56</sup> Margret Friedrich and Dirk Rupnow, eds., *Geschichte der Universität Innsbruck 1669-2019*, 3 vols. (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2019).

<sup>57</sup> Andreas Huber, Katharina Kniefacz, Alexander Krysl and Manés Weisskirchner, ed., *Universität und Disziplin- Geschichtswissenschaft, Migration-Exil- Kontinuität* (Wien: LIT Verlag 2011). Österreichische HochschülerInnenschaft – ÖH ed., *Österreichische Hochschulen im 20. Jahrhundert. Austrofaschismus, Nationalsozialismus und die Folgen* (Wien: facultas Verlag, 2013). Mitchell G. Ash, “Jüdische Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler an der Univer-

the humanities during National Socialism at the example of the University of Vienna by Mitchel Ash and others in 2010, and in the introductory texts on the social, economic and cultural history of the Second Republic in the years 1945-1955, published by the *Verein für Geschichte und Sozialkunde* in 2005. Finally, a private research institute, the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute, has conducted the first comparative study ever in Austria on the anti-Semitism of students at Austrian and European universities.<sup>58</sup>

Closely related to this topic is the emerging research on emigration and exile of professors and students. Already in 1981, Karin Körrer devoted her dissertation to the lives of the Vienna teaching staff who died between 1938 and 1945, including many who were dismissed or murdered for racial and political reasons.<sup>59</sup> Another pioneering works were *Vertriebene Intelligenz 1938* published by Kurt Mühlberger in 1993 and an exhibition catalogue by Peter Weibel and Friedrich Stadler on the academic exile from Austria after 1934.<sup>60</sup> More comprehensive research results were published in 2008 in the three-volume series titled *Displaced Reason, Emigration and Exile of Austrian Science 1930-1940*.<sup>61</sup>

This “memorial” challenge was also intensified in the course of the 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Vienna in the form of the four volumes

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sität Wien von der Monarchie bis nach 1945”. Stand der Forschung und offene Fragen,” in *Der lange Atem des Antisemitismus*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2013), 93-122. Klaus Taschner, *Hochburg des Antisemitismus. Der Niedergang der Universität Wien im 20. Jhr.* (Wien: Czernin Verlag, 2015). Herbert Posch and Friedrich Stadler, ed., “... eines akademischen Grades unwürdig“. *Nichtigerklärung und Aberkennung akademischer Grade zur Zeit des NS an der Universität Wien* (Wien: Druckerei Fiona, 2005). Thomas Olechowski, Tamara Ehs and Kamila Staudigl-Ciechowicz, *Die Wiener Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Fakultät 1918-1938* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014).

<sup>58</sup> Gernot Heiss, Siegfried Mattl, Sebastian Meisl, Edith Saurer and Karl Stuhlpfarrer, ed., *Willfähige Wissenschaft die Universität Wien 1938-1945* (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1989). Margarete Grandner Gernot Heiss and Oliver Rathkolb, ed., *Zukunft mit Altlasten. Die Universität Wien 1945 bis 1955* (Wien: Studienverlag, 2005). Mitchell G. Ash, Wolfram Nieß and Roman Pils, ed., *Geisteswissenschaft im Nationalsozialismus. Das Beispiel der Universität Wien* (Wien: Vienna University Press, 2010).

<sup>59</sup> Karin Körrer, *Die zwischen 1938 und 1945 verstorbenen Mitglieder des Lehrkörpers der Universität Wien*, PhD thesis (Wien: 1981).

<sup>60</sup> Kurt Mühlberger, *Dokumentation Vertriebene Intelligenz 1938. Der Verlust geistiger und menschlicher Potenz an der Universität Wien von 1938 bis 1945* (Wien: Archive of the University, 1993), Friedrich Stadler, *Vertriebene Vernunft. Emigration und Exil österreichischer Wissenschaft 1930-1940* (Wien: LIT, 2004), Peter Weibel and Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Vertreibung der Vernunft. Cultural Exodus from Austria* (Wien: Löcker Verlag, 1993).

<sup>61</sup> Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Emigration – Exil – Kontinuität. Schriften zur zeitgeschichtlichen Kultur -und Wissenschaftsforschung* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008).

published in 2015 entitled *650 Years University of Vienna, Departure into the new century*. In the first volume, "University, Research, Teaching", edited by Friedrich Stadler and others, the work of the Wiener Kreis, established by students and academics outside the antisemitic university community, was discussed. This group was impressively presented in a special exhibition in 2015 in its breadth and international networking, including students and academics working worldwide in universities and research institutions.<sup>62</sup> The volume 2 of the series is the most comprehensive account of the history of the University of Vienna to date. The first part of the anthology "University, Politics, Society", edited by Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer, provides an account of the political history of the University of Vienna and its students in the context of the general political development of the Monarchy and the First Republic, focussing on the specific historical transitions of 1848 (the role of students and doctors in the revolution, reform of the university), 1918 (revolutionary transformation of the university and antisemitic exclusion of students), 1933-1934 (raise of the National Socialist students), 1938 (expulsion, exile, extermination of students and professors), 1945 (denazification of students and professors).<sup>63</sup>

This volume also opened up new territory in research on student history by comprehensively presenting and commenting for the first time on the social structure of students and teaching staff at Vienna (social and geographical origin, confession, language) in several individual contributions (Gary Cohen, Werner Lenk). In his chapter, Cohen expanded a research aspect that was already presented in 1975 in a study by Gustav Otruba on the geographical, linguistic and confessional structure of students at all universities in Cisleithania between 1850 and 1914, with an extensive statistical appendix.<sup>64</sup> The four samples between 1859 and 1909 analysed by Cohen give a representative picture of the social structure of the students of the University of Vienna, but should be expanded on a broader Austrian basis. The data material for this has long been supplied by the archive of the universities and

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<sup>62</sup> Katharina Kniefacz, Elisabeth Neumeth, Herbert Posch and Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Universität-Forschung, Lehre. Themen und Perspektiven im langen 20. Jahrhundert, 650 Jahre Universität Wien Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert Vol. 4* (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2015). Der Wiener Kreis, *Exaktes Denken am Rande des Untergangs*, Exhibition of the University Vienna 20.05-31.10.2015.

<sup>63</sup> Mitchell G. Ash, "Die Universität Wien als Ort der Politik seit 1848, in: Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer, ed. *Universität-Politik-Gesellschaft* (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2015), see 33-57, 58-89, 90-108 by 109-134, 134-167.

<sup>64</sup> Otruba, "Die Universitäten in der Hochschulorganisation", 75-158.



colleges in the form of edited matriculation (enrolment) books.<sup>65</sup> The analysis of the social structure carried out so far leaves questions unanswered, such as the occupational and career patterns of graduates. In this context, the two-volume habilitation thesis by Gernot Stimmer, published in 1997, was the first to record all student associations and societies from 1848 to 1970 in Austria and to empirically examine their occupational and career structure using an elite-theoretical research approach.<sup>66</sup>

In the aforementioned second volume from 2015, Waltraud Heindl presents and studies the social structure of female students at Austrian universities, about whom only a few early works had been published. With an overall quota of female students of 18% (1922) and 19,4% (1935) at all Austrian higher learning institutions, Vienna university played a special role with a proportion of women reaching 15% in 1918 and 26% in 1933. For the University of Innsbruck, a comparable study was already presented in 1985 for the same period.<sup>67</sup> The most comprehensive empirical survey of women's studies at Austrian universities was carried out within the framework of a long-term project "biografiA", existing since 1998 and in the course of which several thousand biographies of Austrian female personalities (including their educational profile) in the Monarchy, the First and Second Republic have already been recorded and can be accessed online.<sup>68</sup> These socio-structural surveys confirm the function of the Austrian universities, especially the large institutions in Vienna and Prague, as a path to advancement for a differentiated lower middle class on the one hand and, from the end of neo-absolutism, for the liberal educated and propertied bourgeoisie on the other.

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<sup>65</sup> Peter Goller, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Innsbruck. Abteilung: Medizinische Fakultät. I. Vol. 1869-1900* (Innsbruck: 1995). Peter Goller, *Katholisches Theologiestudium an der Universität Innsbruck vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg (1857-1914)* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 1997).

<sup>66</sup> Stimmer, *Eliten*.

<sup>67</sup> Ash and Ehmer, ed., *Universität- Politik- Gesellschaft*. See especially Gary B. Cohen, "Expansion and the Limits of Inclusion. The Students of the Vienna University 1860-1914", 505-528. Stefan Lenk, "Chancen sozialer Mobilität an der Universität Wien im 20. Jahrhundert. Brüche und Kontinuitäten bei der sozialen Herkunft der Studierenden", 565- 620 by Waltraud Heindl, "Bildung und Emanzipation. Studentinnen an der Universität Wien", 529-564. Early female studies: Anna Lind, *Das Frauenstudium in Österreich, Deutschland und in der Schweiz*, PhD thesis (Wien, 1961). Maria Steibl, *Frauenstudium an der Universität Innsbruck vor 1945. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Innsbrucker Studentinnen*, PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1985).

<sup>68</sup> Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst, *biografiA, biografische Datenbank und Lexikon österreichischer Frauen* (Wien: 1998-2016).

## Conclusion

Confronting an almost consistently polarised and highly ideologised contemporary historiography and largely disseminated student self-representations during the period considered in this paper, a scholarly student history only began to be written in the Second Austrian Republic, more precisely since the 1960s. To this day, it rests on two pillars. The first one consists of a very broadly-based civil society research and publication activity, supported by the traditional student corporations institutionalised in partly cross-border student research associations, conferences and publication series. The second pillar is the historiographical production by the professional specialists of history and social sciences at the universities, which have addressed the relationship between the university and the student body in comprehensive research projects and publications, particularly on specific commemorative years such as 1848, 1918, 1934, 1938, and on the occasion of university jubilees. In terms of number of publications, the University of Vienna clearly dominates the research. It is also regrettable that the historiography has mainly focused on the particularly neuralgic periods of the First Democratic Republic (1918-1933), the *Ständestaat* (1934-1938) and the phase of National Socialism from March 1938 to May 1945, at the expense of the history of students during the Habsburg Empire. Therefore, many relevant subjects and research questions of student history remain unexamined or continue to be treated only by the private student history associations.

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	Innsbruck				Graz				Graz				Vienna				Vienna				Vienna			
	University				University				TH (College) plus Montanistische Hochschule Leoben				University				TH (College)				Bokusince 1872			
	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3
1857	168	79,6	/	0	169	52,9	/	0,3					2656	44,2	/	13,7	717 <sup>m</sup>	70,0	/	11,9				
1890	692	72,0	/	0,2	868	63,8	/	3,6					6060	65,3	/	33,9	1418 <sup>m</sup>	66,0	/	n.d.	360 <sup>m</sup>			
1909 / 1910			/				/						9000	75,6	6,0 <sup>f</sup>	24,4	3239	n.d.	/	24,2	1051	57	0,5	n.d.
1914	1077	72,7	n.d.	0,8	1421	64,1	/	2,5					10441	73,1	7,6	26,6					n.d.			
1917/18	982	n.d.	11,2	0,8	1142	n.d.	21,7	n.d.	186	n.d.	2,7	n.d.	5659	n.d.	22,8	n.d.	1292	n.d.	0,2		904			
1919	1567	n.d.	7,0	1,0	1442	n.d.	21,5	n.d.	1441	n.d.	0,8	n.d.	8943	n.d.	15,6	n.d.		0,5	24,2	1298				
1920/21									1495	n.d.	0,3	1,5	10700	57,9	n.d.	42,1	4826	91,5	0,5 <sup>f</sup>	18,7 <sup>f</sup>	1699	78	2,2	2,3
1922-1926*																	n.d.	ca. 93,0	n.d.	ca. 18,0				
1927 / 28					1808	87,0	15,0	2,7	1246	80,8	0,4	1,0	9275 <sup>d</sup>	77,9 <sup>m</sup>	18,1 <sup>m</sup>	8,8 <sup>m</sup>	3304	85,0			476	78	4,5	15,8
1928 / 29	2005	91,4	15,2	0,9									11144	83,2	28,1	21,3			2,9	11,2	360	88,9	6,4	3,8
1935 / 36	1799	90,0	12,1	0,3	2270	81,0	13,4	1,5	595	90,3	1,5	1,5	10832	94,1	26,3	16,5	2067	95,8						

	Vienna				Vienna				Prague				Prague				Prague				Budapest				Krakow				
	Veterinarian Collegesince 1896				Welthandel (College of World Trade) since 1919				University German speaking Divided since 1882 in German speaking and CZ				University CZ				TH (College)since 1875 divided in German speaking and CZ TH				University				University				
	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	
									415	38,4	/	8,3	-	-	-	-	312 <sup>d</sup>	68 <sup>m</sup>	/	/	1857	838 <sup>m</sup>	5,4 <sup>m</sup>	/	8,4 <sup>m</sup>	216	9,7	/	8,3
65 <sup>s</sup>									1580	79,1	/	30,2	2528	99,4	/	1,6			/		1890	3292	5,3	/	30,6	1219	0,4	/	16,3
620											6,0 <sup>f</sup>			6,0 <sup>f</sup>					/		1910			5,0				/	
1000									2095	88,0	n.d.	23,8	4557	96,1	n.d.	2,2			/		1914	7513	2,7	/	34,5	3030	0,1	/	13,2
																			/										
588					1559	/	/	/											/										
697	n.d.	/	/		3426	n.d.	5,0	n.d.																					
333	80,8	1,8	2,0		1785	77,3	8,3	n.d.																	1857	226 <sup>m</sup>	14,2 <sup>m</sup>	/	14,3 <sup>m</sup>
286	79,7	0,7	2,0		1661	72,4	10,0	25,0																					
360	94,7	1,9	1,9		816	86,5	13,4	13,6																					

N	Absolute Numbers
1	German in %
2	Women in %
3	Jewish in %
/	not existing
n.d.	not defined
*average number for the years 1922-1926	
** mother tongue CZ	

I	Woman quote together with the University Prague
II	1875 before divided
III	Data from 1876
IV	Data from 1866
V	Data since 1873
VI	Data since 1874
VII	Data since 1880
VIII	Data from 1892
IX	Data from 1900
X	Data since 1902
XI	Data for 1927

N	Absolute Numbers
1	German in %
2	Women in %
3	Jewish in %
/	not existing
n.d.	not defined
*average number for the years 1922-1926	
** mother tongue CZ	

I	Woman quote together with the University Prague
II	1875 before divided
III	Data from 1876
IV	Data from 1866
V	Data since 1873
VI	Data since 1874
VII	Data since 1880
VIII	Data from 1892
IX	Data from 1900
X	Data since 1902
XI	Data for 1927

# Research Perspectives on Students in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1945

## Perspectivas de investigación sobre estudiantes en Gran Bretaña e Irlanda, 1800-1945

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*Abstract:* Historians of Britain and Ireland have long been interested in universities and students. They have acknowledged the importance of these institutions and individuals within the history of elites, the history of the state, intellectual history, the history of science, of social movements and of politics and political thought. Yet, for many years much of this research has centred around higher education institutions themselves rather than the student body that they cater for. Following the expansion of the higher education sector and the growth of the student movement in the 1960s the quantity and quality of literature on British and Irish students, rather than the institutions that they studied at, has

*Resumen:* Los historiadores de Gran Bretaña e Irlanda se han interesado durante mucho tiempo en las universidades y los estudiantes. Han reconocido la importancia de estas instituciones e individuos dentro de la historia de las élites, la historia del Estado, la historia intelectual, la historia de la ciencia, de los movimientos sociales y de la política y el pensamiento político. Sin embargo, durante muchos años, gran parte de esta investigación se ha centrado en las propias instituciones de educación superior y no en el alumnado al que atienden. Tras la expansión del sector de la educación superior y el crecimiento del movimiento estudiantil en la década de 1960, la cantidad y la calidad de la literatura sobre

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grown substantially and has become a burgeoning historical field. This article surveys the development of this historiography and the key research perspectives on students in Britain and Ireland from 1800-1945, focusing on five thematic areas: student culture, student representation and politics, student life during war, students race and empire, and student women – to track the progress, development and connections between the different strands of this historiography over the past fifty years and to offer insights into potential avenues for further research.

*Keywords:* Great Britain, Ireland, students, universities, social history.

estudiantes británicos e irlandeses, en lugar de las instituciones en las que estudiaron, ha crecido sustancialmente y se ha convertido en un floreciente campo histórico. Este artículo analiza el desarrollo de esta historiografía y las perspectivas de investigación clave sobre los estudiantes en Gran Bretaña e Irlanda entre 1800 y 1945, centrándose en cinco áreas temáticas: cultura estudiantil, representación y política estudiantil, vida estudiantil durante la guerra, raza e imperio estudiantil y mujeres estudiantes, para rastrear el progreso, el desarrollo y las conexiones entre las diferentes corrientes de esta historiografía durante los últimos cincuenta años y ofrecer información sobre posibles vías para futuras investigaciones.

*Palabras clave:* Gran Bretaña, Irlanda, estudiantes, universidades, historia social.

Historians of Britain and Ireland have long been interested in universities and students. They have acknowledged the importance of these institutions and individuals within the history of elites, the history of the state, intellectual history, the history of science, of social movements and of politics and political thought. In the past, much of this research centred around higher education institutions, rather than the student body that they cater for.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, while students have not been the primary focus of such accounts, these institutional and university histories do offer interesting insights into the content of students' education, the changes in the curriculum, policies, structures and intentions of higher education institutions, and the context in which students in Britain and Ireland have been operating.

Moreover, since the growth of the student movement in the 1960s and the expansion of higher education in the United Kingdom (as associated with the Robbins Report of 1963 and the Further and Higher Education Act of 1992),<sup>2</sup> the quantity and quality of literature on British and Irish stu-

<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive literature review of university history see Robert Anderson, "Writing University History in Great Britain, from the 1960s to the Present", *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades* 20, no. 1 (2017): 17-40; and Roy Lowe, "The Changing Role of the Academic Journal: The Coverage of Higher Education in *History of Education* as a Case Study, 1972-2011", *History of Education* 41, no. 1 (2012): 103-115 which offers useful insights into the separation of the 'history of the university' from the 'history of education'.

<sup>2</sup> The Robbins Report (1963) recommended that all colleges of advanced technology should be given the status of universities and that university places "should be available to all

dents, rather than the institutions that they studied at, has grown substantially. Although many outlets for such histories continue to focus on university history, or consider students within the broader context of the history of education,<sup>3</sup> various research groups and structures have emerged that directly focus on students.<sup>4</sup> The development of the field of student history has also seen a growing emphasis on cultural themes and a greater integration of transnational perspectives within the literature. Thus far, a large proportion of these works of student history have concentrated on the post-war period, analysing the impact of the expansion of the higher education sector and the global student movement of the late 1960s on students in Britain and Ireland.<sup>5</sup> This article moves away from this focus on the post-war period and instead highlights the research that has been conducted on the earlier history of students and student life. It seeks to demonstrate the significance of this period in the evolution and expansion of the higher education sector, including the changing ways that students interacted with their institutions, each other and the local populace; the importance of the entry of women into the British higher education system; and the impact that events such as the First World War and the dissolution of the British Empire had on students and student life. It will do so by examining the major research perspectives on students in Britain and Ireland from 1800 to 1945, focusing on five thematic areas: student culture; student representation and politics; student life during war;

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who were qualified for them by ability and attainment". The Further and Higher Education Act (1992) also expanded the definition of 'university' with polytechnics now also being incorporated under this definition.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see established journals such as *CIAN*, *History of Universities*, *History of Education* and *Paedagogica Historica*.

<sup>4</sup> For example, in 2022, the centenary of the National Union of Students UK has given rise to various events, conferences and workshops on the history of students, the student movement and student life in the UK, such as the 'Researching Student Histories' workshop series led by academics from Portsmouth, UCL, Northumbria, and Swansea. Additionally, the 'Generation UCL' project explores two centuries of student life in London to mark UCL's bicentenary in 2026. These anniversary projects have then been complemented by the work of a growing number of PhD candidates whose funded research focuses on British student history and student life in Britain, such as Carlus Hudson (Portsmouth), Sarah Louise Webster (Manchester) and Uduma Ogenyi (SOAS/UCL).

<sup>5</sup> See e.g.: Caroline M. Hoeffler, *British Student Activism in the Long Sixties* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Esmée Sinéad Hanna, *Student Power!: The Radical Days of the English Universities* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013); Nick Thomas, "Challenging the Myths of the 1960s: The Case of Student Protest in Britain", *Twentieth Century British History* 13, no. 3 (2002): 277-97; and Jodi Burkett (ed.), *Students in Twentieth-Century Britain and Ireland* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018).

students, race and empire; and student women. A consideration of these research angles will help to illustrate how the history of student life in Britain and Ireland has been written more broadly, while also drawing attention to current gaps in the literature and potential avenues for further research.

### 1. 'Student Culture' in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1945

Alongside offering overviews of the higher education sector in the Britain and Ireland, many university and institutional histories highlight the national and regional dynamics at play across the sector, emphasising the important role that the university system has played in sustaining distinct cultural identities in England, Scotland, Ireland and, by the nineteenth century, Wales. Thus, university culture interacts with national and regional cultures in these studies. For example, much of the literature on Scottish university history treats the Scottish institutions as separate and distinct entities, distinguishable from their English counterparts and praised for their unique national character, whilst the Irish and Welsh institutions, on the other hand, have received considerably less scholarly attention.<sup>6</sup>

In the English context, university histories have tended to follow a conventional chronology focusing firstly on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge ('Oxbridge'), followed by the development of the London universities and then what Matthew Andrews has termed as the «university moment» with the establishment of many of the new civic universities in the late nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> These histories tend to use this historical delineation to distinguish between student cultures and the student environment in Oxbridge and the 'other' universities in England. This distinction is shown in Anderson's discussion of the changing connections between universities, public schools and private schools over the course of the nineteenth century and the impact that the development of the new civic universities had on the stu-

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<sup>6</sup> Robert Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Jennifer Carter and Donald Withrington (eds), *Scottish Universities: Distinctiveness and Diversity* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992); Catriona M.M. Macdonald, "'To Form Citizens': Scottish Students, Governance and Politics, 1884-1948", *History of Education* 38, no. 3 (2009): 383-402; and George Davie, *The Democratic Intellect* (Edinburgh: Edingburgh University Press, 1961: reprint 2013) and the extensive literature linked to the fiftieth anniversary of this book.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew Andrews, *Universities in the Age of Reform, 1800-1870: Durham, London and King's College* (Cham: Palgrave, 2018), 2.

dent body. He suggests that «Oxford and Cambridge continued to be national universities producing a rejuvenated elite of a traditional kind and drawing mainly on the public schools... while the new civic universities were angled to local demands and catered for a rather lower strata of the middle class».<sup>8</sup>

A number of academics have sought to highlight the impact that these changing regional and class dynamics had on an overall 'student culture' across Britain and Ireland over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially as a more diverse range of students began to enter higher education.<sup>9</sup> In considering the demographics of the student body, including their local and social backgrounds, these institutional and university history-based accounts offer important insights into the dynamics that allowed student cultures to develop and thrive. For example, in Scotland, the demographics of the student population influenced the specific cultures that developed at the ancient Scottish universities: «As late as 1934-1935 only 3.5% of Glasgow University students, 13.9% of Edinburgh University students and 24% of St Andrews University students lived in halls», with the majority of students living at home with their parents in the local community and commuting into university.<sup>10</sup> As a result, students at these institutions were not as constrained by stereotypical notions of *loco parentis* seen in the ancient universities in England at this time. Instead, with Scottish universities drawing the majority of their students from the local area, students at these institutions retained their connections to their family and friends, allowing more locally rooted student cultures to flourish.<sup>11</sup> In a similar vein, Laura Kelly has considered the unique national dynamics at play in the Irish context, highlighting the importance of class and religious affiliations for students at Irish institutions across the nineteenth and twentieth

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<sup>8</sup> R.D. Anderson, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 192-8.

<sup>9</sup> For example, Anderson (*European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914*, 203) has suggested that "In 1908-9, three-quarters or more of those in the provincial universities, and two-thirds at University College London, came from within thirty miles" and examines the impact of these changing student demographics had on both student and university life. William Whyte, *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) traces the long history of the civic universities and offers insights into the relationship between class and education and how the architecture and design of university campuses has influenced and shaped student life.

<sup>10</sup> Michael S. Moss, John Forbes Munro & Richard Hughes Trainor, *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 163.

<sup>11</sup> For more on the distinctive nature of the Scottish system see: Macdonald, "To Form Citizens".

centuries.<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, then by considering the overarching socio-economic and geographic backgrounds of students at individual institutions, these histories can help us to understand both the make-up of the student body and to uncover potential reasons for the development of distinct student cultures across Britain and Ireland.

However, in order to understand students and student history more thoroughly, a more in-depth analysis of their backgrounds and their circumstances is necessary. In his 1998 assessment of patterns of student sociability across the ancient English universities, the US East Coast universities and German universities, H.S. Jones noted a «marked contrast between the paucity of comparative studies of student social life and the sophisticated comparative research that has been undertaken on students' social origins and destinations», arguing that historians have to study «not just the formal curriculum but also...what Jarausch has termed 'the hidden curriculum', and... its role in defining student identity».<sup>13</sup> Following on from this, as the study of *student* history has grown, the more statistical, broad-stroke approaches seen in university and institutional histories have been enhanced by specifically *student*-focused histories examining these different manifestations of student life and student culture across Britain and Ireland, as discussed in this article.

Whereas in the period before the nineteenth century, religion played a dominant role in university life – structuring access to education in England and Ireland, as well as the courses and societies that were formed at these institutions – the founding of University College London (UCL) as a secular university in the 1820s opened up higher education in England to students from range of religious backgrounds. Although religion continued to play an important role in many students' lives, especially in terms of religious groups and societies formed on campuses, from the middle of the nineteenth century it was no longer seen as an impediment to people's access to education.

In his work on student character in the British university, James Arthur outlines how the progressive reforms enacted at Oxford and Cambridge over the course of the mid-late 1800s (such as the abolition of religious tests for entry) provided opportunities for these universities to shape their stu-

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<sup>12</sup> Laura Kelly, *Irish Medical Education and Student Culture, c.1850-1950* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> H.S. Jones, "Student Life and Sociability, 1860-1930: Comparative Reflection", *History of Universities* 14, no. 1 (1998): 225 referencing Konrad Jarausch, "Liberal Education as Illiberal Socialization: The Case of Students in Imperial Germany", *Journal of Modern History* 1 (1978): 629; and R.D. Anderson, *The Student Community at Aberdeen 1860-1939* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988).

dents' characters, moving beyond their clerical image and allowing instead for a greater emphasis on their students' moral and personal development.<sup>14</sup> Arthur argues that «universities can be a powerful influence in shaping individuals' relationships with each other and their communities and they have many opportunities to develop basic human qualities for the benefit of both their students and society».<sup>15</sup> Reba N. Soffer and Samuel J. M. M. Alberti have supported this assessment, with Soffer arguing that «the student society developed as one of the most effective new educational traditions... [where]...young men learned the skills of debate, discussion, and reflection which inspired them to emerge as national figures», and with both authors highlighting the important role that universities, and student societies in particular, played in the development of the English elite.<sup>16</sup> A number of studies have also explored the internal dynamics and the impact of these debating societies across the UK, considering their role in student life as well as the future careers of the students who joined these societies.<sup>17</sup> Ultimately, then, as the study of social history more generally has expanded, so too have the insights into student culture and the particular kinds of societies and activities that students were engaging in. This included sporting clubs and societies organised around the geographical origin of students (as discussed later in this article), as well as subject-based societies, which helped to unite students of the same discipline from across the university, especially as the number of students and the range of courses taught at higher education institutions grew across this period.

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<sup>14</sup> James Arthur, "Student Character in the British University", in James Arthur and Karen Bohlin (eds), *Citizenship and Higher Education: The Role of Universities in Communities and Society* (London: Routledge, 2005), 8.

<sup>15</sup> Arthur, "Student", 7.

<sup>16</sup> Reba N. Soffer, *Discipline and Power: The University, History, and the Making of an English Elite, 1870-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 167-8; and Samuel J. M. M. Alberti, "Civic Cultures and Civic Colleges in Victorian England," in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Organization of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 337-356.

<sup>17</sup> Arthur Engel, "Political Education in Oxford 1823-1914", *History of Education Quarterly* 20:3 (1980): 257-80; Karstel Plöger, "The Hanover Club, Oxford (1911-13): Student Paradiplomacy and the Coming of the Great War", *German History* 27 no. 2 (2009): 196-214; Sarah Wiggins, "Gendered Spaces and Political Identity: Debating Societies in English Women's Colleges, 1890-1914", *Women's History Review* 18, no. 5 (2009): 737-52; Taru Haapala, "That in the Opinion of this House": *The Parliamentary Culture of Debate in the Nineteenth-Century Cambridge and Oxford Union Societies* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän University Press, 2012); and Bertie Dockerill, "Forgotten Voices": The Debating Societies of Durham and Liverpool, 1900-1939", in Jodi Burkett (ed.), *Students in Twentieth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 101-28.



Another important manifestation of the link between universities, students and wider society that has received an increasing amount of interest in recent years focuses on volunteering and campaigning as a major aspect of student life in Britain. For example, a number of studies have looked into the history of Toynbee Hall to consider the role that university-affiliated institutions played in the settlement movement in Britain.<sup>18</sup> More recently, Kate Bradley's study on charities and the working classes in London over the course of the twentieth century has offered detailed insights into the relationships between charities, the welfare state and the student body by looking at the university settlements which brought young graduates to deprived areas to conduct social work.<sup>19</sup> In addition to this, as popular interest and understandings of welfare and mental health continue to rise, Keith Vernon and Sarah Crook have conducted important preliminary research into student health and welfare over the course of the twentieth century, examining the arguments and practicalities surrounding the development and expansion of provisions, services and amenities for students, and the involvement of students themselves in campaigning for these changes.<sup>20</sup> Georgina Brewis's work on student solidarity and campaigning across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries offers a broader context for such developments.<sup>21</sup> Brewis demonstrates how student social service and social action in the period before 1945 acted as a unifying force, bringing students from diffe-

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<sup>18</sup> Emily K. Abel, "Toynbee Hall, 1884-1914", *Social Service Review* 53, no. 4 (1979): 606-32; Asa Briggs & Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge, 1984); R.A. Evans, "The University and the City: The Educational Eork of Toynbee Hall, 1884-1914", *History of Education* 11 no. 2 (1982): 113-25; and Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Victorian Philanthropy: The Case of Toynbee Hall", *The American Scholar* 59 no. 3 (1990): 373-84.

<sup>19</sup> Kate Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State: Charities and the Working Classes in London, 1918-1979* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Keith Vernon, "The Health and Welfare of University Students in Britain, 1920-1939", *History of Education* 37 no. 2 (2008): 227-52; and Sarah Crook, "Historicising the "Crisis" in Undergraduate Mental Health: British Universities and Student Mental Illness, 1944-1968", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 75 no. 2 (2020): 193-220.

<sup>21</sup> Georgina Brewis, "Student Solidarity across Borders: Students, Universities and Refugee Crises Past and Present", *History & Policy Paper* (2015); Georgina Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond, 1880-1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Georgina Brewis, "Education for Service; Social Service and Higher Education in India and Britain, 1905-1919", *History of Education Review* 42 no. 2 (2013): 119-36; Georgina Brewis, "From Service to Action? Students, Volunteering and Community Action in Mid Twentieth-Century Britain", *British Journal of Educational Studies* 58 no. 4 (2010): 439-49; and Georgina Brewis and Sjur Bergan, "Refugees and Higher Education", in Pedro Nuno Teixeira and Jung Cheol Shin (eds), *Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2016).

rent organisations together to create a «student popular front». She argues that endeavours such as aid for refugees and former enemies from the First World War and student support for the unemployed in the 1930s cut across religious and political affiliations in the student body and helped to build a student movement in England and Wales.

Beyond these works on learned societies and political and social campaigning, both R.D. Anderson and H.S. Jones have noted the growing prominence of sport as a specific form of extra-curricular activity for students across England and Scotland over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>22</sup> Sonja Levsen too has delved into the dynamics of these sporting cultures, arguing that «the cult of athleticism was dominant around 1900, and its ideology of manliness was one of the most important aspects of the undergraduates' group identity».<sup>23</sup> Tracking this phenomenon over the early twentieth century, Levsen highlights the impact that the influx of older students and women on campuses had in the post-war era and considers the consequences of these changing dynamics on the masculine-dominated cultures of British universities.

These questions of masculinity are also discussed by Paul R. Deslandes, who argues that there were four competing male undergraduate personae at Oxbridge – the aesthete, the athlete, the reading man, and the aristocratic blood, recognisable by the way they furnished their rooms, the organisations they joined and supported, and the networks of sociability they constructed. Deslandes has unearthed the impact of these different forms of undergraduate masculinity in relation to class, race, and national and sexual identities.<sup>24</sup> Ross Brooks has also explored this idea of masculine university cultures, marking Oxford and Cambridge as «unique queer localities in Britain and beyond» and arguing that these universities «existed as collections of cloistered communities that revered intimate same-sex (overwhelmingly male) bonding as a superior means of elite social organization and mode of nurturing a lifelong tribal identity».<sup>25</sup> Heather Ellis too has provided an

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<sup>22</sup> R.D. Anderson, "Sport in the Scottish Universities, 1860-1939", *International Journal of the History of Sport* 4 (1987): 177-88; and H.S. Jones, "Oxford Athleticism, 1850-1914: A Re-appraisal", *History of Education* 24, no. 4 (1995): 305-17.

<sup>23</sup> Sonja Levsen, "Constructing Elite Identities: University Students, Military Masculinity and the Consequences of the Great War in Britain and Germany", *Past and Present* 198 (2008): 169.

<sup>24</sup> Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Ross Brooks, "Beyond Brideshead: The Male Homoerotics of 1930s Oxford", *Journal of British Studies* 59, no. 4 (2020): 822 and 856.

in-depth analysis of the connections between gender and scientific study in Britain across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, offering insights into the role of masculine self-fashioning within the scientific community and highlighting how this played into the construction of the public image of a male scientist.<sup>26</sup> As such, student, university and intellectual history can be seen to be intersecting closely with the growing fields of gender and queer history, with students' private lives and relationships receiving increasing attention and due consideration within the literature, and the complexity and varied nature of the student experience being more openly recognised.

Whereas a considerable amount of work has been conducted on student life and the distinct student cultures at Oxbridge and in Scotland, more work is necessary to uncover the different national dynamics at play in Wales and Ireland and how the specific national circumstances in these countries has impacted the higher education sector and student life in these areas. In addition, further consideration of the specific regional dynamics at play across the UK and Ireland is required to move beyond the homogenous, stereotypical representations of students and student history that are currently available. Student life and student cultures varied considerably across the UK and Ireland in the pre-war period, dependent on the courses and teachers working at these institutions, the composition of the student body and their relations to the local community. It is important that as the field of student history grows, the rich and diverse history of students from across the higher education sector and at institutions across the whole of the UK and Ireland are incorporated into these histories.

## *2. Student Representation and Politics*

As many of these unique student cultures and student societies were developing across the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this period also saw the flourishing of a distinct kind of student politics and the growth of student unionisation, as students increasingly saw themselves as a powerful and united body, and began to push for increased representation. Although fleetingly mentioned in earlier university histories, Eric Ashby and Mary Anderson's influential work on student politics and representation in Britain offered the first concerted overview of the development of the 'student estate' – tracking its development firstly in Scotland from the 1820s

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<sup>26</sup> Heather Ellis, *Masculinity and Science in Britain, 1831-1918* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017).

and then southward throughout the nineteenth century, to consider both the influence of universities on students, as well as the influence of students on the universities.<sup>27</sup> This work has then been supplemented by Joseph S. Meisel who has charted the development and growth, and then the removal, of parliamentary representation of the universities in Britain and Ireland up until 1950, with a particular emphasis on the efforts of graduates to obtain and retain representation.<sup>28</sup> A similar effort has been made by Catriona Macdonald, who has focused specifically on the unique circumstances in Scotland (namely the development of Student Representative Councils, the role of rectors and the enfranchisement of students in Scotland throughout the late nineteenth century) to uncover the multiple and competing forms of citizenship that students in Scotland faced and the impact that this had on the status of the student in civil life in Scotland.<sup>29</sup>

Beyond these texts on student parliamentary representation, more recent research accords greater attention to student unions and the student movement. Whereas in the past, such histories were confined to the post-war era, with a particular focus on the development of the student movement in the late 1960s, there has recently been an increasing interest in the earlier formation of these groups and structures. There is a general agreement within the literature that the development of these groups and structures took a very different form in the UK and Ireland in comparison to what was seen elsewhere on the European continent and in the United States. For example, in their assessment of student movements across Europe, Lieve Gevers and Louis Vos suggested that until the 1870s «there was no student movement [in the UK] such as the one that took place on the Continent». They argue that this “«was primarily due to the university system of Oxford and Cambridge, which...held on to a classical and purely scientific ‘liberal education’ [which...] spared Great Britain ‘the overproduction of an underpaid and underemployed university graduate class which helped fuel Continental revolutionary movements’».”<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Eric Ashby and Mary Anderson, *The Rise of the Student Estate in Britain* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1970).

<sup>28</sup> Joseph S. Meisel, “A Magnificent Fungus on the Political Tree: The Growth of University Representation in the United Kingdom, 1832-1950”, *History of Universities* 23 (2008): 110.

<sup>29</sup> Macdonald, “To Form Citizens”.

<sup>30</sup> Lieve Gevers & Louis Vos, “Student Movements”, in Walter Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe: Volume III: Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800-1945)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 306, referencing Michael Sanderson, *The Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1975), 4.

In terms of national representation and the unionisation of students, the defining feature of the pre-war era was the founding of the National Union of Students (NUS) in 1922, which added an inter-university dimension to student politics and organisations within the UK. As Ashby and Anderson have argued, the formation of the NUS effectively changed the idea of the student estate from rhetoric to a reality, uniting British students into a lobbying body and creating a «corporate student conscience», with NUS-organised congresses and events reaching attendances of more than a thousand students (a considerably large number given the relatively small student population in the UK at this time).<sup>31</sup>

Although much of the work focusing on the history of the NUS looks at the post-war period, several key texts analyse the development of the NUS, often written by those with direct experience of the student movement itself. For example, Brian Simon (former President of NUS) has written on the student movement in England and Wales during the 1930s.<sup>32</sup> He argues that the NUS's inclusion of training colleges and technical colleges into full membership was central in bolstering the legitimacy and power of the NUS, and that this strength was signalled by the fact that representatives of the NUS then had regular consultation with members of parliament, government departments, the Association of University Teachers, the National Union of Teachers, and the University Grants Committee. As such, he argues that by the 1930s «a continuous politicization was the order of the day» and, whilst acknowledging the different levels of commitment within institutions and by individuals, he suggests «that there was a general awakening of a political and social consciousness [in the 1930s] cannot be doubted. It was this that led to a shift of direction, and indeed to the transformation of the NUS as the body representative of students in general».<sup>33</sup>

However, both Simon and Ashby and Anderson's work is entrenched in the thinking and perceptions of the period in which they were writing, arguing that success in 'representative politics' is obtained predominantly through political networks and activities, namely close connections with the governments and unions of the day. In contrast, the modern-day student mo-

<sup>31</sup> Ashby & Anderson, *The Rise of the Student Estate*.

<sup>32</sup> Brian Simon, "The Student Movement in England and Wales during the 1930s", *History of Education* 16 no. 3 (1987): 201.

<sup>33</sup> Simon, "The Student Movement": 195-6; and for more information on the changing political landscape on campuses in the inter-war years, and especially the development of anti-war sentiment see: Martin Ceadel, "The 'King and Country' Debate, 1933: Student Politics, Pacifism and the Dictators", *The Historical Journal* 22, no. 2 (1979): 397-422.

vement, including the NUS itself, now focuses itself on more broadly-defined goals, centralising political and social activism and social outreach within their work. As the history of the NUS and the student movement in the UK and Ireland grows, more research should be conducted into the longer history of these different forms of political and social activism, to help uncover the ways that student activism and support has manifested itself across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As a first step in this process, former NUS official Mike Day has offered important assessments of the development of the NUS and its role as a representative body, again highlighting its limitations, but also its power in the pre-war era, with every university student union in England and Wales in membership by 1924.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the work of Jodi Burkett and Daniel Laqua has helped to establish the important international and transnational connections that were established between British student unions, the NUS and international student organisations across the twentieth century.<sup>35</sup>

In the specific cases of Scotland, Wales and Ireland, much less has been written to date on the development of the student movement in these regions and its specific local manifestations. It was not until 1944 that the NUS constitution was amended to include student organisations from Northern Ireland and the formal agreement for the formation of NUS-USI (linking the student unions of the UK and Ireland) was not reached until 1972. Furthermore, the Scottish Union of Students remained distinct from the NUS until 1972, while NUS Wales was established as a separate entity to NUS in 1974. In a recent edited volume on *Students in Twentieth Century Britain and Ireland*, Mike Day, Jeremy Harvey and Steven Conlon have offered preliminary assessments of these connections between the NUS and these national student organisations and have focused on the question of devolution in the sphere of student politics and representation.<sup>36</sup> However, more work is

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<sup>34</sup> Mike Day, "Dubious Causes of No Interest to Students? The Development of National Union of Students in the United Kingdom", *European Journal of Higher Education* 2 no. 1 (2012): 34-5; and Mike Day, *National Union of Students, 1922-2012* (London: Regal Press Limited, 2012).

<sup>35</sup> Jodi Burkett, instead of "The National Union of Students and Transnational Solidarity, 1958-1968", *European Review of History* 21 no. 4 (2014): 539-55; and Daniel Laqua, 'Activism in the 'Students' League of Nations': International Student Politics and the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants, 1919-1939', *The English Historical Review* 132 no. 556 (2017): 605-37.

<sup>36</sup> Jeremy Harvey, "Investigating the Relationship Between Students and NUS Wales", in Jodi Burkett (ed.), *Students in Twentieth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 155-74; Mike Day, "The National Union of Students and Devolution", in Jodi Burkett (ed.), *Students in Twentieth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 129-54; Steven Conlon, "Rebels and Rustici: Students and the Formation of the Irish State", in

undeniably necessary to uncover the specific regional variations in student representation and politics and to expose the local histories of these unions and the wider student movements across the UK and Ireland. In 2022, the commemorative events and research activities surrounding the centenary of the NUS's foundation have offered opportunities to reveal these more neglected aspects of student history.

### 3. *The Great War and Transformations in Student Life*

In 1917, H.A.L Fisher described the First World War as a «battle of brains» with the mobilisation of knowledge playing a key role throughout the conflict.<sup>37</sup> More recently R.D. Anderson has suggested that «few institutions were as directly affected by the war as universities, as most male students were recalled to their units or volunteered for service».<sup>38</sup> Undeniably, war and conflict, and especially the First and Second World Wars, were extremely disruptive moments for universities and students alike, and had major implications for the make-up of the student body and the nature of student life in this period. To date, and especially in the period surrounding the centenary of the conflict, a considerable body of work has examined the impact of the First World War on universities, including the changing policies and consequent development of the higher education sector as a result of the war.<sup>39</sup> For example, Tomás Irish has offered insights into the changing student population as a result of the war, namely the reduction in the number of students studying during the First World War, as well as the impact of the disproportionately high number of student deaths (as many university men were mobilised as

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Jodi Burkett (ed.), *Students in Twentieth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 249-75; and Day, *National Union of Students, 1922-2012*.

<sup>37</sup> Preface to *British Universities and the Great War*, p.xiii referenced in Tomás Irish, *The University at War, 1914-25: Britain, France, and the United States* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

<sup>38</sup> Anderson, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914*, 292. For more on student volunteers across Europe, see Alexander Watson, "Voluntary Enlistment in the Great War: a European Phenomenon?", in Christine G. Krüger and Sonja Levsen (eds), *War Volunteering in Modern Times. From the French Revolution to the Second World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 163-88.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. Irish, *The University at War*; John Taylor, *The Impact of the First World War on British Universities: Emerging from the Shadows* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); and Marie-Eve Chagnon and Tomás Irish (eds), *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

junior officers in the army).<sup>40</sup> His work notes the conflict's impact on student life, as student societies and groups ceased meeting or struggled to continue in the war era; thus the cessation of societal and sporting life in universities served as «a visual reminder of the rupture in the wider life of a university».<sup>41</sup> However, Irish's work largely focuses on those who remained at the universities (mostly academics) during the war years and their interactions with the outside world, examining how university structures and academic practices changed over the course of the war years, rather than focusing on students themselves during this time.

In his history of British universities during and after the First World War, John Taylor closely examines the student experience of the war, including the changes in the numbers of students studying, the courses they were taking, the gender balance across courses during the war era, and the impact that volunteering for service had on people's scholarships and studying progression.<sup>42</sup> He also highlights the increasing connections between universities and local communities over the course of the war, as students' work in munitions and medical support was often coordinated by the universities, hence «the wider population would have become more aware of University life; barriers, both real and imagined, and applied both ways, would have been eroded by the unavoidable contacts and shared working arrangements necessitated by the war».<sup>43</sup>

The composition of the student body and the nature of higher education teaching was also greatly changed in this period by the influx of international students, namely Americans, studying in Britain in this period. Irish estimates that by April 1919 «almost 2,000 [American students] enrolled in British institutions, of which 200 each registered at Oxford and Cambridge, over 700 at the institutions of the University of London, and an additional 200 each at Glasgow and Edinburgh, and significant numbers at the universities of Birmingham, Sheffield, Bristol, and Manchester».<sup>44</sup> Thomas Weber and Tara Windsor's research into student agency and Anglo-German exchanges, as well as Heather Ellis and Ulrike Kirchberger's edited collection on Anglo-German scholarly networks in the long nineteenth century, offer

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<sup>40</sup> Irish, *The University at War*, 73.

<sup>41</sup> Irish, *The University at War*, 63.

<sup>42</sup> John Taylor, *The Impact of the First World War on British Universities*.

<sup>43</sup> Taylor, *The Impact of the First World War on British Universities*, 264-6; for more on the connections between university staff and students and their local communities in the interwar years, see John Field, "Service Learning in Britain between the Wars: University Students and Unemployed Camps", *History of Education* 41 no. 2 (2012): 195-212.

<sup>44</sup> Irish, *The University at War*, 152.



interesting insights into the dynamics at play in university settings and the implications of these exchanges on the student body.<sup>45</sup> Windsor, for example, highlights how many students who had previously studied abroad in Britain or Germany joined up and fought against their former host country on the battlefields and how Anglo-German exchanges became particularly important zones of cooperation in the post-war era. Her work looks at student agency and the role that students themselves played in establishing, enacting and experiencing exchanges between Britain and Germany, offering a bottom-up perspective which has in many ways been obscured or neglected by the top-down, university-focused approach of much of the previous research. As such, Windsor's research suggests that «student agency was not merely a rhetorical device but also an active and central component of post-war cultural exchange which had both immediate and longer-term repercussions for international relations in the inter-war period».<sup>46</sup>

In recent years, this more student-focused research has been expanded to look closely at the impact of the war experience on student life and student opportunities. For example, several connected projects led by Daniel Laqua and Georgina Brewis have examined the influx of ex-service students at British universities after the Great War.<sup>47</sup> This work has drawn particular attention to the government-funded Scheme for the Higher Education of Ex-Service Students, which provided grants to nearly 28,000 students between 1918 and 1923 and marked «a major development in state support for individual students».<sup>48</sup> Rather than tracing institutional developments in the post-war era, this research demonstrates «how government policy and changes in the student body related to one another» in England and Wales and examines the features of the ex-service cohort and their contributions to student life.

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<sup>45</sup> Tara Windsor, "The Domain of the Young as the Generation of the Future': Student Agency and Anglo-German Exchange After the Great War", in Chagnon and Irish (eds), *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 164; Thomas Weber, *Our Friend "The Enemy": Elite Education in Britain and Germany before World War I* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); and Heather Ellis & Ulrike Kirchberger (eds), *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

<sup>46</sup> Windsor, "The Domain of the Young", 181.

<sup>47</sup> Georgina Brewis, Sarah Hellowell and Daniel Laqua, "Rebuilding the Universities after the Great War: Ex-Service Students, Scholarships and the Reconstruction of Student Life in England", *History* 105 no. 364 (2020): 82-106; Lara Green, Daniel Laqua and Georgina Brewis, "Student Funding and University Access after the Great War: The Scheme for the Higher Education of Ex-Servicemen at Aberystwyth, Liverpool, and Oxford", *British Journal of Educational Studies* 68 no. 5 (2020): 589-609.

<sup>48</sup> Brewis, Hellowell and Laqua, "Rebuilding the Universities": 82.

In the Irish context, Tomás Irish has delved into the impact of both the First World War and the Easter Rising on Trinity College Dublin from an institutional viewpoint in terms of the simultaneous experience of war and revolution.<sup>49</sup> In particular, he examines the political and social repercussions of the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 on the university, arguing that «many members of its community still looked to the old regime rather than the new one, and the symbols of Britain – the Union Flag and the singing of “God Save the King” – were still prominent, especially on Armistice Day when the university stopped to remember its 471 war dead.»<sup>50</sup> According to Irish, «this was another way in which the university became distanced from the new state, as for the latter the First World War was not part of the narrative of Irish independence.»<sup>51</sup> Thus, competing national stories have important roles to play, both in institutional histories, but also in student histories, given the implications of these national circumstances on the student body. Again, then, the history of student life during and after the First World War could be complemented by further national and regional studies into the impact of the war on students across the UK and Ireland, in particular focusing on the impact of the war in Scotland, Wales, Ireland and the North of England.

Interestingly, this level of detailed analysis of student numbers and student life in Britain and Ireland during the Second World War has not been conducted by historians yet, despite the traumatic and disruptive nature of this conflict too and the interesting comparison point given that Ireland had gained its independence by this time and remained neutral during the war. Despite the extensive post-war reforms of the British higher education system, comparatively little has been written on the experience of the war on universities and students that brought these changes about. This too offers opportunities for future research, perhaps in a comparative sense with what we know about the student experience of the First World War, or as part of a *longue durée* history of universities and students, to offer more concrete analyses into the kinds of changes, continuities and connections that were formed across this period.

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<sup>49</sup> Tomás Irish, “Trinity College Dublin: An Imperial University in War and Revolution, 1914-1921”, in Chagnon and Irish (eds), *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War*, 119-39; and Tomás Irish, *Trinity in War and Revolution 1912-23* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy Press, 2015).

<sup>50</sup> Irish, “Trinity College Dublin”, 133.

<sup>51</sup> Irish, “Trinity College Dublin”, 133.

#### 4. *Students, Empire and Race*

Whereas a considerable amount of academic research has explored the impact of the First World War on students and student life, thus far there has been a dearth of studies looking at the role of other conflicts that British and Irish citizens were embroiled in over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the colonial wars and the Second World War. However, scholars have shown a particular interest in the global and transnational connections that were fostered in university settings, looking increasingly at the impact and intersections of race and empire in student life in Britain.

Perhaps the most prominent assessment of the connections between the British Empire and higher education in the UK so far is Tamson Pietsch's *Empire of Scholars*.<sup>52</sup> In this book, Pietsch closely examines the networks that were established in the age of Victorian globalisation, linking the colonial universities of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa with the imperial metropole, arguing that the links formed through libraries, scholarships, academic trafficking and appointment practices between these institutions formed an interconnected 'British academic world'. However, her work focuses predominantly on the impact of these connections on scholars and universities within the imperial system, rather than the impact that these connections and programmes had on the students studying in Britain themselves.

This rather institution-centric focus can also be seen in the work that has been carried out so far on British universities and their historical links to slavers and the slave trade. For example, Nicholas Draper has usefully examined British universities' ability to (or failure to) successfully deal with their own past in relation to the slave trade; however, he focuses his attention mostly on the role of institutional links and faculty members, rather than analysing the direct experience or involvement of students in this history.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, Draper does briefly note student involvement in this history, re-

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<sup>52</sup> Tamson Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars: Universities, Networks and the British Academic World, 1850-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); this has also been supported by her detailed analysis of the role of travelling scholarships in the imperial vision at the turn of the century, "Many Rhodes: Travelling Scholarships and Imperial Citizenship in the British Academic World, 1880-1940", *History of Education* 40, no. 6 (2011): 723-39.

<sup>53</sup> Nicholas Draper, "British Universities and Caribbean Slavery", in Jill Pellew and Lawrence Goldman (eds), *Dethroning Historical Reputations: Universities, Museums and the Commemoration of Benefactors* (London: University of London Press, 2019), 93-106.

marking that he has identified over 400 slave-owners matriculating at Oxford or Cambridge in the period from 1763 to 1834.<sup>54</sup> Although Draper is only able to offer a statistic, rather than a concerted assessment of the role and impact of these students, this research offers distinct possibilities for future work on the status of undergraduates within these histories and highlights the myriad of ways that individuals can contribute to these complicated histories – moving our assessments away from large-scale endowments towards a more intricate understanding of the implications of fees and individuals within university settings. Further research into these stories and dynamics across the UK would supplement the work being done at institutions such as the University of Glasgow, where the Historical Slavery initiative examines the university's financial gain from slavery-related wealth.<sup>55</sup>

Additionally, several projects in recent years have considered the lives of overseas students in Britain, especially those with links to the Empire, and how their experiences of colonialism and racism has impacted them as students. Although there was a major rise in the number of overseas students in the UK in the period following the Second World War, there were still between 5,000 and 6,000 overseas students in the UK in the 1930s, approximately 1,400 of whom came from India and 400-500 of whom came from the rest of the colonial empire.<sup>56</sup> Where the links between imperialism and the British universities have been explored by several researchers, including Hilary Perraton and John D. Hargreaves, the more specific implications and the impact of these connections on the lives of students, rather than the institutions they studied at, has also become a growing academic sub-field.<sup>57</sup> For example, Sara Legrandjacques's work examines the international experiences of students from British India and French Indochina at the turn of the

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<sup>54</sup> Draper, "British Universities and Caribbean Slavery", 105.

<sup>55</sup> For more on this initiative, see <https://www.gla.ac.uk/explore/historicallslaveryinitiative/> (accessed 16/01/2022) and Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow: Report and Recommendations of the University of Glasgow History of Slavery Steering Committee* (September 2018) available at: [https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media\\_607547\\_smxx.pdf](https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_607547_smxx.pdf) <accessed 16/01/2022>.

<sup>56</sup> Philip Garigue, "The West African Students' Union: A Study in Culture Contact", *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 23, 1 (1953): 55-69.

<sup>57</sup> Hilary Perraton, *A History of Foreign Students in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Hilary Perraton, "Children of the Gorgeous East: Indian Students and the British Empire", in *International Students 1860-2010: Policy and Practice Round the World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 139-67; and John D. Hargreaves, *Academe and Empire: Some Overseas Connections of Aberdeen University, 1860-1970* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1994).

twentieth century.<sup>58</sup> A.J. Stockwell also traces the history of colonial students in Britain and considers the impact that the end of empire, as well as the marketisation of the higher education sector and the reclassification of colonial subjects to overseas students (and thus fee payers), had on students' relationships to Britain and to their own individual identities.<sup>59</sup>

This has been supported by the work of James Cantres and Sumita Mukherjee, who have delved into the role that Western education, and especially the racialisation of Indian students experiences at universities in England, played in the development of Indian nationalism in the early twentieth century.<sup>60</sup> Mukherjee argues that the experience of the men and women from India who studied at higher education institutions in the UK and then returned back to India invariably fostered not a sense of imperial loyalty, but rather imperial alienation, and compares this experience to those of students who studies in Britain on travelling scholarships.<sup>61</sup>

Similar assessments of the impact of the British higher education system on overseas students have also been carried out in relation to African students in the UK. For example, as early as 1987, Rich Paul examined the growth of black student politics in Britain, looking back to the beginning of the twentieth century and then assessing the impact of the two world wars on student identity.<sup>62</sup> More recently, a considerable amount of research has been conducted into West African students and their experiences in the UK. This has been led by Hakim Adi who has produced a number of books and essays looking at the experiences of West African students in Britain over the first half of the twentieth century and the impact and influence of Pan-Africanist ideas and nationalist movements in the radical politics of these students.<sup>63</sup> In particular, he uncovers the multiple examples of racism and

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<sup>58</sup> Sara Legrandjacques, "Global Students? The International Mobility and Identity of Students from Colonial India and Indochina, 1880s-1945", *Global Histories* 4, no. 2 (2018): 46-63.

<sup>59</sup> A.J. Stockwell "Leaders, Dissidents and the Disappointed: Colonial Students in Britain as Empire Ended", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 3 (2008): 487-507.

<sup>60</sup> Sumita Mukherjee, *Nationalism, Education, and Migrant Identities: The England-returned* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009); and James Cantres, "Existentialists Abroad: West Indian Students and Racial Identity in British Universities", *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 11, no. 3 (2018): 263-78.

<sup>61</sup> Mukherjee, *Nationalism, Education, and Migrant identities*: 113-37.

<sup>62</sup> Paul Rich, "The Black Diaspora in Britain: Afro-Caribbean Students and the Struggle for a Political Identity, 1900-1950", *Immigrants & Minorities* 6, no. 2 (1987): 151-74.

<sup>63</sup> Hakim Adi, "West African Students in Britain, 1900-60: The Politics of Exile", *Immigrants & Minorities* 12 no. 3 (1993): 107-28; and Hakim Adi, *West Africans in Britain 1900-1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1998).

discrimination experienced by these students in Britain, and how in some instances this helped shape their outlook towards the empire, radicalising them towards more anti-colonial views and encouraging the development of various political organisations. Adi argues that the West African Students' Union (WASU) established in 1925 by Herbert Bankole-Bright and Ladpido Solanke was the «most prominent and enduring of the West African student unions» and devotes a considerable portion of his book to the development of the WASU and its impact on welfare and politics in Britain.<sup>64</sup> He suggests that the success and reach of the union was achieved through multiple avenues; for example, the WASU published a journal, supported nationalist activity in Africa, lobbied the Colonial Office, and resisted attempts by that government department and humanitarian bodies to direct African student political activities in Britain. Nonetheless, there remain opportunities for further research utilising more localised and personal examples from the students involved in groups and unions such as WASU, to uncover the realities of student life and the individual experiences and stories of students from across the UK.<sup>65</sup>

### 5. *The Experiences of Women as Students*

The rise of second wave feminism from the 1960s generated a much more concerted focus on women's experiences within the historical literature and the development of a 'women's history' as a subject. As such, this period saw a large number of texts examining the development of women's education in the UK and Ireland and the context that facilitated this, namely women's admission into universities and higher education.<sup>66</sup> Scholars generally agree that

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<sup>64</sup> Adi, *West Africans in Britain*, 2.

<sup>65</sup> A similar point could be made with regards to Marc Matera's *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015) which offers a history of the African diaspora in London and analyses the development of black internationalism and anticolonialism in this context, but which again explores the role of organisational networks (including then WASU, the League of Coloured Peoples, and the International African Service Bureau in the development of black internationalism).

<sup>66</sup> Josephine Kamm, *Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History* (London: Methuen, 1965); and Gillian Sutherland, "The Movement for the Higher Education of Women: Its Social and Intellectual Context in England, c. 1840-80", in P.J. Waller (ed), *Politics and Social Change in Modern Britain: Essays Presented to A. F. Thompson* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987), 91-116; June Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991); and Gail Kelly and Sheila Slaughter, "Women and Higher Education: Trends and Perspectives", in *Women's Higher Education in Comparative Perspective* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1991): 3-13; and Deirdre Raf-

this process began in the late 1840s and gathered momentum in the 1850s and 1860s, with Margaret Bryant arguing that the opening up of female education was an «unexpected revolution».<sup>67</sup> However, Dierdre Raftery has challenged this notion, suggesting that «considering the length of time during which female education was debated, it could be said that the opening of higher education to women was achieved remarkably slowly. Far from being ‘unexpected’ or revolutionary, it had been sign-posted and thoroughly discussed».<sup>68</sup>

Carol Dyhouse’s pioneering work into women at university offers useful insights into the development of women’s education across Britain. *No Distinction of Sex* was the first major study to put the issue of gender at the heart of the debate among historians of higher education.<sup>69</sup> Although this book contains a lot of statistics and figures, Dyhouse also describes the realities of women’s lives at these new colleges and institutions, including the impact of different forms of supervision and restrictions, and the unequal provision of accommodation, facilities and scholarships as a result of the separation of the sexes. Dyhouse’s book *Students: A Gendered History* extends and complements *No Distinction of Sex* and continues to assess the issues of university access, students’ ambitions and their subsequent occupations, as well as exploring how gender issues have influenced women’s experiences of co-education.<sup>70</sup> Dyhouse has also produced important works on the British Federation of University Women, looking at women’s status in universities (both as students and teachers) and the importance of the Federation in offering informal, supportive networks for these women.<sup>71</sup>

Beyond Dyhouse’s work, many texts on women’s entry into higher education focus on the women’s colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, particu-

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tery, “The Opening of Higher Education to Women in Nineteenth Century England: ‘Unexpected Revolution’ or Inevitable Change?”, *Higher Education Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2002): 331-46.

<sup>67</sup> Purvis, *A History of Women’s Education in England*, 73; and Margaret Bryant, *The Unexpected Revolution: A Study in the Education of Women and Girls in the Nineteenth Century* (London: University of London Institute, 1979).

<sup>68</sup> Raftery, “The Opening of Higher Education to Women”: 343.

<sup>69</sup> Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939* (London: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>70</sup> Carol Dyhouse, *Students: A Gendered History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>71</sup> Carol Dyhouse, “The British Federation of University Women and the Status of Women in Universities, 1907-1939”, *Women’s History Review* 4, no. 4 (1995): 469; for more information on the British Federation of University Women see: Susan Cohen, “Crossing Borders: Academic Refugee Women, Education and the British Federation of University Women during the Nazi Era”, *History of Education* 39, no. 2 (2010): 175-82; and Susan Cohen, “The British Federation of University Women: Helping Academic Women Refugees in the 1930s and 1940s”, *International Psychiatry* 7, no. 2 (2010): 47-9.

larly around the establishment of Girton and Newnham Colleges in 1869 and 1871 respectively.<sup>72</sup> Most of these texts have discussed the extended campaign for academic recognition at these colleges, and the different purposes and intents in the establishment of both of these colleges, rather than the impact of this on the women students themselves. For example, such accounts deal with the institutional considerations and the practicalities of who would give lectures and provide training rather than focusing on the student experience per se. However, over the past two decades, several historians have taken an active interest in the daily experience of women students and the material history of women's education. This has included the publication of pieces on how women's rooms and accommodation were styled, how these students and their lifestyles were portrayed in the press, the specific women's cultures that developed at these colleges, as well as the role of the female student in popular society – namely the «Girton Girl» who, according to Petra Clark, «epitomized a domain of female freedom where young women had the power to control their own surroundings».<sup>73</sup>

This has also been supported by the launch of a digital archive project at Oxford University titled «Education and activism: women at Oxford, 1878-1920» which has currently digitised over 7000 archival images from the records of the former women's colleges at the university (Lady Margaret Hall, Somerville, St Anne's, St Hilda's and St Hugh's), including admissions records, annual reports, calendars, photographs, scrapbooks, minutes and letters.<sup>74</sup> This material will undeniably change the way we understand women's education in Oxford and will offer researchers the opportunity to delve more closely in the unique experiences of women at these colleges.

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<sup>72</sup> Josephine May, "Empire's Daughters: The First 25 Australian-Born Women at Girton and Newnham Colleges Cambridge, 187-1940, as Insiders and Outsiders", *History of Education* 49, no. 6 (2020): 781-804; Petra Clark, "The Girton Girl's "Academical Home": Girton College in the Late-Victorian Periodical Press", *Victorian Periodicals Review* 52, no. 4 (2019): 659; Vera Brittain, *The Women at Oxford: A Fragment of History* (London: Harrap, 1960); Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, *Women At Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Nancy Weiss Malkiel, *"Keep the Damned Women Out": The Struggle for Coeducation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017) which compares the establishment of coeducational institutions in the United States and the UK (Oxford and Cambridge).

<sup>73</sup> Jane Hamlett, "Nicely Feminine, Yet Learned': Student Rooms at Royal Holloway and the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain", *Women's History Review* 15, no. 1 (2006): 137-61; L. Jill Lamberton, "A Revelation and a Delight': Nineteenth-Century Cambridge Women, Academic Collaboration, and the Cultural Work of Extracurricular Writing", *College Composition and Communication* 65, no. 4 (2014): 578; and Clark, "The Girton Girl's 'academical home': 659-78.

<sup>74</sup> <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/women-at-oxford/> (accessed 16/01/2022).



This work on student life has then been supplemented by works on women's experiences from a disciplinary/ career-orientated perspective. For example, Elizabeth Edwards has examined student life at three teacher training colleges across England in the early twentieth century, using questionnaires and oral history interviews to present the views and opinions of the women who lived through these moments, rather than solely providing an institutional history of these colleges.<sup>75</sup> In addition to this, Rosemary Auchmuty and Kate Faulkner have delved into the lives of women law students at Cambridge and Oxford.<sup>76</sup> However, in the case of the scientific and medical education of women, much more research from a much wider range of institutions has been conducted, looking at the problems that women faced in both England and Scotland in gaining entry and recognition on par with men and their career patterns post university.<sup>77</sup> These assessments of women's experiences are often tied in to feminist and women's history more generally, as the history of women's medical education is linked to the wider history of medicine and the need for increased availability of women doctors for women patients.

Beyond these works focusing specifically on life in Oxbridge, several academics have sought to highlight the differences in the experiences of women at Oxford and Cambridge in late nineteenth and early twentieth century England and the wider phenomenon of female higher education in this time period. For example, H.S. Jones has studied the daily experience of women students, considering the difference between the residential colleges which sought to recreate a domestic setting and life within male-dominated student

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<sup>75</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, *Women and teacher training colleges, 1900-1960: a culture of femininity* (London: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>76</sup> Rosemary Auchmuty, "Early Women Law Students at Cambridge and Oxford", *Journal of Legal History* 63 (2008): 63-98; Kate Faulkner, "Cambridge Women and the Law", *Legal Information Management* 19, no. 1 (2019): 50-6.

<sup>77</sup> William M. Gordon, "The Right of Women to Graduate in Medicine – Scottish Judicial Attitudes in the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Legal History* 5 (1984): 136; and Ruth Watts, "Universities, Medical Education and Women: Birmingham in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *History of Education* 42:3 (2013): 306-319; Jonathan Reinartz, *Healthcare in Birmingham: The Birmingham Teaching Hospitals, 1779- 1939* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2009); Helen Mathers, "Scientific Women in a Coeducational University; Sheffield 1879-1939", *History of Education Researcher* no. 81 (2008): 3-19; Wendy Alexander, *First Ladies of Medicine: The Origins, Education and Destination of Early Women Medical Graduates of Glasgow University* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1987); Johanna Geyer-Kordesch and Rona Ferguson, *Blue Stockings, Black Gowns, White Coats: A Brief History of Women Entering Higher Education and the Medical Profession in Scotland* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1995); and Lindy Moore, *Bajanellas and Semilinas. Aberdeen University and the Education of Women 1860-1920* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991).

communities.<sup>78</sup> Julie S. Gibert too has also focused on women student's life at the civic universities, suggesting that «women at the civic universities enjoyed a freedom unknown at the women's colleges, and they occupied a more visible, fully integrated position than their counterparts at collegiate universities».<sup>79</sup> She therefore argues that though «segregation by gender played a significant part in students' lives at the civic universities, it was neither so consistent not so complete as to create alternative 'women's cultures'. Women's experiences at the civic universities must be understood in the context of coeducational student culture which centered on the classroom, the clubroom and the library rather than the residential college».<sup>80</sup> Thus, according to Jones and Gibert, the absence of social restrictions is seen as a distinguishing feature of the civic universities: «Because civic university students were drawn from the local area, most were able to live at home while pursuing their studies. Therefore authorities at the civic universities did not, like the governors of residential institutions, consider themselves *in loco parentis*» and so women who attended civic universities were granted more freedom, allowing them to become active participants in and an integral element of the general university community.<sup>81</sup> However, Dyhouse has challenged this utopian view of women student's life, recognising that «women students met with a mixed reception from both university authorities and from their male peers. They were often the subject of 'joking relationships' and ridicule. In many cases they were excluded from membership of existing societies and student unions, and found it necessary (or expedient) to form their own.»<sup>82</sup>

In recent years there has been increased focus on women's education in Ireland led by Raftery, Harford and Parkes. Judith Harford examines the campaigns that were enacted to secure places for women in Irish institutions of higher learning and to help women secure the same rights as men.<sup>83</sup> She highlights how the unique religious, social and political context in Ireland both challenged and allowed for educational reform and the consequent structural changes in Ireland. This work has been supplemented by Susan

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<sup>78</sup> Jones, "Student Life and Sociability".

<sup>79</sup> Julie S. Gibert, "Women Students and Student Life at England's Civic Universities before the First World War", *History of Education* 23, no. 4 (1994): 408.

<sup>80</sup> Gibert, "Women Students": 411.

<sup>81</sup> Gibert, "Women Students": 410.

<sup>82</sup> Dyhouse, "The British federation": 470.

<sup>83</sup> Judith Harford, "The movement for the higher education of women in Ireland: gender equality or denominational rivalry?", *History of Education* 34, no. 5 (2005): 497-516; and Judith Harford, *The Opening of University Education to Women in Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008).

Parkes, who has offered insights into the campaign for women's admission to Trinity College Dublin and the achievements of early women graduates from this institution, as well as a number of wider studies on the opening up of formal schooling and university education to Irish girls and women.<sup>84</sup> Here again then, considerably more work is needed both to delve into the history of students at other universities and higher education institutions across Ireland and also to offer a more nuanced picture of women student's lives rather than the institutional apparatuses that allowed for their education.

### *Conclusion*

The amount of research being conducted on student history has grown considerably over the past three decades, as historians have moved their emphasis away from a focus on universities and higher education institutions towards more in-depth social and political histories of students as individuals. This development has mirrored the growing academic trends of the past twenty years, with an increased focus on social histories, the history of human rights and humanitarianism, the links between colonialism and racism in the UK, as well as the development of gender history as a discipline taught at undergraduate and postgraduate level at universities across the globe.

However, to date the work conducted on the history of students and student life has focused predominantly on the Scottish, Oxbridge and London examples, with considerably less work conducted on the histories of students in Wales and Ireland, and those outside of Oxbridge and London in England. As the sub-field of student history continues to grow it is important that our research also evolves to incorporate more regional and local examples from across the UK and Ireland, so that the truly diverse history of students from across the higher education sector is revealed. Research activities surrounding the NUS centenary in 2022 will generate an increased focus on student life and student activism in the academic and public spheres, which will ultimately provide an opportunity to develop the current historiography further; to track the changes and successes of the student movement over the last 100 years and to broaden our engagement with student history more generally.

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<sup>84</sup> Susan M. Parkes, *A Danger To The Men?: A History of Women in Trinity College, Dublin 1904-2004* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2008); Deirdre Raftery & Susan M. Parkes, *Female Education in Ireland, 1700-1900: Minerva or Madonna* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007); and Deirdre Raftery, Judith Harford & Susan M. Parkes, "Mapping the Terrain of Female Education in Ireland, 1830-1910", *Gender and Education* 22 (2010): 565-78.

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# Europe's Forgotten Students? The Historiography of 19th and early 20th Century Students in France

## ¿Los estudiantes olvidados de Europa? La historiografía sobre los estudiantes franceses del siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX

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*Abstract:* Historians' interest in university history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been more limited in the case of France than for other countries. This interest has been even weaker with regard to students, a situation that only began to change at the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, pioneering work could have launched a research dynamic from the 1980s onwards, as the first part of this article shows and explains. In its second part, this paper analyzes the main themes addressed by the historiography of students in France. After underlining some of its persistent limitations, proposals for future research will be made.

*Key words:* France, student, university, grande école, historiography, Third Republic.

*Resumen:* El interés de los historiadores por la historia universitaria del siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX ha sido más limitado en el caso de Francia que en el de otros países. Este interés ha sido aún más débil con respecto a los estudiantes, situación que solo comenzó a cambiar a principios del siglo XXI. Sin embargo, un trabajo pionero podría haber iniciado una dinámica de investigación a partir de la década de 1980, como muestra y explica la primera parte de este artículo. En su segunda parte, este trabajo analiza los principales temas abordados por la historiografía de los estudiantes en Francia. Tras subrayar algunas de sus persistentes limitaciones, se realizarán propuestas para futuras investigaciones.

*Palabras clave:* Francia, estudiante, universidad, grande école, historiografía, Tercera República.

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In 1986, Christophe Charle described French students as «*des oubliés de l'histoire*», «forgotten by history».<sup>1</sup> In fact, at the time, almost no research on French students between 1800 and 1945 had been conducted. During the fifteen years following Charle's remark, a few considerable works were issued, but the history of students of the nineteenth and early twentieth century remained an unexplored field. On the contrary, studies on the second half of the twentieth century, especially on the student movement of 1968, were flourishing. This slowly began to change with the publication in 2002 of Pierre Moulinier's book on students during the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> In his paper on French university history published in *CIAN* in 2017, Moulinier, although one of the very few specialists of French students of the period considered here, offered a very general state of the art on a much longer period. Therefore, he could not go into detail and present the specificities of French student history.<sup>3</sup> This essay aims to do so, focusing on students in France<sup>4</sup> between the end of the Napoleonic era (1815) and World War II.

I argue that France's students of this period are not forgotten anymore, but are still largely disregarded by historians, who mainly consider specific groups and periods. This scarcity of the French historiography is even more striking in comparison with the research led on students of other time periods (especially from the 1960s onwards) and in other European countries.<sup>5</sup> I will present some explanations for this neglect, linked with the history of French higher education and how historians studied it – first of all, the absence of both strong university *and* university history writing traditions. This article accordingly includes students from universities (called *étudiants*) as well as other higher education institutions, especially the *grandes écoles*

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<sup>1</sup> Christophe Charle, "Les étudiants et l'affaire Dreyfus," *Cahiers Georges Sorel* 4 (1986): 61. All translations from French into English are from the author. I thank Emily Sharp for her linguistic corrections of my paper.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Moulinier, *Naissance de l'étudiant moderne (XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Belin, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Moulinier, "A Review of Recent Research on the History of Universities and Students in France," *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades* 17, no. 1 (June 2017): 141-161; available at <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2017.3731> (all links verified on 28.12.21).

<sup>4</sup> In this paper, "France's students" or "students in France" refer to all students enrolled at French higher learning institutions regardless of their nationality while "French students" only designates students of French nationality.

<sup>5</sup> As shown by the introduction and the other articles of this special issue, and, for the research on the second half of the twentieth century, see among many others Didier Fischer, *L'histoire des étudiants en France de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 2000), Jean-Philippe Legois, Alain Monchablon and Robi Morder, ed., *Cent ans de mouvements étudiants* (Paris: Syllepse, 2007), Jean-Philippe Legois, Marina Marchal and Robi Morder, ed., *Démocratie et citoyennetés étudiantes depuis 1968* (Paris: Syllepse, 2020).

(called *élèves*, like in the secondary degree). The duality between faculties and *grandes écoles* is at the core of the French higher education system since the late eighteenth, and even more so since the early nineteenth century.

After the suppression of the Ancien Régime's universities in 1793, faculties were recreated between 1802 and 1808 as part of Napoleon's "Imperial University". Five types of faculties existed: theology, law, medicine, sciences, and letters/arts.<sup>6</sup> The Napoleonic system established a complete state monopoly over the education system. After the liberalization of primary (1833) and secondary (1850) education, an 1875 law allowed the creation of private institutions of higher learning, which led to the creation of private catholic "universities" in Paris, Lille, Lyon, Angers, and Toulouse. Already in 1880, the republicans reestablished the state monopoly over the right to award degrees and to use the name "university". After long debates, faculties were finally gathered together into universities in 1896. Fifteen universities existed on the metropolitan soil, in 1909 the University of Alger was officially founded. The *grandes écoles* are special higher schools aiming to form higher civil servants, civil and military engineers, teachers. Many of these schools were established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and still exist today, to name only four of the most famous Parisian ones: École des Ponts et chaussées (1747), École des mines (1783), École polytechnique (1794, a military school since 1804), École normale supérieure (1794/1826, current name since 1845). Private schools were also founded during the second half of the nineteenth century, especially in the industrial and business domains. Furthermore, the École libre des sciences politiques (Institut d'études politiques de Paris since its nationalization in 1945), inaugurated in 1872, played a significant role in the formation of the political elite. More generally, French elites were mostly, and still are, educated in these schools.<sup>7</sup> Some lycées as well as private institutions began to develop during the nineteenth century a two-year program after the last year of secondary school to prepare the competition (*concours*) to enter these schools, which became the *classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles* (preparatory classes).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Professors of the *Facultés des lettres* taught literature, philosophy, history, geography, classical and modern languages, and social sciences courses. Christophe Charle, *La République des universitaires* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), chapter 5; Évelyne Héry, "Les facultés des lettres de province dans la tourmente des réformes de l'enseignement supérieur (1896-1914)," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 119, no. 4 (2012): 83-98.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Pasquali, *Héritocratie. Les élites, les grandes écoles et les mésaventures du mérite (1870-2020)* (Paris: La Découverte, 2021).

<sup>8</sup> George Weisz, *The Emergence of Modern Universities in France, 1863-1914* (Princeton:

I will first present the evolution of the historiography of France's students prior to World War II in order to show that historians' interest into this subject only grew very recently. On this basis, I will then underline the main characteristics of the existing research, explain its continuing limitations, and draw some perspectives on how some of these limitations could be resolved.

### *1. A brief history of the historiography of France's students*

Antonio Watrison (1822-1864) was a well-known Parisian student activist of the 1840s. Before and during the revolution of February 1848, the police kept him and his newspaper *La Lanterne du Quartier latin* under surveillance, as Watrison spread democratic, republican, and, in the eyes of the authorities, even socialist ideas among students. Watrison was also one of the first, if not the first, to write a history of French students, in the form a short brochure on the students of Paris in 1845. Five years later he published the first volume of his *Political history of schools and students from the Middle Ages until 1850*. Watrison began with an overview of the eight centuries before 1800, and then focused on the years 1809/1815 to 1830. The journalist and revolutionary Louis Blanc wrote a foreword that should have served as an introduction for the second volume, but Watrison never finished it.<sup>9</sup>

Despite these pioneer publications and an abundant journalistic and para-academic production on students, only a few authors wrote on the history of French students during the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. For instance, in his historical works on higher learning in France, Louis Liard, one of the most important university reformers and administrator from 1880 to his death in 1917, doesn't devote any particular chapter to students.<sup>10</sup> Until the 1950s, only very few erudite and scholarly works were dedicated to students.<sup>11</sup> Some biographical studies

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Princeton University Press, 1983); Robert D. Anderson, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), chapters 3, 9, 12; Bruno Belhoste, "La préparation aux grandes écoles scientifiques au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle : établissements publics et institutions privées," *Histoire de l'éducation* 90 (2001): 101-130.

<sup>9</sup> Antonio Watrison, *Les étudiants de Paris* (Paris: J. Bry éditeur, 1845), *Histoire politique des écoles et des étudiants depuis le Moyen Âge jusqu'à 1850. Première partie : 1815-1830* (Paris: Michel et Joubert, 1850).

<sup>10</sup> Louis Liard, *L'enseignement supérieur en France, 1789-1889/1893*, 2 vols. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1888, 1894), *L'Université de Paris* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens, 1909).

<sup>11</sup> Léon de la Sicotière, *L'Association des étudiants en droit de Rennes avant 1790* (Nantes: Vincent Forest et Émile Grimaud, 1883); Gabriel Vauthier, "Troubles à la Sorbonne en 1856,"

have been written and memoirs edited.<sup>12</sup> French students themselves wrote almost nothing on their predecessors – although the authors of the first history of the *Association générale des étudiants de Paris* (the General association of Paris students founded in 1884) in 1888 did mention Watrison.<sup>13</sup>

From the 1950s to the 1970s, countless writings dealt with students' current issues (even though less than in the USA and Germany) such as their political mobilizations, overcrowding in faculties, and housing shortages, but barely with their history. At the most, an historical introduction was included.<sup>14</sup> The disinterest of French historians in students of the nineteenth and early twentieth century can be significantly illustrated by the fact that out of the few publications that existed on the subject until the early 1980s, several were written by foreign historians, in English and in French.<sup>15</sup> French historians published only isolated articles. Some of them can be seen retrospectively as seminal: Adeline Daumard on the students of the *École polytechnique*, Jean Watrison on the first socialist student group created in Paris in 1891, and especially Michèle Tournier's unpublished PhD thesis. Excepting Edmée Charrier's law dissertation from 1931, Tournier was the first to study the access of women to

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*La Révolution de 1848 et les révolutions du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* 22, no. 109 (1925): 385-400. In 1926, one of Paris university libraries organized an exposition on student life in Paris "through the ages" and issued a catalog with historical summaries: Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ed., *Le quartier universitaire et la vie des étudiants à travers les âges* (Paris: Albert Morancé, 1926).

<sup>12</sup> For instance: Émile Longin, *Souvenirs d'un étudiant de l'Université de Strasbourg (1783-1793)* (Strasbourg: F.-X. Leroux, 1922, new ed. 1935); Jean-Victor Audouin, *Journal d'un étudiant en médecine et en sciences sous la Restauration, 1817-1818*, ed. Jean Théodoridès (Paris: Ed. Histoire de la médecine, 1959).

<sup>13</sup> [Anonymous], "Historique," in *Annuaire 1888/89*, ed. Association générale des étudiants de Paris (Paris, 1888), 5.

<sup>14</sup> As is the case in the often cited book by François Borella and Michel de la Fourrière, *Le syndicalisme étudiant* (Paris: Seuil, 1954, new ed. 1957).

<sup>15</sup> A. Belden Fields, *Student Politics in France. A Study of the Union Nationale des Étudiants de France* (New York, London: Basic Books, 1970); Phyllis H. Stock, "Students versus the University in Pre-World War Paris," *French Historical Studies* 7, no. 1 (1971), 93-110; Robert J. Smith, "L'atmosphère politique à l'École normale supérieure à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 20, no. 2 (1973), *The École Normale Supérieure and the Third Republic* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982); George F. Jewsbury, "Russian Students in Nancy, France: 1905-1914. A Case Study," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 23, no. 2 (1975): 225-228; Paul Cohen, "Les élèves catholiques de l'École Normale Supérieure (1906-1914)," *Cahiers d'histoire* XXIX, no. 1 (1984): 33-46; Terry Shinn, *Savoir scientifique et pouvoir social. L'École polytechnique (1794-1914)* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1980) (from an unpublished dissertation in English, 1975); John G. Gallaher, *The Students of Paris and the Revolution of 1848* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980).



higher education, comparing France and Germany.<sup>16</sup> Other publications mainly examined specific events, such as students during the Paris Commune of 1871 (in a special issue of a journal edited by the French Communist Party) or students' reaction to Émile Zola's *J'accuse !* in January 1898.<sup>17</sup> Only Paul Gerbod, a specialist of secondary education, wrote more general papers on students' studies and sociability from 1870 onwards.<sup>18</sup> Inspired by the events of May 1968, the journalist André Coutin wrote an historical panorama of students' agitation and revolts in Paris since the Middle Ages.<sup>19</sup> Beyond this, and despite the burning issue of student revolt and the success of Pierre Bourdieu's and Jean-Claude Passeron's sociological work on students and their class-based relation to culture,<sup>20</sup> historians have largely ignored student history.

However, their interest in this subject began to rise during the 1980s. First of all, in 1982, the renowned social history journal *Le Mouvement social* published a special issue on European students of the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, entitled "Between socialism and nationalism: the European student movements". It contains articles on Russian students in

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<sup>16</sup> Adeline Daumard, "Les élèves de l'École polytechnique de 1815 à 1848," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 5, no. 3 (1957): 226-234; Jean Maitron, "Le groupe des Étudiants Socialistes Révolutionnaires Internationalistes de Paris (1892-1902). Contribution à la connaissance du syndicalisme révolutionnaire," *Le Mouvement social* 46 (1961): 3-26; Edmée Charrier, *L'évolution intellectuelle féminine* (Paris: A. Mechelinck, 1931); Michèle Tournier, *L'Accès des femmes aux études universitaires en France et en Allemagne (1861-1967). Contribution à l'étude de l'enseignement féminin en France et en Allemagne durant ces 100 dernières années*, PhD thesis under the supervision of M. Debesse (Paris: Université René Descartes, 1972). Only a summary was published, significantly in English: "Women and Access to University in France and Germany (1861-1967)," *Comparative Education* 9, no. 3 (1973): 107-117.

<sup>17</sup> Madeleine Rebérioux, "Jaurès et les étudiants parisiens au printemps de 1893," *Bulletin de la Société d'études jaurésiennes* 30 (1968): 1-9; Philippe Bénétou, "La génération de 1912-1914. Image, mythe et réalité?," *Revue française de science politique* 21, no. 5 (1971): 981-1009; Jacques Girault, "Les étudiants et la Commune," *La Nouvelle critique*, special no. (1971): 95-106; Éric Cahm, "Pour et contre Zola : les étudiants de Paris en janvier 1898," *Bulletin de la Société d'études jaurésiennes* 71 (1978): 12-15; Jean Flahaut, "La révolte des étudiants en Pharmacie de Paris en avril-mai 1886," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 69, no. 251 (1981): 229-241.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Gerbod, "Les étudiants et leurs études," *Revue française de pédagogie* 52 (1980): 47-56, "La sociabilité étudiante depuis 1870," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 7, no. 2-3 (1980): 507-517; *La Condition universitaire en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Étude d'un groupe socio-professionnel, professeurs et administrateurs de l'enseignement secondaire public de 1842 à 1880* (Paris: Université de Paris, Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines, 1965).

<sup>19</sup> André Coutin, *Huit siècles de violence au Quartier latin* (Paris: Stock, 1969).

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Les Héritiers. Les étudiants et la culture* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1964), *The Inheritors. French Students and their Relations to Culture*, translated by Richard Nice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

Germany (Claudie Weill), German and Austrian student corporations (Gilbert Gillot), national-socialist students (Gottfried Mergner), fascist Italian students (Michel Ostenc), and two on France between 1880 and 1914: by Yolande Cohen on socialist students, and by George Weisz on student associations and manifestations.<sup>21</sup> Both authors published important works during the following years, Cohen on French youth movements, Weisz a still essential book on French university reforms of the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

During the following decade a change seemed to be underway with five major books and various articles being published by Guy Pervillé on Algerian-Muslim students and Scott McConnel on Vietnamese students in the French university during the colonial period; John Burney on the university and students of Toulouse in the nineteenth century; Jean-Claude Caron on Parisian students in the years 1814-1851; and Jean-François Sirinelli on the students of the preparatory classes for the *grandes écoles* and of the *École normale supérieure* during the interwar period.<sup>23</sup> Other sporadic articles were published.<sup>24</sup> Two publications on the periods before 1800 and after

<sup>21</sup> Yolande Cohen and Claudie Weill, ed., "Entre socialisme et nationalisme : les mouvements étudiants européens," *Le Mouvement social* 120 (1982); Yolande Cohen, "Avoir vingt ans en 1900 : à la recherche d'un nouveau socialisme," : 11-29; George Weisz, "Associations et manifestations. Les étudiants français de la Belle Époque," : 31-44.

<sup>22</sup> Yolande Cohen, *Les jeunes, le socialisme et la guerre. Histoire des mouvements de jeunesse en France* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989); Weisz, *The Emergence*.

<sup>23</sup> Guy Pervillé, *Les Étudiants algériens de l'université française (1880-1962)* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984); Scott McConnel, *Leftward Journey. The Education of Vietnamese Students in France 1919-1939* (New Brunswick, Oxford: Transaction Publishers, 1989); John M. Burney, "Student Organization in Nineteenth-Century France: The Example of Toulouse," *History of Education Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1985): 303-323, *Training the Bourgeoisie. The University of Toulouse in the Nineteenth Century: Faculties and Students in Provincial France* (New York: Garland, 1987), translated in French in 1988; Jean-Claude Caron, "Maintenir l'ordre au Pays latin : la Jeunesse des Écoles sous surveillance (1815-1848)," in *Maintien de l'ordre et polices en France et en Europe au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Société d'Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 et des Révolutions du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: Créaphis, 1987), 329-346, "Révoltes étudiantes, révoltes agissantes ? Le poids des révoltes étudiantes dans la vie politique française (1815-1848)," in *Révolte et société. Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> colloque d'histoire au présent*, vol. 2, ed. Fabienne Gambrelle and Michel Trebitsch (Paris: Histoire au présent, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1989), 194-204, *Généralisations romantiques. Les étudiants de Paris et le Quartier latin (1814-1851)* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1991), "Une approche de la sociabilité de la jeunesse : la presse étudiante à Paris (1829-1850)," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 et des révolutions du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* 8 (1992): 75-86; Jean-François Sirinelli, *Génération intellectuelle. Khâgneux et normaliens dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris: Fayard, 1988, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> Jean-François Sirinelli, "Action française : main basse sur le quartier latin !," *L'Histoire* 51 (1982), republished in *Les Collections de l'Histoire* 14 (2002): 54-59; Charles-Robert Ageron, "L'Association des étudiants musulmans nord-africains en France durant l'entre-deux-

1945 should be mentioned as well, as they also participated to this research dynamic: the social history of European and French students of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries under the supervision of Dominique Julia, Jacques Revel, and Roger Chartier as well as Alain Monchablon's monograph on the *Union nationale des étudiants de France* (France's students' national union) during the decade before 1968.<sup>25</sup>

In this context, a research trend could have emerged during the early 1990s, reinforced by the foundation in 1995 of the *Groupe d'études et de recherches sur les mouvements étudiants* (GERME), a research group on student

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guerres. Contribution à l'étude des nationalismes maghrébins," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 70, no. 258-259 (1983): 25-56; Rémi Fabre, "Un groupe d'étudiants protestants en 1914-1918," *Le Mouvement social* 122 (1983): 75-101; Charle, "Les étudiants"; Madeleine Ventre-Denis, "La Faculté de droit de Paris et la vie politique sous la Restauration. L'affaire Bavoix," *Revue d'histoire des Facultés de droit et de la science juridique* 5 (1987): 33-64; Paul Cohen, "Heroes and Dilettantes: The Action française, Le Sillon, and the Generation of 1905-14," *French Historical Studies* 15, no. 4 (1988): 673-687; Olivier Devaux, "Les étudiants en droit de Toulouse sous la Restauration : l'effervescence bonapartiste et libérale," *Revue d'histoire des Facultés de droit et de la science juridique* 7 (1988), 93-105; Robert J. Smith, "The Social Origins of Students of the École Libre and the Institut d'Études Politiques, 1885-1970," *History of Education* 17, no. 3 (1988): 229-238; Marguerite Fechner, "À Montpellier une étudiante de jadis. Anna Hamilton (1864-1935)," *Bulletin historique de la Ville de Montpellier* 11 (1989): 5-9; Anne Martin-Frugier, "La formation des élites : les 'conférences' sous la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne & Contemporaine* 36, no. 2 (1989): 211-244; Françoise Mayeur, "Naissance de l'étudiant en Sciences et en Lettres à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle en France," in *Les étudiants. Liens sociaux, culture, mœurs du Moyen-Âge jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. V<sup>e</sup> session scientifique internationale. Cracovie 28-30 mai 1987* (Varsovie, Cracovie: Panstowowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1991), 157-163; Christine Bouneau, "Élites étudiantes et socialisme : le Groupe des Étudiants Collectivistes de Paris à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Les élites fins de siècles (XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. Sylvie Guillaume (Bordeaux: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, 1992), 127-139. Rémi Fabre also submitted his PhD thesis under the supervision of Madeleine Rebérioux on the French Christian Students' Federation: *La Fédération française des étudiants chrétiens, 1898-1914. Un mouvement de jeunesse protestant face à son temps, de l'affaire Dreyfus à l'été 1914* (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1985), which remained unpublished. A today completely unknown master's thesis on foreign students at Montpellier's Faculty of medicine in the twentieth century can also be mentioned here as a pioneer study on the subject: André Coudurier, *Les Étudiants étrangers, docteurs d'université (mention médecine), à Montpellier, au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, mémoire de maîtrise under the supervision of Gérard Cholvy (Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, 1988).

<sup>25</sup> Alain Monchablon, *Histoire de l'UNEF de 1956 à 1968* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1983); Dominique Julia, Jacques Revel and Roger Chartier, ed., *Les Universités européennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : histoire sociale des populations étudiantes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1986); Dominique Julia and Jacques Revel, ed., *Les Universités européennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : histoire sociale des populations étudiantes*, vol. 2: *France* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1989).

movements, although its members were (and still are) predominantly non-academic historians, as is the case of Robi Morder (its president until today) and Alain Monchablon, and are mostly interested in the second half of the twentieth century, as shown by the dissertation of Didier Fischer, submitted in 1998 and published in 2000.<sup>26</sup> Yet, the disinterest in student history remained strong among academic historians. A reviewer of Burney's book mentioned that "Professor Jacques Godechot suggested the topic to John Burney after having proposed it, in vain, to his French students."<sup>27</sup> Neither Pervillé, Sirinelli or Caron supervised during their careers any dissertation specifically dedicated to students.<sup>28</sup> Unlike historians from the English, German, Italian and Spanish-speaking areas, French-speaking historians do not have a specific journal for university history, but only a journal considering history of education in general. Although *Histoire de l'éducation* was founded as early as 1978 and a majority of its issues being thematic ones,<sup>29</sup> until today only two were devoted to higher education, which did not include any article specifically concerning students.<sup>30</sup> As such, this institutional context did not help the promotion and the development of student history.

In the 1990s and first years of the 2000s, publications on students of the nineteenth and early twentieth century remained scarce and isolated, analyzing collective movements and political activities,<sup>31</sup> the first female stu-

<sup>26</sup> Fischer, *L'histoire*.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Rearick, "John M. Burney – Toulouse et son université. Facultés et étudiants dans la France provinciale du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1988. Pp. 330," *Histoire sociale / Social History* 24, no. 48 (1991): 376.

<sup>28</sup> According to the database: <http://www.theses.fr/>.

<sup>29</sup> Out of 52 issues between 2000 and 2019, 31 were thematic, excluding seven double issues of bibliography. Renaud d'Enfert and Rebecca Rogers, "Orientations et lieux de la recherche en histoire contemporaine de l'éducation en France depuis 2000," *Histoire de l'éducation* 154 (2020): 143-176.

<sup>30</sup> Christophe Charle, ed., "Les universités germaniques (XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)," *Histoire de l'éducation* 62 (1994); Emmanuelle Picard, ed., "L'enseignement supérieur. Bilan et perspectives historiographique," *Histoire de l'éducation* 122 (2009).

<sup>31</sup> Romuald Szramkiewicz, "Autour d'une pétition d'étudiants de la Faculté de droit de Paris contre le projet Villèle de retour au droit d'ainesse en 1826," *Revue d'histoire des Facultés de droit et de la science juridique* 14 (1993): 93-136; Marc Milet, *La Faculté de droit de Paris face à la vie politique. De l'affaire Scelle à l'affaire Jèze, 1925-1936* (Paris: LGDJ, 1996); Jean-Claude Caron, "Aux origines du mythe : l'étudiant sur la barricade dans la France romantique (1827-1851)," in *La barricade*, ed. Alain Corbin and Jean-Marie Mayeur (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1997), 185-196; Christophe Charle, "Le souvenir du Deux-Décembre, les étudiants et le boulangisme," in *La France démocratique : combats, mentalités, symboles. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Agulhon*, ed. Christophe Charle, Jacqueline Lalouette, Michel Pigenet and Anne-Marie Sohn (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), 277-285; Christine Bouneau, "Le groupe

dents,<sup>32</sup> foreign students,<sup>33</sup> students during both world wars.<sup>34</sup> Some master's and PhD theses also dealt with student history: all remained unpublished.<sup>35</sup> Finally, Jean-François Condette's dissertation from 1997, published in 1999, on the Faculty of letters of Lille, far from being only an institutional history, analyses at length its professors and students. Condette has since worked

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des étudiants socialistes de Toulouse et leur revue *La Jeunesse socialiste* (1894-1895)," in *L'implantation du socialisme en France au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Partis, réseaux, mobilisation*, ed. Jacques Girault (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001), 297-308.

<sup>32</sup> Carole Lécuyer, "Une nouvelle figure de la jeune fille sous la III<sup>e</sup> République : l'étudiante," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 4 (1996), available at: <https://journals.openedition.org/clio/437>; Raymonde Albertine Saliou Bulger, "Les Démarches et l'exploit de Julie Victoire Daubié, première 'bachelière' de France, à Lyon, sous le Second Empire," *The French Review* 71, no. 2 (1997): 204-212.

<sup>33</sup> Nicolas Manidakis, "Étudiants étrangers, universités françaises et marché du travail intellectuel (fin du XIX<sup>e</sup>-années 1930). Certifier sans gratifier, des titres universitaires pour l'exportation," in *Construction des nationalités et immigration dans la France contemporaine*, ed. Gérard Noiriel and Éric Guichard (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 1997), 123-154, "Les migrations estudiantines en Europe (1890-1930)," in *Migrations et migrants dans une perspective historique. Permanences et innovations / Migrations and Migrants in Historical Perspective. Permanencies and Innovations*, ed. René Leboutte, Bruxelles, Bern et al: P.I.E., Peter Lang, 2000), 243-270; Françoise Dubourg, "Les étudiants russes à Toulouse du XIX<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Slavica occitania* 7 (1998), 129-136; Dimitri Gouzevitch and Irina Gouzevitch, "Étudiants, savants et ingénieurs juifs originaires de l'Empire russe en France (1860-1940)," *Archives Juives* 35, no. 1 (2002): 120-128; Victor Karady, "La migration internationale d'étudiants en Europe, 1890-1940," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 145 (2002): 47-60.

<sup>34</sup> André Gueslin, ed., *Les facs sous Vichy. Étudiants, universitaires et universités en France pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Clermont-Ferrand: Institut d'études du Massif central, 1994); Olivier Chaline, "Les Normaliens dans la Grande guerre," and Jacques Amaz, "Les Étudiants de l'École des Beaux-Arts de Lyon engagés sur le front pendant la Première Guerre mondiale. Le salut par l'art?," *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* 183 (1996): 99-110 and 125-139.

<sup>35</sup> David Colon, *Un Cercle d'étudiants catholiques sous la Troisième République. La Conférence Olivaint (1875-1940)*, mémoire de DEA under the supervision of Jean-Pierre Azéma (Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, 1996); Benoît Graisset, *Les Étudiants d'Action française de Paris avant 1914. Présence d'une influence, influence d'une légende*, mémoire de maîtrise under the supervision of Christophe Charle and Rosemonde Sanson (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1997); Hervé Le Goc, *L'Association Générale des Étudiantes et Étudiants Rennais de 1919 à 1940. Un exemple du corporatisme estudiantin de l'entre-deux-guerres*, mémoire de maîtrise under the supervision of Gilbert Nicolas (Université de Haute-Bretagne Rennes 2, 1999); Nicolas Manidakis, *L'essor de la mobilité étudiante internationale à l'âge des États-nations. Une étude de cas : les étudiants grecs en France (1880-1940)*, PhD dissertation under the supervision of Gérard Noiriel (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2004). Other master's theses from the 1960s to the 2000s can be found in the non-exhaustive database *XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle en mémoires* with the keywords "étudiant" and "élève": <https://19m.nakalona.fr>.

on foreign and female students, student associations, scholarship recipients, mainly in Lille but also more generally in France.<sup>36</sup>

The publication in 2002 of Pierre Moulinier's book changed the state of the existing knowledge on students in France during the nineteenth century. *Naissance de l'étudiant moderne* includes chapters on the student body, students' cultural and political activities, living conditions, sociability, curricula and diplomas. It focuses mainly but not only on the years 1880-1914 and on Paris. Moulinier has since published several papers as well as a second book on foreign students in Paris during the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> He is currently finishing a new book on students in France during the interwar period. The fact that Moulinier is the most prolific author on France's students of the nineteenth century, while being a non-academic historian, is another

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<sup>36</sup> Jean-François Condette, *La Faculté des lettres de Lille de 1887 à 1945. Une faculté dans l'histoire* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1999), "Les Cervelines' ou les femmes indésirables. L'étudiante dans la France des années 1880-1914," *Carrefours de l'éducation* 15 (2003): 38-61, "Folklore, solidarité et revendications étudiantes : l'Union lilloise des étudiants de l'État de 1881 à 1940," *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps* 86 (2007): 34-47, "Les associations générales d'étudiants en France et le politique (1881-1914). Première partie : espoirs et développement," *Carrefours de l'éducation* 23 (2007): 85-101, "Les associations générales d'étudiants en France et le politique (1881-1914). Deuxième partie : les espoirs déçus du régime républicain : limites et contestation des AGE," *Carrefours de l'éducation* 24 (2007): 149-158, "Le bon levain. Les étudiants boursiers en France de 1877 à 1914," in *Le coût des études. Modalités, acteurs et implications sociales, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Jean-François Condette (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 333-388, "Servir la paix du monde par les échanges étudiants : l'Institut lillois d'expansion universitaire et de patronage des étudiants étrangers (1892-1939)," in *Étudiant(e)s du monde en mouvement. Migrations, cosmopolitisme et internationales étudiantes*, ed. Robi Morder and Caroline Rolland-Diamond (Paris: Syllapse, 2012), 313-338, "Les étudiants des facultés publiques septentrionales (1808-1970) : l'affirmation d'une jeunesse spécifique ?," in *Histoire de l'enseignement supérieur en Picardie (1804-1970)*, ed. Brunot Poucet (Amiens: Encreage, 2015), 139-163.

<sup>37</sup> Moulinier, *Naissance*, "La 'Belle Époque' des carabins et des potards : préhistoire du syndicalisme étudiant ? (1902-1912)," *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps* 86 (2007): 10-28, "Naître hors de la métropole et se former à Paris : les cas des docteurs reçus à la Faculté de médecine de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Outre-mers* 96, no. 362-363 (2009): 193-211, *Les étudiants étrangers à Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Migrations et formation des élites* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), "Un campus universitaire au Quartier latin ? Le logement des étudiants français et étrangers à la Belle Époque," in *La Babel étudiante. La cité internationale universitaire de Paris (1920-1950)*, ed. Dzovinar Kévonian and Guillaume Tronchet (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 45-57, "Les étudiants et les étudiantes en France dans la Grande Guerre," *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 19, no. 2 (2015): 55-77, "Supporting the Professors and the Professions? The Medical Student Demonstrations of 1907-1908 in Paris," in *Student Revolt, City, and Society in Europe: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Pieter Dhondt and Elizabethanne Boran (New York, London: Routledge, 2018), 54-66.

symbol for the persisting low involvement of professional historians in the field. Nevertheless, the number of publications on the subject has increased significantly in the last twenty years.

Nearly all of these publications are articles and book chapters, with only a few monographs and PhD theses. In the continuity of the previous decades, they consider various topics: the student body in general,<sup>38</sup> foreign and colonial students,<sup>39</sup> Catholic students,<sup>40</sup> associations and mobilizations,<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Boris Noguès, "Élèves ou auditeurs ? Le public des facultés de lettres et de sciences au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1808-1878)," *Histoire de l'éducation* 120 (2008) : 77-97; Caroline Barrera and Christophe Jalaudin, "Les effectifs étudiants de l'université toulousaine, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle," and Isabelle Lacoue-Labarthe, "Femmes et bancs d'amphis, histoire d'une conquête, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Histoire de l'université de Toulouse*, vol. III: *L'époque contemporaine, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Caroline Barrera (Toulouse: Éditions Midi-Pyrénées, Université Fédérale Toulouse Midi-Pyrénées, 2019), 463-488 and 48-500.

<sup>39</sup> Manitakis, *L'essor*; Lynda Khayar, "Les étudiants juifs étrangers à Strasbourg au tournant des années trente," *Archives Juives* 38, no. 2 (2005): 124-135; Whitney Walton, "Internationalism and the Junior Year Abroad: American Students in France in the 1920s and 1930s," *Diplomatic History* 29, no. 2 (2005): 255-278; Caroline Barrera, *Étudiants d'ailleurs. Histoire des étudiants étrangers, coloniaux et français de l'étranger de la Faculté de droit de Toulouse (XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle-1944)* (Albi: Presses du Centre universitaire Champollion, 2007), "Les étudiants-soldats américains en France au sortir de la Première Guerre mondiale," *Histoire de l'éducation* 125 (2010): 27-47; Caroline Barrera and Patrick Ferté, ed., *Étudiants de l'exil. Migrations internationales et universités refuges (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> s.)* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2009); Boris Czerny, "L'Association des étudiants russes de Paris," *Cahiers du monde russe* 48, no. 1 (2007): 5-21; Victor Karady, "Les Juifs d'Europe de l'Est et l'accueil des étudiants étrangers en France sous la III<sup>e</sup> République," *International Journal of Jewish Education Research* 2 (2010): 7-34; Amady Aly Dieng, *Histoire des organisations d'étudiants africains en France (1900-1950)* (Dakar: L'Harmattan-Sénégal, 2010); Kelly Duke Bryant, "Social Networks and Empire: Senegalese Students in France in the Late Nineteenth Century," *French Colonial History* 15, no. 1 (2014): 39-66; Sara Legrandjacques, "Hanoï au cœur des mobilités étudiantes (1880-1945)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin* 43 (2016): 89-102, "Global Students? The International Mobility and Identity of Students from Colonial India and Indochina, 1880s-1945," *Global Histories. A Student Journal* 4 (2018): 46-63, *Voies étudiantes. Pour une histoire globale des mobilités étudiantes en Asie (Inde britannique - Indochine française, années 1850-1940)*, PhD thesis under the supervision of Pierre Singaravélou (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2021).

<sup>40</sup> Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée, "Généralités catholiques. Les étudiants de Paris aux origines de la Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (1833-1844)," in *Mentalités et croyances contemporaines : mélanges offerts à Gérard Cholvy*, ed. Dominique Avon and Michel Fourcade (Montpellier: Publications de l'Université Montpellier 3, 2003), 469-502; David Colon, "La naissance des organisations d'étudiants catholiques en France," *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps* 86 (2007): 29-33; Catherine Masson, *La Catho. Un siècle d'histoire de l'Université catholique de Lille (1877-1977)* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2010).

<sup>41</sup> Jean Garrigues "Le Quartier latin à la Belle Époque : un lieu privilégié de l'engagement," in *Les Universités en Europe du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours. Espaces, modèles et fonctions*, ed. Frédéric Attal, Jean Garrigues, Thierry Kouamé and Jean-Pierre Vittu (Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005),

political groups, actions and ideas,<sup>42</sup> the press,<sup>43</sup> culture, sociability, sexuality, and folklore,<sup>44</sup> students during the two world wars.<sup>45</sup>

139-154; Legois, Monchablon and Morder, ed., *Cent ans*; Jean-Philippe Legois, Alain Monchablon and Robi Morder, ed., "1907 : une union étudiante est née," *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps* 86 (2007); Pierre Moulinier, "L'AGE de Paris, les associations corporatives et la représentation des étudiants à la Belle Époque," *Les Cahiers du GERME* 29 (2010-2011): 49-53; Camille Creyghton, "La formation de l'identité étudiante sous la Troisième République et les obsèques de Jules Michelet," *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 92, no. 4 (2014): 1151-1172; François Audigier, "L'univers associatif étudiant nancéien de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle aux années 1960," in *L'Université à Nancy et en Lorraine. Histoire, mémoire et perspectives*, ed. Jean El Gammal, Éric Germain and François Lormant (Nancy: PUN/Éditions universitaires de Lorraine, 2015), 283-300; Antonin Dubois, "Des étudiants en congrès. Deux tentatives de restructuration de l'espace des organisations étudiantes en France et en Allemagne à l'aube du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Les associations d'élèves et d'étudiants. Entre socialisation et apprentissage (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. Véronique Castagnet-Lars (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2020), 97-110, "Servir la nation, défendre ses intérêts. Les étudiants français face aux réformes du service militaire (1889-1913)," *Le Mouvement Social* 275 (2021): 51-71, *Organiser les étudiants. Mobilisations collectives et formation d'un groupe social*, PhD thesis under the supervision of Gérard Noiriel and Katja Patzel-Mattern (École des hautes études en sciences sociales and Universität Heidelberg, 2019), published as *Organiser les étudiants. Socio-histoire d'un groupe social (Allemagne et France, 1880-1914)* (Vulaines-sur-Seine: Éditions du Croquant, 2021). In the following notes, I will only quote the book.

<sup>42</sup> Jacques Varin, "Les étudiants communistes, des origines à la veille de Mai 1968," *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps* 74 (2004): 37-49; Jean-Claude Caron, "Jeunes élites et processus de politisation. Le rôle des étudiants dans la France des notables," in *Les Universités en Europe*, 63-76; Christine Bouneau, "Les jeunesses socialistes et l'action internationale durant l'entre-deux-guerres," *Le Mouvement social* 223 (2008): 41-53, "Les jeunesses et les étudiants socialistes en France des années 1880 aux années 1960 : groupes politiques et/ou générationnels ?," *Histoire@Politique* 4, no. 1 (2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.3917/hp.004.0004>; Alain Monchablon, "Les années Front populaire des étudiants de Paris," *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 133 (2017): 27-37.

<sup>43</sup> Laurence Corroy, *La presse des lycéens et des étudiants au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'émergence d'une presse spécifique* (Lyon: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 2004), "Une presse méconnue : la presse étudiante au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Semen. Revue de sémio-linguistique des textes et discours* 25 (2008), available at: <https://journals.openedition.org/semen/8140>.

<sup>44</sup> Michaël Attali and Jean Saint-Martin, "Le sport universitaire et l'affirmation de l'identité étudiante (XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)," in *Cent ans*, 121-134; Lola Gonzalez-Quijano, "Entre désir sexuel et sentiments : l'apprentissage amoureux des étudiants du Quartier latin du second XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Les Jeunes et la sexualité. Initiations, interdits, identités (XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Véronique Blanchard, Régis Revenin and Jean-Jacques Yvoret (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2010), 180-188; Arnaud Babérot, "De la vie sainte à la vie saine. Hygiène et sport dans les mouvements de jeunesse protestants (1890-1914)," *Études théologiques et religieuses* 87, no. 3 (2013): 279-291; Antonin Dubois, "Les maisons des organisations étudiantes en France et en Allemagne. Un lieu de sociabilité masculine et d'encadrement (1871-1914)," *Agora débats/jeunesses* 73, no. 2 (2016): 35-48.

<sup>45</sup> Didier Fischer, "Les étudiants et la Résistance," *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps* 74 (2004): 20-28; Olivier Guillot, "Les étudiants et anciens étudiants de la Faculté de Droit de Nan-



Finally, it should be underlined that the lack of interest from French historians for the history of France's students before World War II is also true for students of other countries. Some of them have published on students in Germany, Spain, Portugal or Britain, but, with a few exceptions such as the works of Claudie Weill on Russian students in Germany and of Romain Robinet on students during the Mexican revolution,<sup>46</sup> these publications consist only of an article or a book chapter, in or without connection with the author's main research interests.<sup>47</sup>

After this brief history of student history in France, I will now analyze more precisely how it was written and present some of its predominant characteristics and limitations.

## 2. Parisian Students of the early Third Republic and nothing else?

In their introduction of the aforementioned *Le Mouvement social's* issue on student movements, Yolande Cohen and Claudie Weill wrote: «First of all, the student movement must be dissociated from the milieu from which it comes. A preliminary study of this milieu, of its social composition and its numerical transformations [...], of the variations from one country to another, certainly appears necessary. However, it runs the risk of invading the whole field of investigation and of pushing back to the background the study of movements as such.» Cohen and Weill consider the student movement as an independent social form, separated from official education politics as well as from cultural movements and political groups. According to them, its history is the result of

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cy 'Morts pour la France' en 1914-1918 : éléments statistiques et monographiques," in *L'Université à Nancy*, 209-226; Hugo Melchior, "Les étudiants rennais à l'épreuve de l'occupation allemande," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 124, no. 2 (2017): 101-120; Sara Le-grandjacques, "Déroutes étudiantes. Les étudiants indochinois en France, 1940-1945," *Les cahiers Sirice* 22 (2019): 69-83.

<sup>46</sup> Claudie Weill, *Étudiants russes en Allemagne 1900-1914. Quand la Russie frappait aux portes de l'Europe* (Paris, Montréal: L'Harmattan, 1996); Romain Robinet, *La Révolution mexicaine. Une histoire étudiante* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2018); Dubois, *Organiser*; Legrandjacques, *Voies*.

<sup>47</sup> Three examples: Jean-René Aymes, "L'image 'costumbrista' de l'étudiant espagnol à l'époque romantique (1830-1850)," in *L'Université en Espagne et en Amérique Latine du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, vol. II, ed. Ève-Marie Fell and Jean-Louis Guereña (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 1998), 475-488; Christian Ingrao, "Étudiants allemands, mémoire de guerre et militantisme nazi : étude de cas," *14-18 Aujourd'hui, Today, Heute* 5 (2002): 55-71; Sabine Chaouche, "'Traités comme des pigeons'. Pratiques commerciales et marché estudiantin à Oxford à l'époque victorienne," *Revue d'histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* 58 (2019): 209-227.

«a series of ruptures between student generations.» Cohen and Weill therefore pleaded for an «endogenous analysis of the student movement.»<sup>48</sup> Both Cohen (born in 1950) and Weill (1945-2018) took part in the French student movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their vision and interpretation of the history of student movements was deeply rooted in this experience – but so was also US political scientist Philip Altbach, who nevertheless proposed a decidedly different theoretical and interpretative framework.<sup>49</sup> Cohen even wrote in the introduction of her book on youth movements, that, even finished only two decades later, her research was «born out of May '68» and «saw the light of day during the turmoil that followed the events.»<sup>50</sup>

In reality, historians of students in France before World War II have tried to combine, on one hand, the analysis of students' social background, the structuration of the student body and its evolution (enrollment, feminization, foreign students), and, on the other hand, the study of students' organizations and mobilizations (political or not), culture, and sociability. That was already, to some extent, the case in Jean-François Sirinelli's book – a shortened and revised version of his 1986 PhD thesis, supervised by political historian René Rémond. Sirinelli focused mostly on political ideas, mobilizations, and groups, and also dedicated large parts of his research to the careers of former students of the *École normale supérieure* in teaching, university, and politics. This was much more the case in Jean-Claude Caron's book on Parisian students of the first half of the nineteenth century, also a shortened and revised version of his PhD thesis (1989), supervised by social and sociability historian Maurice Agulhon. Caron tackled student history combining social (as much as allowed by the limited contemporary sources), political (according an at least as important place to concrete practices like manifestations, associations, and writings as to ideas), and cultural (practices and lifestyle) perspectives. Some chapter titles give an idea of this varied approach: «The students of Paris: group portrait», «Schools in revolution», «The student in the city: folklore, marginal practices, associative life». Another chapter deals with male students' relations with women and sexuality.<sup>51</sup> This multi-faceted

<sup>48</sup> Cohen and Weill, "Les mouvements étudiants": 5, 7, and 6.

<sup>49</sup> Philip G. Altbach, "Perspectives on Student Political Activism," *Comparative Education* 25, no. 1 (1989): 97-110; Thierry M. Luescher, "Theorising Student Activism in and Beyond the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the Contribution of Philip G. Altbach," in *Student Engagement in Europe: Society, Higher Education and Student Governance*, ed. Manja Klemenčič, Sjur Bergan and Rok Primožič (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2015), 33-49.

<sup>50</sup> Cohen, *Les jeunes*, 13.

<sup>51</sup> Sirinelli, *Génération*; Caron, *Génération*.

approach has had a strong influence on subsequent works by Condette, Moulinier, and others. Without completely excluding the older literature, I will now focus on the publications of the last 35 years to analyze how the history of students in France during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was written through five themes: Paris/province, the studied periods, the student body, non-university students, associations and politics.

## 2.1. Paris and the “French desert”?

«Paris and the French desert» is the title of Caron’s first chapter to characterize the state of university life during the first half of the nineteenth century. Sirinelli spoke of «Paris, Lyon, and the French desert» to describe the existence, and more importantly, the significance of preparatory classes for the *grandes écoles* during the interwar period. The centralization of French political, intellectual, and cultural life is well-known. It is also the case of its university life, which made Paris a world’s major scientific and academic center. Between the 1880s and the 1930s, the University of Paris was Europe’s biggest university – counting in 1900 nearly as much students as the universities of Vienna and Berlin combined (ca. 12,000 against 6,300 and 6,100). From 1815 to 1940, between 60% and 40% of all France’s university students were enrolled at Paris. Many other public and private higher learning institutions were also established there. It explains, at least partly, why historians have almost only considered Parisian students. Whilst some bigger provincial universities have been studied (Lille, Montpellier, Toulouse), on the contrary, other important provincial universities like Lyon and Bordeaux, and the smaller ones such as Besançon, Caen, and Dijon have been ignored so far. Another reason for the focus on Paris is the often richer archival funds that can be found on the capital’s higher learning institutions in comparison to the provincial ones. This can be explained by the importance of the University of Paris, which led to the production of more documents. But the archiving of university records has been overall deficient for the period considered here,<sup>52</sup> and even more so of students’ archives (personal ar-

<sup>52</sup> Still today only 22 universities have their own archives. Jean-Noël Luc, Stéphanie Méchine and Emmanuelle Picard, *Les archives universitaires. De nouvelles sources pour l’histoire de l’enseignement supérieur et de la recherche* (Paris: Centre d’histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, 2014); Charles Mercier, “Les archives des universités (1968-2012),” in *Sur les traces du passé de l’éducation... Patrimoines et territoires de la recherche en éducation dans l’espace français*, ed. Jean-François Condette and Marguerite Figeac-Monthus (Pessac: Maison des sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine, 2014), 125-133.

chives, associations records, student press). Furthermore, the archives do not explain everything: for instance, the material from the interwar period has been largely neglected so far.

## 2.2. The great transformation, 1880-1914

The thirty-five years before World War I were a period of tremendous reforms for French education, with the university system established by the republicans lasting until 1968.<sup>53</sup> As such, this period has been studied considerably more than the seven previous and three following decades. In particular, two periods have been particularly neglected until today: the Second Empire of Napoleon III (1852-1870) and the interwar period. Several facts can explain this unfortunate disregard. The first decade of Napoleon III's empire is often qualified as "authoritarian", the second as "liberal". Victor Duruy introduced first reforms during his time as minister of public education from 1863 to 1867.<sup>54</sup> If they are frequently cited and taken into consideration, it is often only as a "pre-history" of later transformations. For students, the Empire's liberalization was barely perceptible. The Second Empire is in some sort "stuck" between pre-1850 students' agitation and revolts, the highlight of which was their participation to the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, and the transformations of the student body resulting from republican university reforms from the late 1870s on. The absence of research on French students during the interwar period however is harder to understand. Sirinelli's book could have raised interest in students of these years. For Paris as well as for provincial universities, more archives are generally available than for the previous decades. And there is a lot to consider: as highlighted by the few existing publications, students demonstrated, campaigned, struck during all of the 1920s-1930s.

## 2.3. The diversification of the student body

Until the end of the nineteenth century, France's only "true" – in European comparison – university students were law and medicine students. Pharmacy students had a peculiar curriculum, as the internship in a pharmacy was

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<sup>53</sup> Weisz, *The Emergence*; Jean-Noël Luc, Jean-François Condette, Yves Verneuil, *Histoire de l'enseignement en France (XIX<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Malakoff: Armand Colin, 2020).

<sup>54</sup> Jean-Charles Gueslot, *Victor Duruy. Historien et ministre (1811-1894)* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2009).

at least as important as theoretical and practical studies to obtain the diploma. There were only very few students in the faculties of letters and sciences, which served mainly to examine students and to deliver the *baccalauréat*, created in 1808, at the time the first degree of higher education.<sup>55</sup> Things began to change at the end of the 1870s, with the introduction in these two faculties of scholarships for the preparation of a bachelor's degree (*licence*) in 1877 and of the secondary teachers' examination (*agrégation*) in 1881, before then almost exclusively prepared at the *École normale supérieure*.

For the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, there are almost no statistics on student enrollment. Before 1897, there existed no similar semestrial or yearly "matriculation" as was the case in Germany, but only "inscriptions", which functionated in a very complex manner (a student could "take" between one and four "inscriptions" per academic year). This system complexified and reduced the accuracy of the statistical surveys. According to Caron, 6,131 students were officially enrolled in 1814, 2,285 of whom in Paris. The faculties of the capital then counted 7,446 students in 1828 and 5,543 in 1844. In 1865, there were around 8,000 students in France: 2,545 of them were studying medicine and 4,913 law. In 1875-76, at the eve of the republican reforms, French faculties enrolled 9,299 students. Ten years later, they were 15,158 and already 20,714 in 1890-91. The numbers then continued to rise steadily, reaching 30,370 in 1900-01 and culminating during the last pre-war academic year 1913-14 with a total of 42,037. After a decline, like in every other country, during World War I (only 12,566 students in 1916-17 for instance), the enrollments rose extremely rapidly just after the armistice, already surpassing the pre-1914 high in 1919-20 with 45,117 students. But contrary to the Belle Époque, student enrollments rose with ups and downs during the interwar period: 50,906 in 1921-22, 56,367 the next year but 50,891 the year after that, then increasing continually despite the economic crisis, reaching a maximum of 87,166 in 1933-34. A rapid reduction followed the next years with a low in 1936-37 (72,099), but then enrollments increased again with 78,973 students in 1938-39. In 1880-81, 47.2% of the students studied law, 31.7% medicine, 6.7% pharmacy, 6.2% sciences, 7.3% in the faculties of letters, and 0.7% evangelical theology. In 1910-11, 42% studied law (but only 34% ten years earlier), 24% medicine,

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<sup>55</sup> Noguès, "Élèves"; Philippe Marchand, ed., *Le baccalauréat, 1808-2008. Certification française ou pratique européenne ?* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, Lyon: Revue du Nord, Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 2010), especially Pierre Moulinier, "La clé de la forteresse : le baccalauréat comme instrument de régulation des cursus étudiants dans les facultés parisiennes au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," 95-108.

3.8% pharmacy, 17.4% sciences and 15.7% letters (the faculties of theology have been suppressed after the separation of the State and the churches in 1905). By 1930-31 the repartition had continued to change in favor of the faculties of sciences and letters, which recruited respectively 20.7% and 23% of all students, for 26.6% in law, 22.1% in medicine, 7.1% in pharmacy, and 0.4% in the again recognized faculties of theology.<sup>56</sup>

As in many other European countries, two new groups of students took an increasing part in the evolution of the student body: women and foreigners. The first woman to obtain the *baccalauréat* was Julie-Victoire Daubié in 1861, who then studied at the Parisian Faculty of letters and obtained her *licence* (Bachelor) in 1871. Contrary to other European countries, there was no law or university official decision to grant access to university to women in France. It was a succession of fights for equality, debates, and authorizations. Another peculiarity was the high proportion of foreign women before 1914, especially in Paris. Approximately 3% of the students in 1900 were women, 10% in 1914, 13% in 1920, 26% in 1930. Except for even more exceptional personalities among these pioneers, such as Daubié or Madeleine Deries, the first Frenchwoman awarded a doctorate in history,<sup>57</sup> female students' lives before, during, and after their studies remain often obscure.<sup>58</sup>

Unsurprisingly, Paris attracted the most foreign students: 834 were enrolled there in 1885-86, 1,258 ten years later, 3,242 in 1913-14, 6,584 in 1928-29, 4,672 in 1938-39. In 1928-29, 18.7% of all enrolled students at French universities were foreigners, but with great differences from one university to another: 0.6% in Alger, 1.6% in Rennes, but 25.2% in Paris, 37.7% in Nancy, and even 56.7% in Grenoble. Ten years later, foreigners represented only 10.5% of all students, with an equivalent inequal repartition between universities. This decrease is explained by the uncertain international situation, but also by the xenophobic campaigns against foreign students. Such attacks had already been carried out before 1914, but in the 1930s they were

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<sup>56</sup> Caron, *Généralisations*, 37; Weisz, *The Emergence*, 46; Dubois, *Organiser*, 100-103; Moulinier, "Les étudiants": 60-61. For the interwar period, numbers come from a ministerial survey, cited in Moulinier's upcoming book, whom I thank for sending them to me.

<sup>57</sup> Saliou Bulger, "Daubié"; Yves Marion, *Madeleine Deries, 1895-1924, première docteure "ès histoire". Itinéraire d'une étudiante au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2017).

<sup>58</sup> At least until the publication of Amélie Puche's research, who studied women's access to university as well as female students' daily life and careers: *Les femmes à la conquête de l'université (1870-1940) : les implications sociales et universitaires de la poursuite du cursus scolaire dans l'enseignement supérieur par les femmes sous la Troisième République*, PhD thesis under the supervision of Jean-François Condette (Université d'Artois, 2020).

echoed and took on a dimension, including violence, that was unknown before.<sup>59</sup> With the exception of Caroline Barrera's work on Toulouse, colonial and foreign students in provincial universities have barely been considered yet.<sup>60</sup> In contrast to Italy or Germany, where many works are local case studies, the examination of these provincial universities is becoming essential for a better knowledge of students in France. On the other hand, almost nothing is known on the experience of French students at foreign universities.<sup>61</sup>

The preservation of university students' individual files is disastrous for the nineteenth and a large part of the twentieth century. Even when they exist, they don't necessarily contain information on the father's profession.<sup>62</sup> This has prevented historians from writing a detailed social history of students. They have had to limit themselves to general considerations, based on limited sources such as the costs of enrollments, examinations, rents, and other living costs. According to Condette's and Moulinier's estimations, between 200 and 500 francs per month were necessary around 1900 for a student, depending on their city and lifestyle, at least nine months (from November to July) per year. A primary school teacher then earned between 1.200 and 2.200 francs yearly, a secondary school teacher with the agrégation between 3.700 and 5.700 francs (more in Paris).<sup>63</sup> Only Moulinier could draw some statistics on Parisian medicine students for the years 1869, 1879, 1889 and 1899, showing that their fathers preponderantly had the status of "owners" or exercised a medical or pharmaceutical profession.<sup>64</sup>

## 2.4. Non-university students

Historians have turned a particular attention to the *grandes écoles* and their students. Thanks to the good archival preservation of students' individual files, historians have been able to draw up statistics on their geographic and

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<sup>59</sup> Moulinier, *Les étudiants* and his upcoming book; Dubois, *Organiser*, 242-248; Julie Fette, *Exclusions: Practicing Prejudice in French Law and Medicine, 1920-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

<sup>60</sup> Barrera, *Étudiants*; see also Khayar, "Les étudiants"; Laurence Prempain, "Escaping Violence in 1935: Polish Jewish Students' Strategy, from Montpellier to Lyon," in *Student Revolt*, 304-315; Legrandjacques, *Voies*.

<sup>61</sup> Charle, *La République* analyses the reports of students having received a scholarship to study in Germany in the 1870s-1890s (chapter 1).

<sup>62</sup> Condette, *La Faculté*; Guillot, "Les étudiants".

<sup>63</sup> Condette, "Le bon levain", 335.

<sup>64</sup> Moulinier, *Naissance*, 121.

social origins. The earliest studies were published in 1979-1980 by Victor Karady, Terry Shinn, and Robert J. Smith on the *École normale supérieure* (ENS), the *École polytechnique*, and the *École libre de sciences politiques*.<sup>65</sup> Since then, almost no new research has been done, except on the social origins of the ENS' students (called *normaliens*) in the nineteenth century<sup>66</sup> and on the *École polytechnique*. Bruno Belhoste devotes one chapter of his book on the *École polytechnique* between 1794 and 1871, through which he demonstrates the emergence of a "technocratic field", to the students' social origins. Hervé Joly recently studied the profiles and careers of the 180 *Polytechnique's* students (out of 1.051 candidates) of the class of 1901.<sup>67</sup> Other works consider students' experience inside these *grandes écoles*. That's the case of Smith's book on the ENS and politics between 1871 and 1914, and of Stéphane Israël's study of the ENS and the *normaliens* during World War II. In the ENS' bicentenary book, two chapters deal with *normaliens'* political and intellectual engagements and role, but rather focus on personalities after their graduation.<sup>68</sup> Belhoste attaches importance to the students' curricula and formation, and analyses the collective identity of the *polytechniciens*. Even though many historians have been educated there, no general history of the ENS and the *normaliens* during the nineteenth century has been published since Smith's book. Excluding the commemorative publications, studies also lack on the *École libre des sciences politiques*, and on the industrial and business schools.<sup>69</sup> Françoise Delfour has dedicated her

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<sup>65</sup> Victor Karady, "Scientists and Class Structure: Social Recruitment of Students at the Parisian *École Normale Supérieure* in the Nineteenth Century," *History of Education* 8, no. 2 (1979): 99-108; Shinn, *Savoir*; Smith, "The social origins".

<sup>66</sup> Christian Baudelot and Frédérique Matonti, "Le recrutement social des normaliens, 1914-1992," in *L'École normale supérieure : le livre du bicentenaire*, ed. Jean-François Sirinelli (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1994), 155-189.

<sup>67</sup> Bruno Belhoste, *La Formation d'une technocratie. L'École polytechnique et ses élèves de la Révolution au Second Empire* (Paris: Belin, 2003); Hervé Joly, *À Polytechnique. X 1901* (Paris: Flammarion, 2021).

<sup>68</sup> Smith, "L'atmosphère", *The École Normale*; Stéphane Israël, *Les études et la guerre. Les normaliens dans la tourmente (1939-1945)* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2005); Stéphane Israël and Jean-Philippe Mochon, "Les normaliens et la politique," and Rémy Rieffel, "Les normaliens dans la société intellectuelle française," in *L'École normale supérieure*, 191-214 and 215-241.

<sup>69</sup> Rachel Vanneuville, *La référence anglaise à l'École libre des sciences politiques. La formation de gentlemen républicains, 1871-1914*, PhD dissertation under the supervision of Jean-Pierre Arthur Bernard (Université Pierre Mendès France Grenoble, 1999); Marc Meulau, *H.E.C. 100. 1881-1981 : histoire d'une grande école* (Jouy-en-Josas: H.E.C., 1981); Marianne Thivend, "Les filles dans les écoles supérieures de commerce en France pendant l'entre-deux-guerres," *Travail, genre et sociétés* 26 (2011): 129-149; Marianne Blanchard, *Les écoles supérieures de*



thesis to the national agricultural school of Grignon (near Paris) in the nineteenth century, opening the field to other problematics.<sup>70</sup>

## 2.5. Associations and collective mobilizations

Another reason for historians' attention to the decades prior to World War I is that the 1880s marked the birth of modern student associations in France. Before then, all forms of students' collective organization were forbidden and suppressed by the political power and university administrators. This official position against student associations changed with the republicans' access to power in the late 1870s. They viewed these associations as part of their reform for the renewal of higher education and students as a support group for the new regime. These new associations aimed to bring together all of the students of one university town and took the name *Association générale des étudiants* (AGE). The first General Association of Students was established in 1877 in Nancy, followed by Lille in 1881. From 1884 onwards with Paris and Caen, the number of associations increased and by the end of the decade, almost all university towns had their own association. The AGE members constituted a national umbrella organization in 1907, the *Union nationale des associations d'étudiants de France*. By then, other forms of associations had been created: on religious or political grounds, for female or foreign students, and sports clubs. The most important rivals of the AGE were the associations called *corporatives* or *amicales*, founded mainly by students of medicine and pharmacy, who wanted to defend their interests in a more active and scathing way. After 1918, the corporative and political questions became the central themes of student engagement and conflicts.

In his pioneer study of student associations and demonstrations in the last fifteen years before World War I, George Weisz drew a very negative image of these associations, especially the AGE, considering that «they didn't manage to threaten neither the university or the political system».<sup>71</sup> Burney

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*commerce. Sociohistoire d'une entreprise éducative en France* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015), chapter 1.

<sup>70</sup> Françoise Delfour, *L'École d'agriculture de Grignon de 1867 à 1918*, thesis for the diploma of archivist, École nationale des chartes, Paris, 2000, "«Ramener vers l'agriculture des intelligences'. L'école d'agriculture de Grignon et ses élèves, 1826-1918," in *Actes du 127<sup>e</sup> congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, Nancy, 2002*, ed. Thérèse Charmasson (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2005), 281-290.

<sup>71</sup> Weisz, "Associations": 44.

also proposed a miserable picture of the AGE of Toulouse. Later, Condette and Moulinier were likewise critical against these associations.<sup>72</sup> Although they had internal flaws, didn't manage to assemble a majority of students, and couldn't follow up the ambitious program that some republican politicians and professors had imagined for them during the 1880s, the AGE and other associations did succeed in presenting themselves as representatives and defenders of students, in emancipating themselves (at least in part) as independent and autonomous organizations, in obtaining advantages for students and some ameliorations for their living conditions. Contrary to what Weisz's conclusion suggests, with the exception of a few identified organizations such as the student group of the nationalist and antisemitic *Action Française*, it was never the goal of student associations to attack the university and the republican regime, but much more to be integrated in them in order to promote students' interests.<sup>73</sup>

The limitations in the historiography on associations and collective mobilizations join those already mentioned: the years 1850-1880 and 1918-1940, provincial universities, associations of female or foreign students, and more generally religious and political associations. Even though the archives are incomplete, the student press, especially for the interwar period, can be a first gateway to the study of these organizations, as the majority of them published a journal.<sup>74</sup>

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The late interest in the history of France's students in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is linked to the limited development and institutionalization of university history in France more generally. To this day, research on France's students remains fragmented and consists mainly of episodic publications by various historians. Even if Paris and the years 1880-1914 have been better studied, most of the historiography took the form of small publications on a multiplicity of particular objects, events, and groups, and, correlatively, only a handful of more general works by specialists have been published. Several important limitations still exist and works on the social history of students, on students of provincial universities or

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<sup>72</sup> Burney, "Student"; Condette, "Folklore", "Les associations": 149-158; Moulinier, *Naissance*, 167-178, "Belle Époque", "L'AGE".

<sup>73</sup> For a critical discussion, see Dubois, *Organiser*, 342-356.

<sup>74</sup> For a list of (partially) digitized student journals, see: <https://student.hypotheses.org/50>.

on students during the interwar period for instance are greatly needed. All this has contributed to prevent the development of common questioning and research programs on this subject, despite the increasing number of publications since the 2000s. Hopefully, this historiographical survey will contribute to show that student history of these 150 years has still much to offer. New subjects, new research questions, and a rich archive material now await their historians.

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# Consideración sobre los estudiantes universitarios españoles de 1800 a 1950

Regarding Spanish University Students  
from 1800 to 1950

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*Resumen:* Este artículo hace un balance de los estudios sobre los estudiantes universitarios españoles de 1800 a 1950. Presenta su evolución histórica, su crecimiento, su vida comunitaria, sus ideologías y las protestas que activaron. El artículo muestra la evolución historiográfica desde la historia cuantitativa hasta la historia social y cultural, y sugiere algunas nuevas perspectivas.

*Palabras clave:* historia universitaria, comunidad estudiantil, ideologías, protestas siglo XIX y XX.

*Abstract:* This article assesses the studies carried out on Spanish university students from 1800 to 1950. It presents their historical evolution, their growth, their community life, their ideologies and the protests they sparked. The paper shows the historiographical evolution from quantitative history to social and cultural history, and provides some new perspectives.

*Keywords:* university history, student community, ideologies, protests 19th and 20th Century.

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## 1. Introducción

La historia social de los estudiantes ha abordado tres tareas importantes. La primera es *cuantificarlos y definir su contexto social*. Se trata de analizar la demografía universitaria atendiendo a los ritmos y proporciones de crecimiento, la diversificación social, la incorporación de la mujer y las características sociológicas de alumnos y alumnas. La segunda, es dar cuenta del impacto de lo que aporta la Universidad como institución que enriquece el capital humano y potencia las capacidades de la sociedad, lo que requiere estudiar los graduados y el ejercicio de sus profesiones. Si bien se conoce el número de graduados, no se ha hecho apenas prosopografía de su aportación a la sociedad, con lo que el conocimiento del capital humano se explica desde aspectos generales, pero cabría estudiar más profundamente este aspecto del alumnado. La tercera tarea, en fin, es estudiar *la vida social y sociabilidad* de los estudiantes, su participación en la política, sus revistas, actividades, ateneos, etc.

Este trabajo quiere dejar constancia de los grandes huecos de la investigación. Se procura registrar una amplia bibliografía que sirva de orientación, aunque somos conscientes que no pretende ser completa.

## 2. El origen, los objetos de estudio y los recursos.

En 1974 se publicó un libro pionero que introducía la historiografía moderna sobre las universidades en España: la escuela de los *Annales* y la *historia social*, y con ellas una historia analítica diferente a la historiografía institucional anterior.

Se trata del trabajo de Mariano y José Luis Peset que es referencia de la historiografía posterior.<sup>1</sup> Centrado en los siglos XVIII y XIX, su planteamiento rompía con la *historia institucional* y tradicional de las universidades anterior y abordaba los cuatro núcleos fundamentales de la historia universitaria: a) La institución y su relación con los poderes, no de una manera descriptiva de los estatutos y biografías de rectores o grandes profesores o alumnos de las escuelas, sino un estudio analítico de las instituciones universitarias y los nexos de éstas con los poderes, desde la Monarquía a las oligarquías de las ciudades, pasando por la Iglesia, tanto secular como regular. b) El segundo aspecto eran

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<sup>1</sup> Mariano Peset Reig y José Luis Peset Reig, *La Universidad española (siglos XVIII y XIX). Despotismo Ilustrado y revolución liberal* (Madrid: Taurus, 1974).

los profesores: su formación, conocimientos, función académica, si se profesionalizaban en la Universidad o se servían de ésta para ocupar otros puestos en la administración o si compatibilizaban la cátedra con tareas de clínica y bufete o despacho de abogados, como sucedía en el siglo XIX y XX. c) Es tercer aspecto eran los estudiantes: su número, evolución, procedencia geográfica, social, edad de estudios, costumbres y cualquier otro aspecto relacionado con su vida cultural y su sociabilidad, así como sus protestas. d) El cuarto aspecto, en fin, eran los saberes y los contenidos de saber que se transmitían o se producían –si era el caso– en las universidades, así como las razones de todo ello, lo que comportaba penetrar en el conocimiento de la introducción de la ciencia moderna en las cátedras de las facultades de Filosofía o Artes del siglo XVIII y en las facultades de Ciencias o Letras del siglo XIX, el desarrollo del saber médico que se impartía en las aulas y la investigación –si la había–, el análisis la transferencia de conocimientos modernos o no y porqué a los estudiantes, las enseñanzas prácticas o clínicas... No faltaban los saberes jurídicos, las corrientes del Derecho ilustrado o liberal, el peso de las tradiciones jurídicas, etc. Ni tampoco faltaban los estudios de teología que se producían o transmitían en las aulas, por cuanto las Universidades, durante gran parte del período analizado, incluían una poderosa facultad, la de Teología, hasta que la laicización traspasó estos saberes a los Seminarios conciliares.

Era un trabajo ingente que aportaba reflexiones generales, hipótesis, sugerencias, que abría nuevos caminos para los siglos XVIII y XIX, que reconocía la importancia de la ciencia y del saber y su transmisión y producción en la sociedad, la importancia crítica del derecho y las humanidades, los cambios de tipología de profesores, estudiantes y apertura a nuevos saberes, las propuestas del Sexenio Democrático.

Lógicamente los autores no partían de cero. Ya existían importantes trabajos y reflexiones sobre historia universitaria general en España que recogieron los autores de esta monografía como las obras clásicas de Antonio Gil de Zárate<sup>2</sup> y Vicente Lafuente,<sup>3</sup> y trabajos específicos sobre algunas universidades que rompían el esquema tradicional.<sup>4</sup> Pero probablemente el

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<sup>2</sup> Antonio Gil de Zárate, *De la Instrucción pública en España*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta del Colegio de Sordomudos, 1855-1856).

<sup>3</sup> Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia de las universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Viuda e Hijos de Fuentenebro, 1884-1889).

<sup>4</sup> Por ejemplo, Francisco de Paula Montells y Nadal, *Historia del origen y fundación de la Universidad de Granada* (Granada: Imprenta de Indalecio Ventura, 1870). Fermín Canella y Secades, *Historia de la Universidad de Oviedo y noticias de los establecimientos de enseñanza de su distrito* (Oviedo: Imprenta de Flórez, Gusano y Compañía, 1903, facsímil, Universidad de Oviedo, 1985).

trabajo que más les influyó, aparte de conocer las corrientes del pensamiento historiográfico de *Annales* y la *historia social*, fue el de Francisco Giner de los Ríos, *Sobre reformas de nuestras universidades*,<sup>5</sup> un texto de principios del siglo XX y la corriente del regeneracionismo con audaces preguntas, análisis y reflexiones críticas sobre la Universidad cómo regenerarla y plantear estrategias para superar sus deficiencias y burocracias. Creemos que el contexto político, las ilusiones que despertaba el final de la Dictadura y la recuperación de la democracia, que entonces se atisbaba en España, eran un factor estimulante para los autores. Había, lógicamente, otros profesores que contribuyeron a la modernización y puesta a punto de la historiografía sobre las universidades como Álvarez de Morales,<sup>6</sup> López Piñero,<sup>7</sup> Aguilar Piñal,<sup>8</sup> Manuel Puelles Benítez,<sup>9</sup> Antonio Viñao Frago<sup>10</sup>... y no faltaban estimulantes colecciones de documentos.<sup>11</sup>

La línea que ha marcado el libro de los hermanos Peset ha sido seguida durante las décadas siguientes. Eran importantes todos los aspectos señalados, pero, sin duda, los estudiantes eran clave. Frente a historias universitarias sin estudiantes, ahora –y más después de los sucesos de 1968– era perentorio analizar a los jóvenes. En muchas monografías sobre universidades se han recontado los estudiantes, se han hecho prospecciones sobre su procedencia geográfica y social, su socialización, actividades, politización, etc.; se han analizado profesores desde una perspectiva como la descrita, se ha accedido a penetrar en los saberes –esto mucho menos porque es más complejo, puesto que requiere la pericia del historiador y la del graduado en

<sup>5</sup> Francisco Giner de los Ríos, “*Sobre reformas en nuestras Universidades*”, *Obras completas*, t. II, *La Universidad española* (Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1916), 1-149.

<sup>6</sup> Antonio Álvarez de Morales, *Génesis de la Universidad española contemporánea* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Administrativos, 1972).

<sup>7</sup> José María López Piñero, *La introducción de la ciencia moderna en España* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1969). López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica en la sociedad española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Barcelona: Labor, 1979).

<sup>8</sup> Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Los comienzos de la crisis universitaria en España: antología de textos del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Magisterio Español, 1967). Aguilar Piñal, *La Universidad de Sevilla en el siglo XVIII: Estudio sobre la primera reforma universitaria moderna*. (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla 1969).

<sup>9</sup> Manuel de Puelles Benítez, *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea (1767-1975)* (Barcelona: Labor, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> Antonio Viñao Frago. *Política y educación en los orígenes de la España contemporánea: examen especial de sus relaciones en la enseñanza secundaria* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1982).

<sup>11</sup> Fueron apareciendo pautadamente. VV.AA. *Historia de la Educación en España. Textos y documentos*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1979-1991).

la facultad que se analiza-. Con el paso de los años, el estudio de las universidades de la Edad Contemporánea ha progresado al incorporar, a los aspectos políticos y sociales, aspectos propios de la *historia cultural*, que han enriquecido la historia social y cuantitativa.

Los tres núcleos más organizados sobre los estudios de la historia de las universidades en España, y principales impulsores de esta historiografía los que me refería hace un momento son los de Madrid (Universidad Complutense y Universidad Carlos III), Universidad de Salamanca y Universidad de Valencia. Las personas más destacadas que los animan son, respectivamente, Elena Hernández Sandoica, Carolina Rodríguez López y Manuel Martínez Neira para el primero, Luis Enrique San Pedro-Rodríguez Bezares, Juan Luis Polo y José María Hernández Díaz para el segundo, y Mariano Peset y Jorge Correa para el tercero. Lógicamente en muchas otras universidades y centros de investigación se han aportado y se aportan valiosas colaboraciones, pero como grupos los más destacables entiendo que son los tres citados.<sup>12</sup>

El primero, el grupo de Carolina Rodríguez, gestiona la revista *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, que depende del Instituto Figuerola de Historia y Ciencias Sociales. La revista fue fundada por Adela Mora Cañada y nació en 1998, consiguiendo hasta el presente 24 números. Desde el principio se publica en papel y formato digital y desde 2021 sólo en digital. Es el núcleo más consolidado.

El segundo, el grupo de Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, parte de la tradición de la profesora Águeda Rodríguez Cruz.<sup>13</sup> Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San-Pedro, además de una potente e iluminadora *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, modelo de historias universitarias, gestiona la revista/colección de monografías *Miscelánea Alfonso IX* que dependía del Centro Alfonso IX de la Universidad de Salamanca desde 1999, suprimido en 2013 e integrado en el Instituto de Investigación de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas de dicha Universidad.

El tercero, el grupo de Mariano Peset, aunque no tiene revista, ha organizado o participado en catorce congresos internacionales sobre universidades españolas y americanas desde 1987, de los que el grupo valenciano ha organizado siete, con una secuencia de publicaciones (irregularmente) periódicas.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Juan Luis Polo Rodríguez, "Institutos, centros y grupos de investigación en Historia de las Universidades Hispánicas", *Miscelánea Alfonso IX*, 2011: 269-296.

<sup>13</sup> Águeda María Rodríguez Cruz, *La universidad en la América hispánica* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> No todos se han organizado y publicado por la Universidad de Valencia. Algunos, por la UNAM, la Universidad de Salamanca y la Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. En Valencia se

Fuera de estos tres grupos hay buenas aportaciones y trabajos, especialmente de historia de diversas universidades, entre las que nosotros destacaríamos Alcalá, muy centrada en Historia Moderna (obviamente), Santiago y Valladolid, que han elaborado unas excelentes historias de sus universidades y otros temas, y la Universidad de Tours.

Mayoritariamente los historiadores e historiadoras de estos grupos trabajan la Historia Moderna, advirtiéndose a medida que avanzan los años, un claro viraje hacia la Historia Contemporánea.

También se han de añadir diversas revistas de Historia de la Educación, que reúnen grupos de investigación mucho más amplios dedicados a la Historia de la Educación y la Pedagogía, pero en los que se publican trabajos sobre historia universitaria de la época Contemporánea. Es el caso de *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria*, que empezó a publicarse en 1982 y hasta el presente tiene 40 números publicados; *Educació i història. Revista d'història de l'educació*, que empezó a publicarse en 1994 y hasta el momento tiene 38 números, *Historia Social y de la Educación*, que se publica desde 2012; *Bordón. Revista de Pedagogía*, entre otras revistas.<sup>15</sup>

Mientras se consolidaban grupos y revistas se hacían congresos y reuniones científicas como los Congresos de Historia de las Universidades Hispánicas, desde 1987; las Jornadas sobre la presencia española universitaria en América, desde 1987; los coloquios organizados por el Instituto Alfonso IX de la Universidad de Salamanca desde 1999... A ellos se añadían otros muchos congresos desde finales de los Ochenta y principios de los Noventa y después.<sup>16</sup>

En los últimos treinta años, los estudios sobre la Universidad han ampliado sus campos de trabajo. A la perspectiva dimanada de la *historia social* se han añadido los registros propiciados por la *historia cultural* y la nueva *historia política*, que permite estudiar la institución universitaria desde una óptica que integra las universidades y las estructuras sociales y de poder.<sup>17</sup>

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han organizado y publicado el primer congreso. *Claustros y estudiantes*, 2 vols. (Universidad de Valencia: 1987), el segundo, *Doctores y escolares*, 2 vols. (Universidad de Valencia: 1995), el sexto, *Aulas y saberes* (Universidad de Valencia: 2003), el noveno, *Ciencia y Academia*, 2 vols. (Valencia: 2005), el décimo, *Facultades y grados*, 2 vols. (Universidad de Valencia: 2010), el undécimo, *Matrículas y lecciones*, 2 vols. (Universidad de Valencia: 2012) y el duodécimo, *Universidad y sociedad: historia y pervivencias* (Universidad de Valencia: 2018).

<sup>15</sup> Para buscar bibliografía, es excelente el buscador de la Universidad de la Rioja Dialnet: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/> [consulta 14/04/2022].

<sup>16</sup> Polo, "Institutos": 272-273.

<sup>17</sup> Hay una aportación valiosa publicada en 1998, organizada por la Universidad de Tours, que ya da cuenta de estas novedades: Éve-Marie Fell y Jean Louis Guereña (ed.), *L'Université en*

El problema está en que la historia de las universidades en España no tiene una fuerte institucionalización y depende, en consecuencia, de las personas y los grupos generacionales que los conforman. En el fondo parece como si, para el período 1800-1950 y después, en el medio académico no se vislumbrase la importancia del *poder de la ciencia* y su transmisión y producción. Y eso que se dispone de potentes trabajos que ponen al alcance de historiadores generales la historia de la ciencia contemporánea y de épocas anteriores.<sup>18</sup>

### 3. Breve evolución historiográfica

La investigación de los estudiantes en los años Setenta del pasado siglo se inspiró en el estudio clásico de Lawrence Stone,<sup>19</sup> publicado en 1974, que es una potente historia social de la educación superior en la que se conecta Universidad y sociedad. En esta obra Richard L. Kagan escribió el capítulo dedicado a las “Universities in Castile 1500-1810”, y paralelamente, el mismo año, este autor publicaba su libro *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain*,<sup>20</sup> traducido al castellano unos años más tarde.<sup>21</sup> Un trabajo referente algo posterior era el de Dominique Julia, Jacques Revel y Roger Chartier que, con similar planteamiento, aunque centrado esta vez en los estudiantes, analizaba el espacio europeo. En esta obra el capítulo dedicado a España lo escribían Mariano Peset y María Fernanda Mancebo y completaba el marco territorial que en Kagan se centraba en las universidades castellanas y ahora se incluían todas las españolas; también la cronología abarcaba el siglo XVIII completo.<sup>22</sup>

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*Espagne et en Amérique latine du MoyenÂge à nos jours II* (Tours: PressesUniversitaires François-Rabelais, 1998 y edición electrónica 2017 [se cita por la posición de la edición electrónica]).

<sup>18</sup> Un ejemplo sería, para los siglos XIX y XX, José Manuel Sánchez Ron, *El poder de la ciencia: historia social, política y económica de la ciencia en los siglos XIX y XX* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2022). También, Víctor Navarro Brotons, “La historia de la ciencia en España en la Edad Moderna y el papel de las Universidades: una materia interdisciplinar”, en VV.AA. *Derecho, historia y universidades: estudios dedicados a Mariano Peset* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2007), v. 2: 299-305.

<sup>19</sup> Lawrence Stone (ed.). *The University in Society*, 2 vols. I: *Oxford and Cambridge from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. II: *Europe, Scotland and the United States from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

<sup>20</sup> Richard L. Kagan. *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, libro electrónico 2018).

<sup>21</sup> Richard L. Kagan. *Universidad y Sociedad en la España Moderna* (Madrid, Tecnos, 1981).

<sup>22</sup> Dominique Julia, Jacques Revel, Roger Chartier, ed., *Les Universités européennes du XVII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Histoire sociale des populations étudiantes* 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1986-1989). El capítulo de Peset y Mancebo en v. 1: “La population des universités espagnoles au XVIII<sup>e</sup>”, 187-204.

Junto a estos autores, y para el siglo XIX, ha de mencionarse el libro sobre los estudiantes de Federico Sanz Díaz, *El alumnado de la Universidad de Valladolid (1837-1886)*, publicado en 1978.<sup>23</sup> Aborda la época Isabelina, el Sexenio Democrático y los primeros años de la Restauración, En este libro se analiza cuantitativa y cualitativamente el contingente estudiantil de Valladolid basándose en los graduados, lo que le permite rastrear las fluctuaciones, el carácter regional de la Universidad, las preferencias de estudio liberales, las tendencias de la elección de carreras y el porqué de estas consideraciones, es decir, cubre variados aspectos de la *historia social* de la Universidad castellana.

Desde los años Ochenta del siglo XX, la historiografía sobre los estudiantes se ha centrado, por un lado, en reconstruir los recuentos, normalmente de estudiantes y grados,<sup>24</sup> y por otro, a partir de la base de la cuantificación, se han desarrollado los métodos de la *historia social*, y más tarde la *historia cultural*. Se ha intentado, pues, conocer: a) Cuestiones como la procedencia geográfica y socio-profesional, las dimensiones de cada Universidad, los nexos entre los alumnos de las universidades y las burocracias de los Estados, las razones de elección de unas carreras u otras, la nacionalización de clases medias que asistían a las aulas, la formación de capital humano. b) Tareas específicas debidas a las características propias de las sociedades contemporáneas como son, en primer lugar, la lenta conquista de las mujeres de la Universidad; y junto a este aspecto, otros como el análisis de las asociaciones estudiantiles, las publicaciones de los escolares, la politización, las protestas –que desde los años liberales diversifican su tipología enormemente– y hasta las opiniones sobre los estudiantes que ofrece la prensa o la literatura usadas para explorar aspectos culturales y sociales, así como el estudio de las generaciones estudiantiles –una manera de captar el tiempo histórico–, la vida comunitaria (academias, liceos, ateneos, actividades culturales –escolares y extraescolares–. c) Importante es también el esfuerzo dedicado a conocer el contexto específico de los poderes en las universidades y la relación de acatamiento/conflicto con los estudiantes, aspecto particularmente estudiado. Cuestiones como las quintas y la milicia que afectaron a los estudiantes españoles desde el ciclo bélico de la Revolución francesa, la centralización y el encorsetamiento de la Universidad Isabelina, las tentativas de descentraliza-

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<sup>23</sup> Federico Sanz Díaz, *El alumnado de la Universidad de Valladolid en el siglo XIX* (Valladolid: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1978).

<sup>24</sup> Para los recuentos en la época que nos concierne, 1800-1950, dos momentos en el objeto de estudio aparecen separados por 1857, cuando se inició la etapa estadística en España. Carlos Flores Varela, "Los archivos universitarios españoles: una fuente infrautilizada", *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 16, no. 2 (2013): 117-122.



ción del Sexenio Democrático y de los Regeneracionistas, los intentos de autonomía universitaria, los tanteos descentralizadores de la Segunda República y la recentralización de la Universidad franquista... Todo ello influyó en la vida comunitaria estudiantil y a su vez ocasionó acciones, protestas, indiferencias y pugnas entre los escolares. Surgieron, conectados con las asociaciones de los estudiantes, prensa y opiniones políticas y acciones y protestas.

De todas estas cuestiones hay abundante bibliografía, aunque falta completar muchos asuntos, establecer comparaciones entre universidades españolas y europeas o de otros países y realizar trabajos de síntesis, como reclama Juan Luis Polo.<sup>25</sup> Pero, aunque se ha avanzado en los últimos cuarenta años, la mayor parte de las cuestiones mencionadas no se han cubierto todavía, porque, como señalan Brizzi y Signori, el período contemporáneo para la historia universitaria, en Europa y en España, sigue presentando “puntos ciegos” y deficiencias, cada vez más cuanto más reciente es el tiempo histórico, excepto para las dictaduras del siglo XX que en todos los países han resultado muy atractivas a la historiografía.<sup>26</sup>

Entendemos que en España estos “puntos ciegos” para la época 1800-1950, tienen una especificidad particular. Aunque las universidades son instituciones relevantes para explicar y entender la historia de los siglos XIX, XX y XXI, la historiografía española les dedica una atención irregular: no ha profundizado todo lo deseable. Desde los años Ochenta la historiografía *contemporaneísta* se ha centrado preferentemente en el siglo XX, y en especial en la etapa 1931-1978.

Las razones principales, creemos, que han sido tres. La *primera*, es (y sigue siendo en un país de memorias divididas) la necesidad de profundizar en el conocimiento del siglo XX desde la perspectiva de la crítica histórica, incidiendo en el período que va de la Segunda República a la Transición Democrática para “arrojar luz sobre aspectos que siguen siendo muy debatidos”.<sup>27</sup> Se ha estudiado, pues, y se estudia con documentación contrastada y se ofrecen nuevas explicaciones alejadas de las interpretaciones distorsionadas y profundamente ideologizadas de la historiografía franquista de este período. El *segundo* factor ha sido el desarrollo de la historia y pluralidad de las identidades culturales y políticas (nacionalismo español, periféricos y regionalis-

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<sup>25</sup> Polo, “Institutos”, 290-291.

<sup>26</sup> Gian Paolo Brizzi y Elisa Signori, “Presentation” en el Dossier *University Historiography: a Look at European Research and Results*, CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades, 20, no. 1 (2017): 16.

<sup>27</sup> Ángel Viñas, “Presentación” en Ángel Viñas, ed., *En el combate por la historia: la república, la guerra civil y el franquismo* (Barcelona: Pasado&Presente, 2012), 13.

mos) que se ha subrayado con el proceso de la construcción de la España de las autonomías. Se han estudiado las generaciones de intelectuales del XIX y especialmente del XX, los procesos *construcción identitaria*, la historia particular de los territorios, y con ella la de sus universidades... Y la *tercera* razón, ha sido y es el auge de los estudios sobre la mujer en la historia –una de las mejores novedades de la historiografía de los últimos cuarenta años–, desde los discursos feministas, perspectiva de género, aspectos culturales, políticos y sociológicos de la integración de la mujer en explicación de la historia.

La Universidad, pues, ha atraído la atención como objeto de estudio dentro de estos tres grandes núcleos: a) En primer lugar, cuando sus estudiantes o sus profesores han sido agentes activos en la construcción política y cultural de la modernidad política y sus disputas. El Sexenio Democrático, la lucha contra Primo de Rivera, la época de la Segunda República y la guerra civil, el Sindicato de Estudiantes Universitario o SEU y, particularmente, la lucha antifranquista del movimiento estudiantil de los años Cincuenta, Sesenta y Setenta. Ésta última etapa absorbe gran parte de la producción historiográfica dedicada a la Universidad, y no tanto como aspecto incardinado en la historia de la institución, cuanto como aspecto relacionado con los movimientos sociales de la lucha antifranquista. El movimiento estudiantil antifranquista, el de *los* estudiantes y *las* estudiantes que estaban “envenenados de cuerpo y alma” por compañeros “marxistas” ha absorbido la mayor parte de la producción. Las etapas que no han sido de efervescencia política como la Restauración, los años de principios del XX, pese a su enorme interés, han atraído menos la atención historiográfica, y el siglo XIX anterior al Sexenio (la época Isabelina) aún menos. b) En segundo lugar, las universidades han merecido atención como objeto de estudio de la historia cultural de los diversos territorios españoles y de las distintas instituciones universitarias. Las universidades, unas con más fuerza y otras con menos, han fomentado y producido historias institucionales desde sus fundaciones hasta el presente (o hasta donde era posible presentarlas atendiendo las investigaciones realizadas para cada una). Estas historias responden a las corrientes historiográficas de la *historia institucional*, la *historia social* y la *historia cultural*.<sup>28</sup> c) El tercer campo del

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<sup>28</sup> Será imposible citar las historias de las diversas Universidades. Pero sí, algunas de ellas. Universidad de Barcelona: VV.AA. *Història de la Universitat de Barcelona. I Simposium, 1988* (Barcelona: Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, 1990). Jordi Casassas i Ymbert, Francisco Garcia Alonso y Josep Maria Fullola Pericot (Coord.), *La Universitat de Barcelona. Libertas Perfundet Omnia (1450)* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2008). Universidad de Granada: María del Carmen Calero Palacios, Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra y Cristina Viñes Millet, *Historia de la Universidad de Granada* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1997). Universidad de

que se ha beneficiado la historia de las universidades ha sido la integración de la mujer. De hecho, las universidades, de ser recintos o espacios masculinos,

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La Laguna: María Felipa Núñez Muñoz (coord.), *Historia de la Universidad de La Laguna*. 3 vols. (La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna, 1998). María Felipa Núñez Muñoz, "La Universidad de La Laguna: una reflexión sobre su evolución histórica", *Boletín Millares Carlo*, 7-8 (1985), 163-198. Universidad de Madrid: Elena Hernández Sandoica y José Luis Peset, *Universidad, poder académico y cambio social (Alcalá de Henares 1508-Madrid 1874)* (Madrid: Consejo de Universidades: 1990). Ángela del Valle López, *La Universidad Central y su distrito en el primer decenio de la Restauración borbónica (1875-1885)* (Madrid: Consejo de Universidades, 1990). Eduardo González Calleja y Álvaro Ribagorda, ed., *La Universidad Central durante la Segunda República: las ciencias humanas, sociales y la vida universitaria (1931-1939)* (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid-Editorial Dykinson, 2013). Carolina Rodríguez López, *La Universidad de Madrid en el primer franquismo: ruptura y continuidad (1939-1951)* (Madrid: Editorial Dykinson-Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2002). Universidad de Murcia: Francisco Javier Díez de Revenga, *La Universidad de Murcia en la Historia: 75 aniversario de la IV Fundación* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1991). Encarna Nicolás Marín e Isabel Marín Gómez, "La Universidad de Murcia: fundación tardía e incertidumbre académica (1915-1931)", en VV.AA., *La Universidad en el siglo XX (España e Iberoamérica). X Coloquio de historia de la Educación* (Murcia: Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación-Departamento de Teoría e Historia de la Educación/Universidad de Murcia, 1998), 244-258. Carmen González Martínez, "La Universidad de Murcia: II República y Guerra Civil", en VV.AA., *La Universidad en el siglo XX (España e Iberoamérica). X Coloquio de historia de la Educación* (Murcia: Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación-Departamento de Teoría e Historia de la Educación/Universidad de Murcia, 1998), 164-173. Universidad de Oviedo: Jorge Uría, Carmen García y Aída Terrón, ed., *Historia de la Universidad de Oviedo*, v. 1: *De la fundación a la crisis del Antiguo Régimen* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2008). Fermín Canella y Secades, *Historia de la Universidad de Oviedo y noticias de los establecimientos de enseñanza de su distrito* (Oviedo: Imprenta de Flórez, Gusano y Compañía, 1903, facsímil, 1985). Universidad de Salamanca: Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezare, ed., *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 4 vols., [el v.4 coord. por Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares y Juan Luis Polo] (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002, 2004 y 2006 y 2009). Águeda María Rodríguez Cruz, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1990). Universidad de Santiago: Xosé Ramón Barreiro Fernández, ed., *Historia de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*. 2 vols. (Santiago: Servicio de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2000-2003). Isaura Varela González, *La Universidad de Santiago 1900-1936: reforma universitaria y conflicto estudiantil*. (La Coruña: Edición do Castro, 1989). Universidad de Sevilla: Aguilar, *Historia de la Universidad de Sevilla*. Aguilar, *La Universidad Sevilla en el XVIII*. Universidad de Valencia: Mariano Peset, ed., *Historia de la Universidad de Valencia*, 3 vols. (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1999-2000). Mariano Peset, María Fernanda Mancebo, Mario Martínez Gomis y Pilar García Trobat, *Historia de las universidades valencianas*, 2 vols. (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante-Instituto Juan Gil Albert, 1993). Universidad de Valladolid: Jesús María Palomares (coord.), *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, 2 vols. (Valladolid: Dpto. de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1989). Juan José Martín González y Margarita Torremocha, *La Universidad de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico, 1997). Universidad de Zaragoza: VV.AA., *Historia de la Universidad de Zaragoza* (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1983).

han pasado a ser espacios de integración social, relaciones de género, biografías de profesoras y científicas, de egresadas...

Destacaremos seguidamente la evolución operada en cuatro núcleos de interés de la historiografía desde los años Ochenta al presente, y a un quinto núcleo, las primeras mujeres, dedicamos un apartado de este artículo.

1) El primer núcleo se centra en la clara *evolución de la historia cuantitativa y social* de los estudiantes 1800-1950. En las décadas de los Ochenta y Noventa, los estudios abordaban el número de estudiantes, sus edades, la distribución por facultades, la procedencia geográfica y la socio-profesional. Quienes investigaban las primeras décadas del siglo XIX contaban con dificultades por falta de información en las fuentes. Para las épocas anteriores a la centralización liberal, no existían expedientes personales de los alumnos graduados en las universidades y, por tanto, la información era limitada. Los datos se centraban en procedencia geográfica y edad y pocas pistas más. Pero a medida que avanzan los años objeto del estudio y nos adentrábamos en los Noventa y décadas siguientes, la historia social se hacía más amplia. La exploración de los orígenes socio-profesionales de los cabezas de familia (nobleza, funcionarios, profesiones liberales, propietarios, labradores –dificultades de interpretación incluías–) se hacía posible: es señalada en censos oficiales (desde la década de los Cuarenta del XIX) y en los expedientes individuales de los alumnos que custodian los archivos universitarios, con lo que se puede completar la información del Antiguo Régimen y la etapa de transición al mundo liberal que cubre los primeros cuarenta años del XIX. En resumen: de una historia social limitada se pasa a una historia social desarrollada que aborda no sólo el número, la procedencia geográfica y la edad de los graduados o estudiantes, sino también la situación socio-profesional de sus familias y la sociología del alumnado; en segundo lugar, la presencia de las primeras mujeres y su elección de estudios universitarios y el porqué; en tercer lugar, la vida estudiantil (los estudios, cómo se organiza el espacio y el tiempo académico, características de la vida extraescolar, etc.); en cuarto lugar, la importancia del asociacionismo escolar, marcándose sus etapas –época Isabelina, Sexenio, Restauración, primeros veinte años del siglo XX, Dictadura de Primo de Rivera, República, guerra y primer franquismo– y las características en cada una de ellas, sin que falten aportaciones sobre la disciplina académica.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> De la enorme producción historiográfica dedicada a la historia cuantitativa y social señalamos los siguientes trabajos: Para aspectos metodológicos: Mariano Peset, "Historia cu-

2) El segundo núcleo de evolución de la historiografía sobre los estudiantes, muy unido a la historia social, es la *historia del capital humano*, que mide los conocimientos de la población desde la primera enseñanza hasta la superior, es un campo de trabajo desarrollado por economistas y sociólogos para sociedades actuales, pero menos historiográficamente. Desde hace años, la historia económica ha venido analizando la relación entre educación y desarrollo económico. La educación se ha considerado un factor sustancial.

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antitativa y población estudiantil”, en *Historia de las Universidades Modernas Hispanoamericanas: métodos y fuentes*, (México: UNAM, 1995), ed. Enrique González y Margarita Menegus, 15-31. Miradas generales a España: Daniel Comas Caraballo, “Los estudiantes universitarios en la España del primer cuarto del siglo XX”, en *Permanencia y cambio. Universidades hispánicas 1551-2001* ed. Leticia Pérez Puente y Enrique González González (México: UNAM, 2006), v.2, 409-424. Ricardo Montoro Romero, *La Universidad en la España de Franco (1939-1970): Un análisis sociológico* (Madrid: CIS, 1981). Para La Laguna, Núñez, ed., *Historia de la Universidad de La Laguna*, t. I:185-193. Para Madrid: Hernández Sandoica y José Luis Peset, *Universidad, poder y cambio*, 193-205. Del Valle, *Universidad Central*, vol. 2, 46-158. Para Salamanca, José María Hernández Díaz, “La pedagogía de la Universidad liberal. La Universidad de Salamanca”, en *L’Université en Espagne*: 552. José María Hernández Díaz, “Estudiantes de los siglos XIX y XX: aspectos sociales”, en Rodríguez San Pedro, ed., *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, vol. 2, 691-704. Para Santiago: Barreiro, *Historia de la Universidad de Santiago*, v.2, 87-124, 341-472, 347-392. Varela, *Universidad de Santiago*, 163-209 y 211-270. Para Valencia: José María López Piñero y Rosa Ballester Añón, “Demografía de los estudiantes de Medicina en la Facultad de Medicina de Valencia durante el siglo XX, nota previa”, in *I Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano*. (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1971), vol. I, 487-500; Marc Baldó Lacomba, *La Universidad de Valencia en la crisis del Antiguo Régimen, 1786-1840* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, tesis doctoral, curso 1981-82), 750-791. Marc Baldó Lacomba, *Profesores y estudiantes en la época romántica: la Universidad de Valencia en La crisis del Antiguo Régimen (1786-1843)* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1984), 82-110. María Fernanda Mancebo, *La Universidad de Valencia. De la Monarquía a la República (1919-1939)* (Valencia, Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert-Universitat de Valencia, 1994), 279-306. Ernest Sánchez Santiró, *Científics i professionals: la facultat de Ciències de València (1857-1939)* (Valencia: PUV, 1998), 147-174. Marc Baldó Lacomba, “La població de la Universitat de València al segle XX”, *Saitabi*, 49 (1999):17-60. Yolanda Blasco Gil, *La Facultad de Derecho de Valencia durante la Restauración (1875-1900)*(Valencia: Universitat de València), 2000, 147-174. Marc Baldó Lacomba, María Fernanda Mancebo Alonso, Ernest Sánchez Santiró y Yolanda Blasco Gil, “Los estudiantes liberales”, en *Historia de la Universidad de Valencia*, ed. Mariano Peset, t. 3, 87-102. Germán Perales Birlanga, *El estudiante liberal: sociología y vida de la comunidad escolar universitaria de Valencia* (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III-Editorial Dykinson, 2003). Ramon Trullenque Peris, *Medicina i gènere: la incorporació de les dones a la Medicina*, Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 2013: 120-123. Marc Baldó “Estudiantes de Derecho en Valencia 1800-1936”, en *La facultad de Derecho de Valencia 1499-1975*, ed. Mariano Peset y Jorge Correa (Valencia: PUV, 2018), 503-513. Para Valladolid: Federico Sanz Díaz, *El alumnado*. Wenceslao Díez Álvarez, “El Alumnado, 1800-1936”, en *Historia Universidad de Valladolid*, ed. Palomares Ibáñez, vol. 2, 415-441. Pablo Pérez López, “El Alumnado, 1939-1987”, en *Historia Universidad de Valladolid*, ed. Palomares Ibáñez, vol. 2, 443-481.

Gabriel Tortella y Clara Eugenia Núñez han trabajado este tema para el siglo XIX y primera mitad del XX en diversas monografías.<sup>30</sup> Sus trabajos se basan en fuentes estadísticas y cubren largos períodos. Miden y valoran el capital humano de España y lo comparan con otros países. Aunque es asunto importante para explicar el desarrollo económico, la historiografía podría aportar mucha información de detalle, haciendo prosopografía de sus estudiantes graduados, por regiones en que trabajan, qué aportan o *transfieren* a la sociedad, qué novedades crean en agricultura, industria, servicios, educación, cultura... Este campo está por cultivar, y sobre la importancia de estas prosopografías, que son complemento indispensable que redondea la historia social de los estudiantes, nos referiremos, de nuevo, al final del artículo.

3) El tercer núcleo de la evolución historiográfica sobre los estudiantes es la *historia cultural*, que normalmente se integra en la historia social, aunque hay algunos trabajos específicos que pueden estudiarse como puntos de referencia para profundizar en este campo para investigaciones futuras. Aún está poco cultivado en Historia Contemporánea.<sup>31</sup> Debe incluirse, por otro lado, en este núcleo de interés, la prensa escolar escrita para los alumnos y la –especialmente interesante– escrita por los propios alumnos, que va unida a las asociaciones de estudiantes. Este material espera estudios. Estas publicaciones surgen en Madrid en 1789 para todos los estudiantes de Medicina

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<sup>30</sup> Gabriel Tortella y Clara Eugenia Núñez, *El desarrollo de la España contemporánea. Historia económica de los siglos XIX y XX*. 3ª edición. (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2014), 293-320. Clara Eugenia Núñez, “Educación”, en *Estadísticas históricas de España: siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Albert Carreras y Xavier Tafunell (Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, 2005), 155-243. Clara Eugenia Núñez, *La fuente de la riqueza. Educación y desarrollo económico en la España Contemporánea* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1992).

<sup>31</sup> Vicente León Navarro y Telesforo M. Hernández, “Educación pública, patria y religión en el tránsito del siglo XVIII al XIX”, en *Matrículas y lecciones. XI Congreso Internacional de Historia de las universidades hispánicas (Valencia, noviembre 2011)*, ed. Mariano Peset y Jorge Correa (Valencia: PUV, 2012), v. 1: 483-502. Concepción Ferrero Maeso, “Vida Universitaria: Arte y ceremonia en la Universidad de Valladolid en el reinado de Fernando VII”, en *L’Université en Espagne*, 194. Jean-René Aymes, “L’image ‘costumbrista’ de l’étudiant espagnol a l’époque romantique (1830-1850)”, en *L’Université en Espagne*, 710. Roberto Martínez del Río, “Historias y relatos de estudiantes universitarios”, *Miscelánea Alfonso IX*, 2000: 259-319. Rosa María Dávila Corona, “La apariencia y el saber: vestimenta y lecturas del profesorado universitario vallisoletano en el siglo XIX”, en VV.AA. *Derecho, historia y universidades*, vol. 1, 485-493. Antonio Moran Saus, José Manuel García Lagos y Emigdio Cano Gómez, *Cancionero de estudiantes de la tuna: el cantar estudiantil de la Edad Media al siglo XX* (Diputación de Cuenca-Universidad de Salamanca, 2003). Miguel Ángel Ruiz Carnicer (dir.), *Una juventud en tiempos de Dictadura: el Servicio Universitario de Trabajo (SUT) 1950-1969* (Madrid. La Catarata, 2021), 283-326.

de España. Durante la primera mitad del XIX predominan las cabeceras dirigidas a estudiantes y con menor peso las dirigidas por los propios estudiantes como la creada en 1851 por tres jóvenes estudiantes de la Universidad Central –Castelar, Canalejas y Morayta– que editaron *El Eco Universitario*, pero no faltan en las universidades de distrito, vinculadas a liceos y ateneos. Es a partir del Sexenio Democrático cuando aumentan las cabeceras que crean los propios estudiantes, unas veces asociadas a ateneos o cuestiones profesionales de la facultad (abundantes en Medicina), otras a debates de grupos ideológicos y políticos, finalmente aparecen cabeceras que buscan ser independientes. Son importantes los períodos de libertad de prensa para verlas multiplicar. Desde fines del XIX y principios del XX, cuando se activan los debates sobre la autonomía universitaria, estas revistas forman parte de la experiencia del colectivo estudiantil. Desde los años Veinte acaban politizándose, aparecen cabeceras de diferentes orientaciones (católicas, liberales y republicanas), intensificadas en la República. El franquismo las regula desde arriba (desde el SEU), hasta que el movimiento antifranquista crea publicaciones de oposición, primero moderadas y después de abierta crítica creadas por unos estudiantes que quieren vivir “al vent del món”, como cantaba uno de ellos. Todas estas publicaciones son de vida muy breve y difíciles de localizar, aunque hay abundantes referencias. Se han estudiado especialmente para el franquismo y su aportación a la historia cultural de los estudiantes permite acceder a sus opiniones, sus maneras de ver, debatir, etc. Es interesante, además, detectar y apreciar que en ellas escriben, en cualquier período, algunos de los intelectuales o profesores más destacados de la cultura española.<sup>32</sup>

4) El cuarto núcleo son *las protestas* estudiantiles y sus tipologías entre 1800 y 1950, que, para los años de oposición contra la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera y décadas posteriores, son el aspecto que más ha atraído la atención de la historiografía *contemporaneísta*. Entendemos, como hemos

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<sup>32</sup> Con diversas aportaciones para la prensa universitaria, José María Hernández Díaz, ed., *La prensa de los escolares y estudiantes su contribución al patrimonio histórico educativo* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2015). Para etapas las diversas etapas y universidades: Germán Perales Birlanga, “El nacimiento de la prensa estudiantil en la ciudad de Valencia (1846-1923)”, *CIAN-Revista de historia de las universidades*, 7 (2004): 173-106. Barreiro, *Historia de la Universidad de Santiago*, 388-392; Miguel Ángel Ruiz Carnicer, “La voz de la juventud”. Prensa universitaria del SEU en el franquismo”, *Bulletin hispanique*, 98/1 (1996), 175-199. Lluís Bernat Prats Mahiques, “Prensa universitaria antifranquista. Aproximación al estudio de las revistas “Diáleg” y “Concret” (1961-1963)”, en *VI Encuentro de investigadores sobre el franquismo (Zaragoza, 15, 16 y 17 de noviembre de 2006)* (Zaragoza: Comisiones Obreras, 2006), 231-244.

dicho, que el período 1931-1978 ha capturado la atención historiográfica por las razones antes mencionadas, y ha condicionado también los estudios sobre los estudiantes, aspecto que se ha desarrollado desde los años Ochenta a nuestros días desde las perspectivas de la *historia política*, *historia social* e *historia cultural*, y, lógicamente esta atracción, ha condicionado un menor estudio del siglo XIX y principios del XX, aunque paradójicamente no se entendería esta politización si no se tuviese una mirada de largo alcance que abarcase la Restauración y los primeros veinticinco años del siglo XX.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Para las tipologías de protestas estudiantiles, visión de conjunto y generaciones de estudiantes en la Edad contemporánea: Eduardo González Calleja, *Rebelión en las aulas; movilización y protesta estudiantil en la España contemporánea, 1865-2008* (Madrid: Alianza, 2009), 21-53. Para el final del Antiguo Régimen y revolución liberal, la época Isabelina y el Sexenio Democrático: Mariano y José Luis Peset, *La Universidad española (siglos XVIII y XIX)* (Madrid: Taurus, 1974). Marc Baldó Lacomba, "Quintos y voluntarios: los estudiantes de la Universidad de Valencia en la época de Carlos IV", en *De la cuestión señorial a la cuestión social: homenaje al profesor Enric Sebastià*, ed. Manuel Chust. (Valencia: PUV, 2002), 89-112. Marc Baldó Lacomba, "La nación en armas: el ejército patriota valenciano en la guerra de independencia", *Historia Social*, 42 (2002): 3-20. Rosa María Dávila Corona, "El doble control interno y estatal de la Universidad de Valladolid durante la segunda Restauración (1823-1833)", en *L'Université en Espagne*, ed. Fell y Guereña (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2017), 166. Hernández Sandoica y Peset, *Universidad, poder y cambio*, 220-262. José Antonio Piqueras, *La Revolución Democrática (1868-1874): cuestión social, colonialismo y grupos de presión* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social, 1993), 213-256. Para la Restauración: Germán Perales Birlanga, *Católicos y liberales: el movimiento estudiantil en la Universidad de Valencia (1875-1939)* (Valencia: PUV, 2009). Germán Perales Birlanga, "Patriotas en las aulas: el sentir patriótico entre los universitarios valencianos de la Restauración (1875-1900)", en *Ciencia y academia*, ed. Mariano Peset, v. 2, 205-222. Germán Perales Birlanga, "Los estudiantes valencianistas: una minoría en la universidad de la Restauración a la República, 1875-1936", en Mariano Peset ed., *Facultades y grados. X Congreso Internacional de historia de las Universidades Hispánicas (Valencia, noviembre 2007)*, Valencia: PUV, 2010. Elena Hernández Sandoica, "Universidad y política en la España del siglo XIX: Madrid (1875-1898)", en *L'Université en Espagne*, ed. Fell y Guereña, 261. Para los años 1900-1919: Daniel Comas Caraballo, *Autonomía y reformas en la Universidad de Valencia (1900-1922)* (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid-Editorial Dykinson, 2001. Cristina Yanes Cabrera, "La revuelta estudiantil en Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XX", en VV.AA. *La Universidad en el siglo XX (España e Iberoamérica). X Coloquio de historia de la Educación* (Murcia: Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación-Departamento de Teoría e Historia de la Educación/Universidad de Murcia, 1998), 648-654. Para la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera, la República y la guerra: Mancebo, *De la Monarquía*, 64-100. Shlomo Ben-Ami, "Los estudiantes contra el Rey. Papel de la F.U.E. en la caída de la Dictadura y la proclamación de la República". *Historia* 16, 6 (1976), 37- 47. Gonzalo J. Martínez Cánovas, "'Mensaje a la juventud'. Luis Jiménez de Asúa y el movimiento estudiantil opositor a la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera", *CIAN- Historia de las Universidades*, 24, no. 2 (2021): 37-68. Varela, *La Universidad*



La población de los estudiantes de facultades y escuelas especiales superiores fue aumentando: los 8.300 estudiantes de facultades y escuelas especiales superiores de 1857, a 18.300 en 1900 y a 57.000 en 1955. Los cuadros siguientes ofrecen una mirada de conjunto.<sup>34</sup> He aquí la evolución:

### *Las primeras mujeres*

La Universidad era un espacio masculino y fue muy difícil quebrar esta condición. Haberlo logrado, sin duda, constituye uno de los hechos más relevantes de la demografía universitaria en toda su historia. Las barreras fueron impuestas en diversos países, entre ellos España, por las propias universidades, los

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*de Santiago*, 163-209 342-376. Álvaro Ribagorda, "Modernización y conflicto: la Universidad Central en los años treinta", en *Modernización y conflicto: la Universidad Central*. ed. González Calleja y Ribagorda, 9-31. González Calleja, "La politización de la vida universitaria madrileña durante los años veinte y treinta", en *Modernización y conflicto*, ed. González Calleja y Ribagorda, 271-300. María Fernanda Mancebo, *La Universidad de Valencia en guerra: la FUE (1936-1939)* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València-Universitat de València, 1988). Isaura Varela González, "La Universidad de Santiago durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)". Marc Baldó Lacomba, "La universidad de València durante la guerra civil", en *Universidades, colegios y poderes*, ed. Jorge Correa Ballester (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2021), v. 2, 519-544. *Estudis d'Història Contemporània del País Valencià*, 7 (1986): 177-198. Alejandro Mayordomo Pérez y Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, *Vencer y convencer: educación y política, 1936-1945* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1993). Para la Dictadura franquista: Elena Hernández Sandoica, Miguel Ángel Ruiz Carnicer y Marc Baldó Lacomba, *Estudiantes contra Franco (1939-1975). Oposición política y movilización juvenil* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2007). Miguel Ángel Ruiz Carnicer, *El Sindicato Español Universitario (SEU) 1939-1965: La socialización política de la juventud universitaria en el franquismo* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1996). Josep Maria Colomer i Calzina, *Els estudiants de Barcelona sota el franquisme* (Barcelona: Curial, 1978, 2 vols.). Sergio Rodríguez Tejada, *Zonas de libertad. Dictadura franquista y movimiento estudiantil en la Universidad de Valencia (1939-1975)*. 2 vols. (Valencia: PUV, 2009). Gregorio Valdelvira González, *La oposición estudiantil al franquismo* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2006). Fernando Jáuregui y Pedro Vega, *Crónica del antifranquismo* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2007). Marc Baldó Lacomba, "De la cultura a la política: los estudiantes de la Universidad de Valencia, 1957-1962", en *Ciencia y academia. IX Congreso Internacional de Historia de las Universidades Hispánicas (Valencia, septiembre 2005)*, ed. Mariano Peset (Valencia: PUV, 2008), vol. 1: 121-137. Luciano Casali, "Revolución y violencia en el lenguaje estudiantil de los setenta: Italia y España", en Mariano Peset y Jorge Correa, ed. *Matrículas y lecciones*, v.1, 287-298. Guadalupe A. Seia. "La prensa estudiantil bajo Dictadura. Apuntes para un estudio comparativo entre España y Argentina". *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 23, no. 1 (2020): 87-117.

<sup>34</sup> El primero se obtiene de *Anuario Estadístico de España* rectificado por recuentos de Mariano Peset, María Fernanda Mancebo y Marc Baldó; ver Baldó, "La población de la Universidad de València", 24-25. El segundo, de Clara Eugenia Núñez, "Educación", en *Estadísticas históricas de España: siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Albert Carreras y Xavier Tafunell (Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, 2005) 155-243.

### Estudiantes universitarios por universidades entre 1857-1955

Universidad	1857	1867	1878	1889	1900	1909	1921	1931	1935	1945	1955
Barcelona	1.399	1.694	2.479	2.478	2.361	2.674	3.125	3.125	2.140	6.053	6.945
Granada	458	811	1.225	1.634	1.280	1.284	1.760	1.750	2.061	2.584	4.998
Madrid	2.876	5.707	6.672	5.149	5.822	5.001	8.195	11.581	8.655	12.461	19.074
Oviedo	127	149	216	551	299	359	750	836	1.260	2.106	3.092
Salamanca	113	204	372	804	826	860	947	1.941	2.107	2.138	3.573
Santiago	725	483	799	1.050	1.565	1.053	1.097	2.103	2.183	2.764	3.146
Sevilla	559	967	1.382	1.650	1.185	1.002	1.565	1.991	1.671	2.443	3.664
Valencia	468	967	2.189	1.041	1.388	1.101	1.396	2.123	2.821	2.515	2.990
Valladolid	455	1.129	880	1.299	1.515	1.098	1.744	2.579	2.144	3.025	3.638
Zaragoza	349	345	771	2.042	1.032	775	1.455	2.448	2.706	2.960	3.655
Murcia							944	1.314	1.442	870	1.344
La Laguna							144	238	204	472	920
<b>Total</b>	<b>7.528</b>	<b>12.023</b>	<b>16.985</b>	<b>17.698</b>	<b>15.207</b>	<b>16.273</b>	<b>23.122</b>	<b>32.029</b>	<b>29.394</b>	<b>40.426</b>	<b>57.039</b>

gobiernos y los cuerpos profesionales, y denominador común para romperlas es el empeño de alumnas, las pioneras y las que han venido después, en todos los países que no ceden a las dificultades con que tropiezan.<sup>35</sup>

En España, desde el siglo XV al XVIII se han documentado unas pocas mujeres universitarias en las universidades de Salamanca (Teresa de Cartagena, Beatriz Galindo *alias* La Latina) y Alcalá (Luisa Medrano Bravo, Francisca de Lebrija, María Isidra Guzmán de la Cerda).<sup>36</sup> En el XIX, antes del Sexenio Democrático, Concepción Arenal estudió Derecho en Madrid cubierta con capa masculina.<sup>37</sup>

### Estudiantes de ingenierías entre 1857 y 1960

1857	542
1870	535
1880	573
1890	948
1900	1.461
1910	1.422
1920	1.613
1930	2.507
1941	1.731
1950	3.417
1960	17.192

<sup>35</sup> Consuelo Flecha García, "Barreras ante las pioneras universitarias: una mirada transnacional". *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 22, no. 1 (2019): 19-59.

<sup>36</sup> María Eloisa Zamorano, "Nuevos aspectos en torno a la figura de la doctora de Alcalá", en *L'Université en Espagne*, ed. Fell y Guereña (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2017), 510.

<sup>37</sup> María Carmen Sánchez Real, *Concepción Arenal en su tiempo* (Vigo: Ayuntamiento de Vigo, 1999).

Estos casos aislados se rompieron en el Sexenio Democrático. En 1872-73, se matriculó en Medicina de Barcelona María Elena Maseras Ribera y desde entonces, con alguna interrupción, ya hubo un hilo de mujeres en la Universidad, aunque sorteando auténticas barreras e incomprendimientos, obstáculos y apoyos familiares (esa era la contradicción de muchas familias), y trabas administrativas.<sup>38</sup> La principal interrupción se produjo en 1882, cuando se prohibió la matrícula de nuevas alumnas, si bien se permitía concluir sus estudios a las que ya estaban matriculadas. Pero el interés de las que querían estudiar y la presión social de las influyentes familias que querían que sus hijas estudiaran, así como sectores avanzados de la sociedad fue tan intensa que en 1888 se les permitió matricularse como alumnas libres, en consecuencia, acudir sólo a los exámenes. Fueron cuarenta años de obstáculos legales y sociales, en prensa y ateneos.

Por fin, en 1910, con Julio Burell de ministro, y una apuesta por la regeneración universitaria, se permitió matricularse a las mujeres en la Universidad con las mismas condiciones que a los hombres, sin necesitar nada menos que una orden ministerial para asistir como alumnas oficiales. También ese mismo año se les autorizaba a opositar a plazas de profesoras de enseñanza secundaria y al cuerpo de bibliotecarios archiveros y museos y ser contratadas en Universidad como auxiliares, de manera que el número de graduadas se incrementó hasta el 9% antes de la guerra civil y se desplazó la matrícula, que al principio era en Medicina, a Filosofía y Letras.

Las razones por las que las clases medias y la pequeña burguesía enviaban a las mujeres a la Universidad se relacionan, como en el caso de los varones, con la estrategia de confirmación social de clase y la posible mejora, con la posibilidad/necesidad de ganar capital cultural y simbólico. En el caso de las mujeres, la historiografía ha realizado un importante esfuerzo prosopográfico.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Se calcula que antes de 1910 se graduaron unas 80 mujeres. Algunas de las mejor documentadas son: María Dolores Aleu Riera (Medicina, Barcelona, Valencia y doctorado en Madrid), Martina Castells Ballespí (Medicina, Madrid), Dolores Lleonart (Medicina, Barcelona), María Luisa Domingo (Medicina en Valladolid), Eloísa Figueroa Martí y su hermana María Dolores (Farmacia), Concepción Aleixandre Ballester, Manuela Solís i Claràs (Medicina, Valencia), María Milagro Andreu Bohigues (Medicina, Zaragoza), Virginia Soler Alberola (Medicina, Barcelona), Mercedes Maestre Martí Teresa de Andrés (Filosofía y Letras, Barcelona), Ángela Carrafa de Nava (Filosofía y Letras, Barcelona), Matilde Padrós Rubió (Filosofía y Letras, Barcelona). Ver Consuelo Flecha García, *Las primeras universitarias en España*, Madrid: Narcea, 1996, 227-229.

<sup>39</sup> Consuelo Flecha García, *Las primeras*. Ana Guil Bozal. "1910-2010. Cien años buscando igualdad en la Universidad". *Aequalitas: Revista jurídica de igualdad de oportunidades entre mujeres y hombres*, 26 (2010): 16-19. Ana Guil Bozal y Consuelo Flecha García, "Universitarias en

Pronto se abrieron en Madrid residencias para mujeres estudiantes, a destacar, en 1915, la Residencia de Señoritas por la institucionista María de Maeztu, institución que era gemela de la Residencia de Estudiantes.<sup>40</sup>

El siguiente cuadro muestra la cadencia temporal del conjunto de toda España antes de la guerra.<sup>41</sup>

#### Mujeres universitarias matriculadas y su porcentaje sobre el total de estudiantes

Curso	Número	Porcentaje
1910-11	33	0,17
1915-16	177	0,56
1920-21	440	2,0
1923-24	898	3,5
1926-27	1.611	4,6
1929-30	1.744	5,2
1930-31	2.246	6,3
1931-32	2.246	6,0
1933-34	2.026	6,9
1935-36	2.124	8,8

En la Universidad Central, de todas las mujeres que se matricularon en este centro desde 1872 hasta 1910, el 48% cursaron de Medicina y 20% de Filosofía y Letras; Farmacia –una salida profesional asegurada si el padre era farmacéutico– tenía el 25%, y Ciencias y Derecho una representación mínima entre de un 4 y un 2%. Pero en 1932-33, Filosofía y Letras tenía un 35%

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España: de los orígenes a la actualidad, *Revista de Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana*, 24 (2015): 124-148. Consuelo Flecha García. "Por Derecho Propio. Universitarias y Profesionales en España en torno a 1910". *Tabanque Revista Pedagógica*, 24 (2011): 157-174. Mercedes Montero, *La conquista del espacio público. Mujeres españolas en la universidad (1910-1936)* (Madrid: Minerva, 2009). Pilar Ballarín Domingo, "Entre ocupar y habitar. Una revisión historiográfica sobre mujeres y Universidad en España", *Arenal. Revista de Historia de Mujeres*, 17 (2010): 223-254. María Luisa Barrera Peña y Ana López Peña, *Sociología de la mujer en la Universidad: análisis histórico-comparativo Galicia-España, 1900-1981* (Santiago: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1983). Trullenque, *Medicina i gènere*, 120-123. Quintf Casals, "El acceso de las mujeres a la Universidad en España: el caso de las primeras universitarias leridanas (1882-1920)", *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 20, no. 2 (2017): 275-301. Para los datos de la Universidad de Madrid, Ana Guil y Consuelo Flecha, "Universitarias": 133.

<sup>40</sup> Raquel Vázquez Ramil, *Mujeres y educación en la España contemporánea: la Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la Residencia de Señoritas de Madrid* (Madrid: Akal, 2012).

<sup>41</sup> Consuelo Flecha García, *Las primeras universitarias en España*, 481.

de todas las mujeres universitarias matriculadas, seguida de Farmacia con un 25%, Ciencias daba un enorme salto del 4% al 17%, Derecho pasaba a tener el 13% (en las demás universidades de distrito la proporción en Derecho era menor) y Medicina caía del 48 al 9%.<sup>42</sup>

Se produjo, pues, un desplazamiento desde las primeras mujeres que accedieron a los estudios superiores antes de 1910: empezaron cursando Medicina, carrera próxima a la profesión de comadrona y enfermera que era tradicional en mujeres, y las licenciadas en Medicina y Cirugía de finales del XIX y principios del XX se fueron especializando en ginecología y pediatría. Desde la legalización de 1910 y la posibilidad de trabajar en institutos de secundaria, bibliotecas, archivos y museos y ser contratadas en las universidades, las desplazó a buscar estudios en facultades con salidas profesionales como profesora o bibliotecaria.

A su tiempo llegarían a ser profesoras de Universidad. Dejando a un lado a Emilia Pardo Bazán, nombrada catedrática de una asignatura de doctorado en Madrid por el rey en 1916, debido a la brillantez de su producción literaria e intelectual, pero no como resultado de su carrera académica, la primera mujer de la que se tiene noticia de ser profesora auxiliar interina es de 1918 (Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, de Geografía política y descriptiva de la facultad de Filosofía y Letras de Valladolid). Se requiere rastrear fuentes universitarias en estos años, porque las estadísticas no las registran hasta 1928. Ese año en la Universidad española había 7 profesoras y 1.121 profesores. Eran el 0,6%. En 1932 –la República dio un gran salto– eran 64 profesoras y 2.071 profesores; representaban las mujeres el 3%.<sup>43</sup> Durante las dos primeras décadas del franquismo seguirán creciendo.

### *Conclusión: perspectivas de futuro, una sugerencia*

Es arriesgado sugerir perspectivas de futuro. La investigación deambulará por caminos que desconocemos, pero podemos hacer sugerencias.

La *historia institucional* –punto de partida– de la historia de las universidades no siempre está resuelta. Queda mucho trabajo en este sentido, incluyendo recuentos de estudiantes desde los archivos universitarios que aportan mucha más información que la que recogen las estadísticas. Al margen de esta cuestión, propondríamos profundizar en campos de trabajo más

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<sup>42</sup> Guil y Flecha, "Universitarias en España", 135.

<sup>43</sup> Guil y Flecha, "Universitarias en España", 136.

relacionados con la *historia social* y la *historia cultural* que han aún quedan por desarrollar.

Para los métodos de la *historia social* consideramos valioso en la historia universitaria y su relación con la historia general *profundizar en las prosopografías*. No sólo para el período 1800-1950, sino para después también.<sup>44</sup> La formación del capital humano, probablemente, sería una de las principales aportaciones de la historia universitaria a la historia de los siglos XIX y XX. Consiste en analizar cómo acceden los jóvenes a estas escuelas, en qué contribuye la institución a su formación, quienes son los profesores y cuál su pericia, cómo se socializan, se movilizan (o no...) y, principalmente, después de graduarse, cómo su saber *se transfiere y transforma* (y en qué grado) *la sociedad*.

El estudio del capital humano requiere de estudios prosopográficos de profesiones: desde la demografía de los graduados hasta la distribución geográfica de éstos, la actividad profesional que ejercen y en qué influye, cómo repercute y si cambia (o no) la sociedad, la economía, la cultura... Es decir, lo que las universidades añaden a la sociedad. Es una labor trabajosa, pero de excelentes resultados. Saber, por ejemplo, a qué se dedican los profesionales de ciencias, letras, medicina, farmacia, economía, arquitectura, ingeniería... Saber las modalidades de ejercicio de las profesiones (si se trata de profesiones liberales, profesionales contratados, funcionarios, investigadores, empresarios...). Para crear estas bases de datos hay abundantes fuentes: *Guías de Forasteros* (1863-1873), *Guía Oficial de España* (1875-1935), publicaciones periódicas de profesiones, colegios profesionales y documentación de sus archivos, guías de ciudades, almanaques de periódicos, guías comerciales, enciclopedias regionales, diccionarios de políticos, el *Enciclopedia Espasa*, *La Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, diccionarios enciclopédicos regionales, el *Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia*, anuarios estadísticos, obituarios<sup>45</sup>... Se trataría, por un lado, de incorporar el estudio de la relación entre la graduación y la profesionalización de muchos oficios: profesiones liberales como médicos de hospitales y de pueblos, abogados, notarios, periodistas, farmacéuticos, veterinarios, arquitectos y funcionarios (desde catedráticos de secundaria o universidad a jueces...) y profesionales que trabajen en laboratorios e incipientes centros de investigación,<sup>46</sup> y por

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<sup>44</sup> Manuel A. Bermejo Castrillo y Tamara El Khoury, "Presentación" del Dossier *HÉLOÏSE - Red europea de bases de datos históricos sobre universidades*, editado por estos autores, *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 19/1 (2016): 13-26.

<sup>45</sup> Véase a modo de ejemplo Sánchez Santiró, *Científicos*, 295-342 y Mancebo, *De la Dictadura*, 373-411.

<sup>46</sup> Una definición de escuela universitaria en Sánchez Ron, *El poder*, 72-87.

otro lado, mostrar el papel del conocimiento en el ascenso de las profesiones y las clases medias.<sup>47</sup>

También debe considerarse importante la aportación que puede hacer la historia universitaria al desarrollo de la historia de la ciencia, el derecho, las humanidades, las ingenierías. Son ejemplos los diccionarios de historia de la ciencia,<sup>48</sup> de historiadores,<sup>49</sup> de arqueólogos,<sup>50</sup> de catedráticos de derecho,<sup>51</sup> de farmacéuticos,<sup>52</sup> de exiliados del 39... es decir otro tipo de prosopografías de científicos. Este campo, aunque se ha desarrollado como se ve por las referencias señaladas, sigue siendo incompleto y requeriría ampliación, actualización y modulaciones nuevas. Un paso más a estos diccionarios lo representan las biografías específicas de universitarios, aunque se alejan del estudio de los alumnos son una aportación para reconstruir el entramado, anclaje y proyección de las universidades en la geografía y en la sociedad.

En el ámbito de la *historia cultural*, que trata cualquier elemento relacionado con la cultura, las representaciones, las prácticas diversas... incluyendo la microhistoria, el modo de vida estudiantil, las costumbres, modas, lecturas, ateneos, sociedades literarias, grupos de teatro, habitación, alimento, vestido, creación o uso de obras artísticas, prácticas deportivas, estudiantinas o tunas, ceremoniales, protocolo académico, ceremonias de gradua-

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<sup>47</sup> Para un planteamiento general, Konrad W. Jarausch, "Graduación y profesión", en *Historia de la Universidad en Europa*, ed. Walter Rüegg (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco: 2018), vol. 3, 397-425. Para Trabajos específicos: Francisco Villacorta Baños, *Profesionales y burócratas: Estado y poder corporativo en la España del siglo XX* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1989). Leoncio López-Ocón Cabrera, Víctor Guijarro Mora y Mario Pedrazuela Fuentes, *Aulas abiertas profesores viajeros y renovación de la enseñanza secundaria en los países ibéricos (1900-1936)* (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid-Editorial Dykinson, 2018). Pablo Campos Calvo-Sotelo y Laura Luceño Casals, *Las formas de la educación. Vínculos entre dimensión docente y dimensión arquitectónica en disciplinas creativas, como expresión de innovación universitaria* (Madrid: Editorial Carlos III de Madrid-Editorial Dykinson, 2018).

<sup>48</sup> José María López Piñero, Thomas F. Glick, Víctor Navarro Brotons, Eugenio Portela Marco, ed. *Diccionario de la ciencia moderna en España*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Península, 1983).

<sup>49</sup> Ignacio Peiró Martín y Gonzalo Pasamar Alzuria, *Diccionario Akal de Historiadores españoles (1840-1980)* (Madrid: Akal, 2002).

<sup>50</sup> Margarita Díaz-Andreu García, Gloria Mora y Jordi Cortadella i Morral, *Diccionario histórico de la Arqueología en España* (Madrid: Marcial Pons: 2009).

<sup>51</sup> *Diccionario de Catedráticos españoles de Derecho (1847-1943)* (UCM3, Madrid: uc3m [https://portal.uc3m.es/portal/page/portal/instituto\\_figuerola/programas/phu/diccionariodecatedraticos](https://portal.uc3m.es/portal/page/portal/instituto_figuerola/programas/phu/diccionariodecatedraticos))

<sup>52</sup> Pedro Vernia Martínez, *Diccionario histórico, biográfico y bibliográfico de profesionales farmacéuticos valencianos: del elixir teriacal a la ingeniería genética: diez siglos de prestaciones científico-sanitarias en la Comunidad Valenciana* (Valencia: Borgino, 1995).

ción, fiestas universitarias, ambiente religioso o laico, espacios académicos, prensa propia del “estudiante burgués” o del tipo de estudiante que se generó desde el primer tercio del siglo XX. En Historia Contemporánea hay pocos estudios de este tipo, aunque sí en Historia Moderna.

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Cuando no se trata, como es el caso, ni mucho menos de la primera aproximación biográfica al personaje, pareciera (obligado) que la última ha de tener alguna justificación o razón de ser, más allá obviamente de la insuficiencia –que algo de eso hay– de las anteriores biografías. En el marketing alrededor de las biografías –también en esto se nota que es un género literario–, a la hora de buscar dichas justificaciones, suele hablarse de la nueva como la “definitiva”. También está la “autorizada” –y su antónimo (evidente): la “no autorizada”–, cuando es el propio biografiado o sus familiares y deudos quienes acceden a que se haga y que se publique. Aquella, la “definitiva”, de algún modo, aspira a agotar el personaje, buscando que después de su publicación ya no quede prácticamente nada que descubrir ni que decir sobre éste. En el caso de *Ramón Carande. La Historia y yo*, de Manuel Moreno Alonso, este calificativo, si no buscado, sí puede decirse que se alcanza por el resultado final que se obtiene –aunque hay que añadir de inmediato un “casi” porque se nos anuncia un segundo volumen, teniendo en cuenta que el primero sólo alcanza hasta la jubilación de Caran-

de en 1957; habrá que esperar, por tanto, a éste para poder hablar de la “definitiva”–. La consideración como “definitiva” de una biografía suele ir aparejada a la de su excelencia. En el caso que nos ocupa, el resultado final es, sin duda, excelente –con independencia, por supuesto, de algunas consideraciones críticas que se harán en esta recensión–. Este producto resultante, tan encomiable, no debe extrañar por provenir de un reputado y competente historiador, de extensa obra, centrada en el XIX español –es uno de nuestros más destacados especialistas en la invasión napoleónica, pero con muy notables aportaciones también en la historia cultural de este siglo–, que además ya había dado buenas muestras de su buen hacer como biógrafo de historiadores, por medio de la dedicada a Antonio Domínguez Ortiz –alguien muy distinto, desde luego, de Carande, por peripecia vital, carisma y carácter– (véase Manuel Moreno Alonso: *El mundo de un historiador. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz*, Fundación José Manuel Lara, Sevilla, 2009, a la que también le dedicamos una reseña en esta misma sede: Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de estudios sobre la Universidad, 13/2010, vol. Nº 1, pp. 145-148).

Lo que no se pretende, creemos –y lo da a entender también el autor en el prólogo–, es obtener ese otro calificativo que se suele dispensar en ocasiones a las biografías: el de su

carácter “total”. Porque si algo se empeña en dejar claro es que se trata de la biografía de un historiador (y qué historiador, hay que añadir de inmediato), un texto que intenta concentrarse principalmente en la trayectoria de Carande como historiador. No obstante, conviene no engañarse: el resultado final, un tanto desbordante desde un punto de vista cuantitativo (más de seiscientas páginas), sí se acerca a esa totalidad, aunque, insistimos, no se persiga. Y es que en la biografía que ofrece Moreno Alonso quedan fuera a la postre pocos aspectos de la vida del biografado –entre ellos, entre los excluidos, tal vez sólo algunos de índole personal-familiar–. El foco, es evidente, que quiere el autor que no se desvíe, desde el propio subtítulo de la obra (*La Historia y yo*), de esa condición de historiador de Carande, algo que éste fue adquiriendo de modo progresivo. En efecto, aunque encuadrado administrativa-académicamente en la universidad en el ámbito de la Economía Política y la Hacienda Pública, disciplina de la que fue catedrático desde 1916, su verdadera vocación fue la Historia (usamos las mismas mayúsculas de las que se vale el autor), en la que alcanzó tardíamente (cerca de los sesenta años) la condición de maestro y en la que llegó a prodigar una influencia significativa. Es indiscutible que ésta será muy notable, y desde luego no circunscrita al campo de la Historia económica, sino que alcan-

zará al de la historiografía en general, a la altura, sin que resulte en absoluto exagerado afirmarlo, de Sánchez-Albornoz o Vicens Vives, estos sí historiadores profesionales (en este sentido, Moreno Alonso lo parangona, sin exageración, debe reiterarse, a la significación de Lucien Febvre en la historiografía francesa y europea).

A pesar de ser importantes las (muchas) vicisitudes vitales y los otros (muchos) perfiles biográficos que ofrece Carande –alguien que vivió, no se olvide, casi cien años y que lo hizo a fondo e intensamente– es en el historiador en el que se centra la obra. Y ello, lejos de lo que pueda parecer, da para mucho. No obstante, como decimos, el resultado a veces resulta un tanto excesivo e incluso puede achacársele al autor cierta falta de contención. El producto final es una biografía puntillosa y detallada –lo que tiene esos efectos contables o cuantitativos, en el número de páginas, antes aludidos–, basada en un amplio y solvente manejo de fuentes, a partir principalmente del rastro de Carande en distintos archivos, incluido el suyo personal en el que destaca, sin duda, lo obtenido de su inmenso y rico epistolario –la información procedente de éste es tal vez una de las novedades de esta biografía–. También es reseñable el buen uso que hace de la literatura biográfica existente sobre Carande, en la que destaca, con un lugar preferente, la que le dedicó su hijo, el polifacético Ber-

nardo-Víctor, así como de los textos de memorias o autobiográficos que D. Ramón, sin llegar a escribir unas propiamente, dejó dispersos y que pueden computarse como tales. Con todo ello, compone, insistimos, una magnífica biografía, encabezada por un excelente prólogo de especial interés, no sólo por cumplir la función propia de estos (introducir sobre lo que sigue al lector y explicarle la cocina de la obra) sino por algunas de las reflexiones que contiene. Así, al hilo de la presentación de su biografiado, Moreno Alonso hace unos interesantes apuntes sobre el oficio de historiador, los requisitos esenciales para ejercerlo, o acerca de cómo el ego puede perturbar la práctica profesional de la Historia –no duda en reconocer a Carande, como un gran historiador, a pesar de “su desmesurado ego en no pocos aspectos”–.

Con este concreto propósito, digamos, biográfico-historiográfico –el libro comienza con la siguiente frase: “Ramón Carande, historiador, es ya historia”–, como corresponde a toda buena biografía, el texto se somete al canon clásico del orden cronológico, el de la vida del personaje, seguido éste de manera bastante estricta por el autor, en los cinco extensos capítulos –alguno de ellos muy extenso, quizá excesivamente, como se ha apuntado– que lo conforman. El libro en su conjunto responde al objetivo señalado: presentar al Carande historiador, su gestación como tal y el

precipitado final verificado en su importante obra histórica (que también es objeto de un análisis pormenorizado y crítico). Ciertamente, algunos de los capítulos responden con mayor nitidez que otros a este cometido. Así deben contemplarse el II, “El descubrimiento de la historia (1914-1931)”, el IV, “El triunfo de la voluntad (1940-1949)”, y el V, “El crédito áureo del historiador (1950-1957)”. En los otros dos, el I, “Una educación sentimental (1887-1910)” y el III, “La razón y la fuerza (1931-1939)”, como en los anteriores aunque en menor medida, el biógrafo no se resiste –por mucho que lo intente, hay que pensar que no puede: nadie podría– a la rica y desbordante vida de un personaje que conoció mucho y a muchos durante noventa y siete años. Carande, puede decirse también, se lo pone fácil al autor (y de paso al destinatario final de su labor, al lector). Lejos de lo que pudiera pensarse a priori, su trayectoria, siendo básicamente la de un profesor universitario, dista mucho de que pueda calificarse como aburrida. En ello, sin duda, y es algo que apunta Moreno Alonso, tiene mucho que ver la personalidad y el carácter de D. Ramón. Al fin y al cabo, para lo bueno y para lo malo, Carande responde a ese “hombre adverbial” del que hablaba el antropólogo Lluís Duch, esto es, un ser determinado por un aquí y un ahora, por un espacio y un tiempo, en definitiva, por unas determinadas circunstancias.



En el caso de Carande, esto se eleva a la enésima potencia.

En el sentido apuntado, de narrar al Carande historiador, el capítulo II resulta fundamental siendo excelentes las páginas que dedica a Altamira, en el que, si nos fijamos bien, pueden advertirse algunos paralelismos con D. Ramón. Las diferencias más bien están en el resultado final y sobre todo desde el punto de vista metodológico. Moreno Alonso nos pone delante con maestría “lo que había” y quien dominaba cuando Carande llega a la Historia, mostrando su progresiva formación como historiador, consistente ésta, primero y antes que nada, en una aprehensión del método, en el que el archivo, es decir, el documento, será el eje fundamental. Todo esto sucede, no se olvide, en medio de la vida de Carande, que es todo menos prosaica o previsible. Una vida en la que, entre otros cometidos, será Catedrático, Rector de la Universidad de Sevilla (apenas un año), Consejero de Estado, Consejero de una importante entidad financiera y Consejero Nacional de FET y de las JONS. En medio de todo ello –a pesar de todo ello, pudiera pensarse–, Carande desarrollará una firme vocación por la Historia. Eso explica que el capítulo I, dedicado a sus primeros años, en los que se beneficiará de una educación sorprendentemente cosmopolita (que explica por sí sola mucho de lo que será su vida), y sobre todo el capítulo III, en el que se aborda el

periodo de la II República y la Guerra Civil, resulten tan interesantes. Lo es, en especial, este último, ya que relata unos años en los que Carande, ya decantado por la Historia como vocación y dedicación, tiene que hacerlo compatible con sobrevivir (personal y profesionalmente) en un periodo tan convulso, tan proceloso. Moreno Alonso cuenta muy bien la actitud de Carande durante la II República –en ese contarle bien, va incluido por supuesto el dejar espacio al lector para que saque sus propias conclusiones–. Así, se muestra a un Carande, republicano confeso, comprometido con el régimen del 14 de abril (será Consejero de Estado y estará a punto de ser ministro) pero también un tanto retraído en sus entusiasmos, de modo progresivo, si se nos permite la expresión, un poco “reservón” (que no tibio). El Profesor Moreno analiza muy bien el marco en el que todo esto sucede, el del papel de los intelectuales, su compromiso político, durante la II República. Con un Ortega que es quien marca decididamente el paso y el tono, de un primer momento de entusiasmo muchos pasarán como el filósofo a la desilusión o finalmente a la desafección. La conocida como “República de los intelectuales” no pasará en algunos aspectos de ser una reunión, muchas veces poco operativa, de políticos aficionados, algo que repercutirá por desgracia en muchos de sus desajustes y disfunciones. Carande se encontrará entre los

primeros en situarse en un segundo plano, en adoptar cierta distancia, en su caso, bastante cómoda, respecto de una República cada vez más alejada de sus ideales.

Desde luego este capítulo se cierra con un episodio que nos delata a esa Carande “adverbial”, dominado por las circunstancias, al que antes se aludía. Con pocos años de diferencia pasa de sentarse en el Consejo de Estado republicano a ser designado en 1939, recién acabada la Guerra Civil, Consejero Nacional de FET y de las JONS. Como escribe Moreno Alonso, se hace falangista y se viste de azul. A pesar de todo, de esa indiscutible adhesión al régimen que acaba de inaugurarse, no logra ser reintegrado a su cátedra en la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Sevilla. Dicha adscripción al falangismo parece no bastar porque sufrirá el “acoso de los vencedores”, una muestra, un tanto paradójica, de como transcurren las cosas en esos días. Quizá se echa en falta una mayor profundización para conocer los motivos de esta conversión, más allá de que se limitase a seguir el consejo de algunos de sus buenos y poderosos amigos. Lo que queda claro es que fue una militancia de naturaleza puramente defensiva. La mejor prueba de ello es que será entonces, con independencia de que vuelva a la cátedra de Economía (eso sí: a desempeñarse con poco entusiasmo), cuando decida dedicarse por entero a la Historia.

A partir de ahí, los capítulos IV y V son plenamente históricos, en el sentido que viene apuntándose. En el primero de ellos, aparece el Carande decidida y definitivamente historiador. Alguien con las cosas claras muy claras desde el punto de vista metodológico, alguien que está perfectamente autoinstruido de cómo debe desenvolverse el trabajo del historiador –la Historia no puede hacerse sin archivos, sin documentos–, con tiempo abundante (por su obligado ostracismo universitario) y con ganas para llevarlo a la práctica. Será su periodo más fecundo, el de su consagración: la publicación en 1943 y 1949 de los dos primeros volúmenes de *Carlos V y sus banqueros*. Por su parte, el capítulo V, es el que se dedica al Carande eficaz acreedor, presto a recaudar los rendimientos pingües que le procuran el inmenso crédito –por utilizar la terminología que le era tan grata– que obtiene con sus obras históricas. Lo mejor en este capítulo son las páginas que se dedican a la historia de la historiografía española de aquellos años, que es en buena medida, una historia de los “amigos” de D. Ramón. El capítulo resulta, sin embargo, un tanto deslavazado, como construido a base de imágenes o estampas, no siempre bien conectadas entre sí (como, por ejemplo, cuando habla de sus “amigos eclesiásticos”). Es como si el autor llegase a este punto un tanto desfondado (comprensiblemente, hay que decirlo) por el esfuerzo reali-

zado. Ello hace entendible esta forma de operar un tanto apresurada o incluso que se deslice algún error (por ejemplo, al Profesor Aguilar Navarro se le “asciende” a ministro cuando no pasó de senador en la primera legislatura democrática), sorprendente en una obra en general tan cuidada en todos sus aspectos. Hay, en definitiva, un cierto tono agotado que explica que el libro concluya en 1957, coincidiendo con los setenta años de Carande, y que se anuncié su continuación en un segundo tomo.

Con rotundidad, hay que reiterar que estamos ante un estupendo libro de historia, en este caso una excelente biografía de un historiador. Bastantes de sus muchos aciertos han sido ya apuntados. También alguno de sus pocos defectos. A lo poco que se ha indicado, tal vez habría que añadir, como negativo, algo que no es propiamente responsabilidad del autor sino más bien del editor, y que hay que achacar a la inexistencia, pensamos, de una auténtica labor de edición del texto, un cometido que siempre ha correspondido a éste. Ello hubiera evitado seguramente algunas de las reiteraciones (no buscadas) que se dan. Esta labor, como se sabe, está muy abandonada por las editoriales que se circunscriben a lo meramente orto-tipográfico (en el mejor de los casos). Por otra parte, cabe que esa primera lectura interna, en la editorial, hubiera reconducido el tal vez número excesivo de páginas

que resulta finalmente. Pero como ya se ha apuntado, hasta termina por ser comprensible. Se trata, debe insistirse, no sólo de la biografía del historiador Ramón Carande sino del también del relato largo tiempo en el que este vivió, con plenitud y aprovechamiento, dejando además rastro escrito de muchas de sus actividades. Todo ello es un material muy goloso y desde luego el Profesor Moreno Alonso no se ha resistido. Ello explica algunas de las muchas digresiones en las que incurre a lo largo del libro, como esas pequeñas biografías que incluye constantemente de personajes que se cruzaron o no en la vida de D. Ramón. Con todo y con eso, el peligro que a veces se corre con este modo de proceder, el que la biografía del personaje aparezca artificialmente engordada, es perfectamente sorteado en un texto en general de impecable factura e inobjetable en su acabado final.

Estos, seguramente discutibles defectos que acaban de apuntarse, son peccata minuta en un libro que no puede más que recomendarse. Es de obligada lectura no sólo para quien pretenda conocer en profundidad a uno de los padres de la historiografía española del siglo XX sino para quien esté interesado por ésta en general, en conocer como pasamos de un modo de hacer historia anclado en el acontecimiento (político) y en el relato a una forma científica, basada en el trabajo de archivo y en el documento

como esencia del quehacer histórico, una historiografía, por qué no decirlo, plenamente europea. Todo ello se procura con largueza en este libro en el que un personaje fascinante, un tanto *outsider* pero en absoluto un marginal, un auténtico supervivien-

te, nos lleva de la mano a lo largo de buena parte de la historia intelectual española del siglo XX.

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PABLO CUEVAS SUBÍAS (coord.). *La universidad de huesca (1354-1845). Quinientos años de historia*. Alcañiz: instituto de estudios humanísticos; lisboa: universidade, centro de estudos clássicos; méxico: universidad autónoma de méxico, instituto de investigaciones filológicas, centro de filología clásica; cádiz: universidad, grupo de investigación “elio antonio de nebrija”, departamento de filología clásica; cáceres: universidad de extremadura, grupo de investigación “las artes de la palabra: de la antigüedad al renacimiento” (lpar); almería: universidad, centro de investigación comunicación y sociedad; Málaga: universidad, departamento de filología griega, estudios árabes, lingüística general, documentación y filología latina; teuel: instituto de estudios turolenses, 2020, 362 pp.

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Las investigaciones fundamentales sobre la Universidad de Huesca, también llamada Sertoriana, se desarrollaron a lo largo del siglo XX, de la mano sobre todo primero de Ricardo del Arco y Garay, luego de Antonio Durán Gudiol y también de Federico Balaguer. Los trabajos de estos se vieron consolidados de modo importante gracias a varias tesis doctorales impulsadas por el citado Durán, Archivero de la Catedral de Huesca. En 1966, Laureano Menéndez de la Puente leyó una tesis doctoral sobre la Facultad de Medicina de dicha Uni-

versidad; en 1978, José Arlegui Suescun leyó la suya sobre la Escuela de Gramática de Huesca; en 1987, José Antonio Gracia Guillén lo hizo sobre las reformas borbónicas en esta Academia; en 1989, Laura Alins Rami, defendió con éxito la suya sobre el final de este antiguo Estudio General; finalmente, José María Lahoz Finesres, abordó en su tesis las facultades de Leyes y Cánones.

Pero a pesar de estas importantes aportaciones y un nutrido conjunto de investigaciones menores y parciales de aspectos diversos, no han sido tenidas en cuenta normalmente en la investigación de las humanidades. Ello es debido a que estas investigaciones fueron publicadas parcialmente, en editoriales locales o marginales, o muy fragmentadas en aspectos parciales. El problema surgido es importante, pues el avance en los conocimientos que se produjo a finales del siglo XX merced sobre todo a las tesis doctorales citadas, no ha repercutido en una apreciación ponderada del valor de esta Universidad y su peso en la cultura del noeste peninsular.

Esta colectánea de trabajos ha pretendido ofrecer una visión conjunta de diversas facetas de la Universidad de Huesca, para que, por fin, los investigadores puedan empezar a hacerse una idea aproximada de sus características. Para ello ha reunido en primer lugar a los autores vivos de tesis doctorales, lo cual ha sido posible en tres de los cuatro casos,

José Arlegui Suescun, Laura Alins Rami y José María Lahoz Finestres. José Antonio Gracia Guillén, el cuarto de los doctores especialistas en esta academia, no ha colaborado esta vez, ya que prepara su participación en un nuevo volumen.

A ellos se une la aportación de tres profesores que han hecho importantes investigaciones sobre la cultura de Huesca, las cuales están relacionadas con el tema central del libro, Antonio Naval Mas, que es actualmente profesor de la Universidad San Jorge, Macario Olivera Villacampa, profesor jubilado de la Universidad de Zaragoza y Laura Fontova Sancho.

Sumado a ello, se han abierto otras vías de investigación, con la colaboración de varios profesores de la Universidad de Zaragoza, el catedrático Juan Francisco Baltar Rodríguez, profesor de Historia del Derecho, la catedrática Rosa María Marina Sáez, profesora de Filología Latina, y Guillermo Vicente y Guerrero, profesor de Filosofía del Derecho. Un tercer grupo de investigadores, doctores y doctorandos, ha surgido del Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria Ramón y Cajal de Huesca. Se da la particularidad de que en 1845 la Universidad quedó convertida en Instituto Provincial de Huesca, heredando buena parte de sus bienes y algunas tradiciones, algunas de las cuales siguen conservándose en el presente. Es la razón por la cual tras la adscripción de los profesores correspondientes a su centro, figura la coletilla “Here-

dero de la Universidad de Huesca”. Se trata de los doctores Francisco Bartol Hernández y Pablo Cuevas Subías, y del doctorando Sergio Paúl Cajal y de José Ramón Laplana Sánchez.

El libro se abre con dos panoramas conjuntos a modo de preámbulo. José Manuel Latorre Ciria, profesor del Departamento de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de la Universidad de Zaragoza, en el “Prólogo”, da una visión conjunta de la historia y las características de esta Universidad y afirma, para finalizar que “Este libro es un notable avance en el conocimiento de la Universidad de Huesca y abre nuevas vías y caminos para futuras investigaciones, que esperamos sigan enriqueciendo nuestros saberes”. La “Introducción” subsiguiente de Cuevas valora, esbozándola, la historia crítica sobre el tema, las lagunas historiográficas existentes, los problemas de recepción de los mismos y una síntesis de los trabajos.

Empezaremos por los trabajos más globales. Naval, máxima autoridad en urbanismo oscense, profesor de la Universidad San Jorge, en “Huesca, ciudad universitaria a lo largo de su historia”, va analizando el impacto decisivo de las instituciones educativas en la conformación física de esta ciudad desde la Edad Media hasta el siglo XVIII. Termina con un capítulo titulado “Ciudad eminentemente universitaria”, donde afirma que “toda la ciudad de Huesca fue eso, una ‘ciudad eminentemente universitaria’”. Olivera, en “La tradición

Sertoriana, piedra angular de la Universidad de Huesca”, explica el origen y significado que la figura de Sertorio tuvo para esta academia hasta convertirse en clave de su historia. Analiza con gran capacidad de síntesis y valorativamente las características de su enseñanza y la evolución desde los inicios hasta la supresión, donde la actuación de su último rector, Jorge Sichar, dejó que desear. También de carácter global, aunque referida a un aspecto concreto, es la aportación de Marina, con la que aborda un nuevo campo de investigación inédito hasta el momento, “La poesía neolatina en la Universidad de Huesca”. Analiza y caracteriza este tipo de composiciones aparecidas en la imprenta universitaria de la ciudad, desde el siglo XVI al XVIII, diferenciando además las tipologías.

Dos estudios inciden en la historia de la Universidad, y son momentos clave. El primero, de Arlegui, se centra en las raíces culturales de la Universidad de Huesca, con “La Escuela de Gramática, origen y camino de la Universidad de Huesca”. A través de la filología clásica demuestra con maestría que las razones de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso para situar en Huesca la universidad que quería fundar en Aragón fueron objetivos, atendiendo a los sólidos fundamentos académicos de la ciudad. Quiso apoyar el *Studium generale* que quería fundar en Aragón sobre los sólidos estudios gramaticales y filosóficos existentes, sin olvidar las métricas.

A la altura de la fundamental aportación de Arlegui, se halla “Estado de la Universidad de Huesca en el siglo XIX y su supresión en 1845” de Alins. Desde un conocimiento completo de los factores socioeconómicos que rodeaban a esta academia en la España del siglo XIX, demuestra que, a pesar del quebranto económico ocasionado por las guerras y por la desamortización, iniciaba en 1845 su recuperación económica y académica, en condiciones no muy divergentes a las de otras universidades que subsistieron. Las razones que movieron a su supresión fueron fundamentalmente políticas en el estado liberal que se consolidaba con una fuerte impronta centralizadora.

Sobre las facultades de esta Universidad queda mucho por avanzar. Hubo una buena tesis sobre la Facultad de Medicina, leída por Laureano Menéndez de la Puente en 1966, que requería una puesta al día dado que los conocimientos sobre esta faceta de la historia de las universidades han mejorado notablemente. Ya nos hemos referido a la tesis doctoral de Arlegui sobre la Escuela de Gramática, la cual también requiere que sea completada, pues termina en 1687 y, aunque es cierto que a partir de entonces pasó a los jesuitas, de nuevo en 1767 se reincorporaron las enseñanzas gramaticales. No obstante, Paúl, que prepara la tesis doctoral sobre la Facultad de Filosofía de Huesca, hace avanzar los conocimientos al respecto en “La filosofía en el entor-

no de la Universidad de Huesca entre 1476 y 1600". A partir de su examen del Renacimiento, basado en el análisis de los estatutos y de los libros que se utilizaron en ese siglo en Huesca, se desprende que la enseñanza de las Artes se abrió a las corrientes innovadoras en filosofía y sostuvo por más tiempo que en otras universidades el tomismo de Francisco de Vitoria. Llama la atención sobre el interés de las obras y las enseñanzas del catedrático Juan Gascón.

En cuanto a Lahoz, el mayor especialista en esta Universidad, que ha publicado numerosos trabajos en revistas especializadas de historia de las universidades y que ha completado una monumental base de datos de unos 40.000 estudiantes y profesores a lo largo de la historia, en "Cátedras y catedráticos de la Universidad de Huesca de 1601 a 1605", se centra aquí en el estudio de los profesores de la primera mitad del siglo XVII. Estudia en este caso las circunstancias sociales que rodeaban a estos profesores y ofrece datos concretos de la docencia de cada uno de ellos por años y facultad en este periodo clave de la Edad Moderna. El trabajo, además, ilustra indirectamente sobre un punto clave, la solvencia de Huesca en todas las épocas para mantener completo el plantel del profesorado.

Esta monografía Sertoriana inicia otras líneas de investigación necesarias. Fontova, en "El maestro mayor Torregrosa y su relación con la imprenta universitaria oscense", exami-

na la biblioteca del maestro mayor de la Facultad de Artes, Juan Torregrosa, que lo fue entre 1578 y 1580, el cual organizaba la enseñanza en la Escuela de Gramática y mantenía una relación estrecha con el impresor de la academia. Observa el alto grado de satisfacción del Estudio General con su imprenta y el alto valor que el Consejo concede a una imprenta que funcione bajo su servicio. Por su parte, Baltar, en "De la Universidad de Huesca a la Universidad de Zaragoza: transición del profesorado de Derecho en el siglo XIX", plantea la cuestión de la transferencia de los profesores a otras universidades. Se centra en los catedráticos de Derecho que pasaron a Zaragoza. Considera que esta transferencia constituye un elemento de continuidad de la Universidad Sertoriana, al tiempo que recalca el importante papel que estos profesores de Huesca desempeñaron en la Universidad de Zaragoza durante los decenios siguientes.

Otro grupo de trabajos da idea del gran potencial pedagógico, histórico y cultural que encierra esta institución. Vicente, en "La Universidad de Huesca a comienzos del siglo XIX. Entre el reformismo centralizador y la guerra", centra su artículo en la encrucijada histórica de 1807-1808, cuando Estudio oscense tuvo que adaptarse al Plan de Estudios de 1807 o Plan Caballero. Pero al tiempo que se renovaban las estructuras heredadas del Antiguo Régimen, la institución se implicaba decididamente en la defensa de Za-



ragoza sitiada por las tropas napoleónicas. Protagonista de excepción de todo ello era Braulio Foz, alumno y, seguidamente, audaz soldado junto a sus conmlitonos. Este capítulo es muestra de las variadas y complejas circunstancias de esta Universidad.

El trabajo de Bartol, en “La Universidad y el Colegio de médicos de Huesca en el siglo XVI. El control del ejercicio de la medicina”, aporta el estudio de un privilegio del rey Fernando el Católico concedido a la academia oscense en el que prohíbe ejercer el arte de galeno a los profesionales que no hubieran sido graduados en su Facultad de Medicina. El apoyo del rey da la razón las autoridades, preocupadas por las consecuencias negativas que sobre la salud de los ciudadanos ocasionaba ejercer la medicina sin los debidos conocimientos. Enlaza con los estudios de Menéndez de la Puente quien indicó que esta Facultad no lograba despegar debido a la competencia de médicos judíos y musulmanes. Por su parte, el estudio de Cuevas “El teatro en Huesca durante el Siglo de Oro y su Universidad” permite entrever la significación de la ciudad en el circuito teatral del Siglo de Oro, gracias precisamente a su academia universitaria. La fortaleza de este estudio en la década de 1570 impulsó un protagonismo manifiesto de Huesca en la escena española en sus inicios. Sirve de muestra de las sorpresas que puede reportar la investigación de múltiples aspectos inéditos de esos quinientos años de historia.

El volumen termina con “Una aproximación a la bibliografía sobre la Universidad de Huesca”, de Laplana, quien ha revisado la bibliografía existente sobre el Estudio General y ofrece un meditado repertorio de trabajos. Incluye las monografías específicas sobre esta academia y los artículos parciales sobre sobre asuntos variados, así como otra bibliografía de muy diversa índole a veces no centrada en Huesca, pero que aporta noticias o informaciones contextuales o da pie a consideraciones de interés.

En cuanto a la labor de coordinación de Pablo Cuevas, tiene el mérito de haber impulsado una idea que en cierto modo posee un valor inaugural, pues son muchos los especialistas de la cultura y del humanismo que se sorprenderán por la existencia de una universidad con tanto peso científico y cultural, y aún sorprende más cómo 175 años han podido borrar el rastro de un Estudio General que en su día fue llamado “La Salamanca de Aragón”. No solo fue suprimida en 1845 sino que después, además, parece que hubiera sido sepultada.

Deben señalarse no obstante algunos reparos. Parece una simple errata que en el Prólogo no se nombre a uno de los editores, la Universidad Autónoma de México, aunque es cierto que sí aparece en los créditos de la obra y en la Introducción del coordinador. En el Índice antropológico final se observa que algunos autores han sido exhaustivos y otros selectivos, cuando debería haber un

criterio más uniforme. Más importante es que nos parece que hay lagunas en cuanto a los temas. Sobre todo echamos en falta la ausencia de estudios sobre el Siglo de las Luces, época en la que esta Universidad al parecer tuvo un florecimiento. Igualmente, sería necesario que se abordasen temas capitales para entender bien las características de esta meritoria creación de la Osca posertoriana: su devenir en la baja Edad Media, las características de sus prestigiosos estudios de Derecho, el peso de los colegios de estudios, la relación polémica con su vecina Universidad de Zaragoza o las causas de su supresión, aunque se podrían añadir otros asuntos.

No obstante, se entiende que se ha recogido lo que se conoce o lo que han podido abordar los autores esta vez. Es de esperar que en el futuro nuevas tandas de estudios completen el panorama y reparen las lagunas que acabamos de reseñar. Podemos creer al coordinador cuando pondera el potencial investigador de esa academia: "Su historia no solo es dilatada y profunda, sino rica en personajes significados, propuestas educativas y actuaciones memorables". Lo que sí es un hecho es su afirmación subsiguiente, que el Estudio General oscense, 175 años después de su desaparición, comprende todavía más siglos de recorrido que la mayoría de las universidades españolas".

En cuanto a la edición del libro, llama la atención el despliegue de colaboraciones. Sale editado por tres

instituciones prestigiosas, el Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, el cual engloba las universidades de Cádiz, Almería, Extremadura y Málaga, el Centro de Estudios Clásicos de la Universidad de Lisboa y la Universidad Autónoma de México, con quienes son co-patrocinadores en Huesca, el Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, el Ayuntamiento y la Catedral, además del Ayuntamiento de Alcañiz, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, Universidad de Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón y Unión Europea. Aunque esta implicación es variable sin duda según los casos, redundante en la idea de obra coral que tienen los estudios. Es de agradecer que las instituciones, aunque a veces solo sea nominalmente, se presten a colaborar en acciones culturales de un calado importante como esta.

El Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos lleva publicadas más de un centenar de monografías sobre el humanismo renacentista, muchas de ellas dentro de la colección en la que sale el libro, *Palmyrenus. Colección de textos y estudios humanísticos*. Destacan sus publicaciones por la competencia profesional de los autores, por el cuidado del contenido y hasta de la configuración formal y estética. Observamos que en el SPI o *Scholarly Publishers Indicators*, en el área de *Books in Humanities and Social Sciences* ocupa una posición meritoria. Mucho tiene que ver su Director, José María Maestre Maestre, Director también de la Colección *Palmyrenus*.

Por mi dedicación desde hace años a la publicación y estudio del teatro escolar o de colegio y al humanístico hispánico, de fines del siglo XV al comienzo del XIX, debo agradecer las aportaciones de los estudiosos en este campo, cuyo fruto podrá verse recogido oportunamente en la *Base de Datos de TeatrEsco* o *CATEH* (dentro del programa Parnaseo de la Universitat de València). Además de noticias de obras escolares o por escolares representadas o producidas en la universidad Sertoriana, es importante la precisión y ampliación de datos en algunas fichas y destacar la participación de dramaturgos e incluso estudiantes de la universidad oscense en la orientación de la dramaturgia y consolidación del teatro español desde fines del siglo XVI. Se han añadido precisiones y adiciones de elementos bibliográficos en F. 786 sobre el *Entremés de Don Pantalón de Mondapoços* de Abarca de Bolea. En la F. 2532, se destacó el aprecio y aprovechamiento de las obras de Terencio, no menos que en otras universidades. Se recogió, en la F. 1090, la variedad de juegos y entretenimientos de escolares durante la octava de festejos y representaciones por la *llegada de las reliquias de san Orencio*, responsabilidad de Juan de Luna, reseñados en la F. 784, que también se reformuló.

Acompañando la actualización de la F. 532 de fray Jaime Torres, con el *Acto pastoril intitulado Laurentina* en 1578 por las correspondientes reliquias, se crearon cuatro fichas nuevas sobre otros tantos textos teatrales o actos / autos, que juntas había publicado este autor en 1579. Esas fichas nuevas son: nº 2682 (*Acto pastoril intitulado Laurentina*), nº 2685 (*Juego de la argolla*) y nº 2686 (*Colloquio moral intitulado Labor...*), además de *Desafío moral...*, que ocupa la F. 1091. Otras fichas creadas *ex novo* con noticias y comentarios sobre representaciones oscenses han sido la nº 2683, dedicada a las tres tragedias de Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, que ahí las compuso siendo estudiante. Asimismo, pese a las escasas referencias habidas, se creó una ficha (la nº 2684) para una comedia de los jesuitas en 1687, que se añadía a otra (F. 1095) sobre un *Diálogo de la limpia Concepción* representado por los escolares de su colegio también en Huesca en 1619.

De lo cual puede deducirse cómo, fruto del estudio de especialistas, la contribución de una universidad tan antigua y emérita como la de Huesca, puede reconocérsele y aprovecharse para enriquecimiento de la cultura general.

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BEN MERCER. *Students Revolt in 1968. France, Italy and West Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 268 pp.

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Los años sesenta vienen siendo, ya desde hace unos años, un espacio de trabajo sumamente interesante en la historiografía europea. Los nuevos marcos aportados por los enfoques globales y transnacionales han contribuido a traslucir el mapa de relaciones e interacciones entre contextos y militancias, ampliando la base de los espacios nacionales como centros exclusivos de análisis e interpretación. Ese carácter global, sin embargo, y afortunadamente, no ha descuidado la importancia de los espacios locales. Los trabajos de Gerd-Rainer Horn, Martin Klimke, Belinda Davis o Timothy Scott Brown han sabido recorrer con habilidad el anclaje de ambos marcos, con resultados notables en la elaboración de marcos interpretativos y afianzando la renovación de estudios todavía en marcha en torno a la década.

En estas líneas renovadoras se situaría el libro de Ben Mercer, el cual abarca los años precedentes a 1968 en tres casos concretos de estudio, la facultad de Letras y Ciencias Humanas de Nanterre, el Instituto Superior de Ciencias Sociales de Trento y la Universidad Libre de Berlín, poniendo el foco en los procesos y fenóme-

nos que permitieron la construcción de repertorios de movilización e innovación políticas y culturales por parte de la juventud universitaria europea. Lo hace a través de tres centros de enseñanza superior contruidos tras la II Guerra Mundial que, por su naturaleza renovadora y tendencias modernizadoras, facilitaron la apertura de cauces en los que se manifestaron las ambigüedades, contradicciones y limitaciones de los sistemas democráticos. En este sentido, a partir del trabajo de fuentes primarias de los tres países, el autor sitúa e integra los esfuerzos transformadores del estudiantado en el recorrido de las dinámicas democratizadoras de la modernidad, subrayando la elaboración de ideas de democracia alternativas y que entrarían en abierto conflicto con el modelo democrático europeo de posguerra.

A este respecto, la primera parte del libro ofrece una panorámica sobre una serie de cuestiones de fondo, determinantes en la progresiva adquisición de una conciencia social y política por parte del estudiantado. Para ello, se vale de fenómenos y procesos que vienen a aportar nuevas perspectivas al estudio de la movilización universitaria. Uno de ellos sería la falta de programas de renovación y financiación por parte de las autoridades políticas y académicas ante la profunda transformación de la universidad desde mediados de los años cincuenta. Más bien, ante el

progresivo proceso de masificación, medidas como la reforma Fouchet en Francia, impondrían medidas de selección, como exámenes de acceso o la reducción del período de permanencia en los estudios, que facilitarían el cuestionamiento por parte del estudiantado de una verdadera voluntad democratizadora en la enseñanza universitaria.

El señalamiento de aquellas limitaciones se llevaría a cabo, igualmente, en el terreno puramente académico, en torno a la naturaleza de una disciplina, la sociología, impulsada en los tres centros como herramienta asociada al avance de la administración pública y las necesidades de gestión técnicas de los estados. Más allá de su valor puramente tecnocrático, la sociología adquirirá una relevancia determinante en la adquisición y desarrollo de una metodología analítica y profundamente crítica por parte del estudiantado. De hecho, serán los centros de Nanterre, Trento y Berlín donde surgirán las primeras protestas en sus respectivos países, muchas veces relacionadas con la elaboración de los planes de estudio en los que confrontaban las dos maneras de entender la disciplina sociológica.

Esas diferencias se manifestarían de manera muy acusada en Trento durante la segunda mitad de los años sesenta, generando protestas por la exclusión del estudiantado de la elaboración del currículum académico,

y que desembocarían en la primera ocupación de la facultad en 1966. A este respecto, el autor señala la capacidad performativa de aquellas nuevas estrategias basadas en la conquista del espacio y del discurso. Es más, la participación activa en asambleas autoorganizadas por los propios estudiantes ejercería de correa en la articulación de nuevas subjetividades, situando lo personal en sintonía con el terreno de lo político, contribuyendo a la reelaboración de este último como una de las herencias más señaladas de aquella década.

Aquella nueva cultura participativa y de autonomía favoreció, por otro lado, la reconfiguraron de los códigos y las modalidades de autoridad en el terreno académico y cultural. En este último, el acceso a la enseñanza superior de unas clases medias en expansión sostuvo una creciente democratización de la cultura, manifestada en la proliferación de las ediciones de bolsillo, que contribuyó de manera decisiva a ampliar las vías de recepción de productos antes reservados a las clases privilegiadas. Sobre ese fondo se operó una erosión de las jerarquías entre baja y alta cultura por parte del estudiantado, encauzada a través de estrategias de desacralización basadas en la informalización del lenguaje, la transgresión o la provocación.

Este tipo de estrategias venían a replantear las modalidades de autoridad y de jerarquización en el te-

rreno cultural, pero también en las relaciones con el profesorado y las autoridades académicas. Con todo, aquel empuje se trasladaría al resto de marcos sociales en los que el estudiantado evidenciaba los obstáculos y restricciones de los espacios de participación oficiales. En este aspecto, el cierre de oportunidades de acción dentro las organizaciones estudiantiles nacionales, junto a la creciente radicalización política del movimiento estudiantil, llevaron a una superación de aquéllas hacia nuevas organizaciones políticas y a su desaparición o reconfiguración a finales de la década y comienzos de la siguiente.

No obstante, el autor mantiene un notable enfoque desmistificador, señalando las propias contradicciones y límites de las propuestas de radicalidad cultural y de democracia directa del movimiento estudiantil. A tal efecto, señala la elaboración de nuevas formas de autoridad basadas en el liderazgo carismático e intensamente masculinizado de unos pocos estudiantes, así como las dificultades para el ejercicio del debate político, cuando no su absoluta negación, o la salida hacia un antiintelectualismo, manifestado en la proletarización de algunos estudiantes en una estrategia de desclasamiento muy propio de los grupos más radicalizados. Estas matizaciones contribuyen, además, a revelar una manifiesta incapacidad por parte del movimiento estudiantil para generar espacios y alternativas

políticamente articuladas y culturalmente viables.

De lo que sí fueron capaces aquellos movimientos fue de exponer críticamente las hipocresías y contrariedades del sistema educativo universitario, extendiendo su crítica al mismo sistema social y político de posguerra. En este sentido, una segunda parte del libro estaría dedicada a la exposición de los casos de estudio ya señalados, trazando una lectura comparativa y el establecimiento de una serie de paralelismos y dinámicas comunes, a través de los procesos ya analizados. Así pues, en los tres casos las protestas se iniciarían con la reivindicación de espacios de autonomía y de democratización dentro de la universidad, que, como en el caso de Berlín, se sostenía sobre el propio modelo de autogobierno y participativo de la institución. La respuesta negativa y de carácter disciplinario desde el cuerpo académico llevaría al cuestionamiento de la autoridad de éste, así como de su misma naturaleza democrática, que desembocaría en Trento en una segunda ocupación. La intervención de la policía en abril de 1967 en el centro del norte de Italia evidenciaría el fracaso de las autoridades académicas, aportando elementos de lectura en torno al déficit democrático de un régimen en el que todavía eran visibles las herencias y permanencias del fascismo de los años treinta. Solo un mes después, la policía entraría en la Uni-

versidad Libre de Berlín, provocando con ello el aumento de las filas de un estudiantado más proclive a aceptar aquellas lecturas aportadas por los grupos más politizados en torno a la naturaleza represiva del sistema académico y político.

Por su parte, en Nanterre la ocupación del edificio de la residencia supuso un desafío a la reglamentación del espacio universitario, que ya se había producido en noviembre de 1967 cuando el decano había prohibido la proyección de una película sobre Vietnam. En este sentido, la guerra de Vietnam sería un asunto central en las movilizaciones en toda Europa, actuando de correa de encaje de una protesta local, extendida pronto al ámbito nacional, en el imaginario global de la década de los sesenta. Será en París, precisamente, donde la protesta estudiantil desencadene un estallido social en el que la participación de millones de obreros en la huelga general del 13 de mayo dirigió a los estudiantes a la acción política fuera de la universidad, desquebrajando definitivamente la separación con el espacio extrauniversitario y a una creciente politización que ahogaría las propuestas de renovación universitaria, que habían alimentado inicialmente las protestas.

Esto se vio claramente en el fracaso de las universidades críticas en las que interactuaron alternativas al sistema académico y las aspiraciones de participación y democratización del

estudiantado. Este modelo se propuso por primera vez en Berlín, por parte del SDS, como una manera de mantener la continuidad de las protestas y unir en un mismo proyecto a los estudiantes más comprometidos políticamente, desarrollando una ciencia políticamente útil y con una aplicación social transformadora, y aquellos cuya acción iba más dirigida al terreno de la cultura y la reforma universitaria. Siguiendo la línea desmitificadora ya comentada, el autor señala los problemas a los que tuvieron que hacer frente aquellos proyectos como la falta o la irregularidad de la asistencia en un estudiantado más bien pasivo, así como la incapacidad de lograr la participación de las clases trabajadoras, como meta fundamental del proyecto de una universidad popular.

Con todo, y pese a sus limitaciones y posterior fracaso, este modelo de administración autónoma de la enseñanza superior, y en general el empuje estudiantil de los años sesenta, dejaría el camino abierto a la notable transformación de las relaciones y los modelos pedagógicos en la universidad realizada durante el último tercio del siglo XX. De la misma forma, desde el cuestionamiento al propio régimen universitario extendido al conjunto del sistema político, el movimiento estudiantil supo elaborar propuestas de democratización alternativa y alumbrar nuevos espacios para la discusión y

la participación política autónoma. En definitiva, el autor acierta cuando concluye que el estudiantado de aquellos años fue capaz de reactivar las tareas democratizadoras de la contemporaneidad, dejando ver, sin embargo, las dificultades inherentes a las mismas y llevando incluso al paroxismo algunos de sus dilemas y contradicciones.

Éste, podríamos decir, es el principal aporte de una obra que desenvuelve las protestas estudiantiles de los sesenta en problemáticas históricas en el tiempo largo. Lo hace desde una perspectiva transnacional, otorgando, eso sí, un peso más destacado a los contextos y las problemáticas locales, aunque sin descuidar el desarrollo y la importancia de los imaginarios globales de la década. La centralidad de una serie de marcos nacionales y académicos permite ofrecer una detallada explicación a la articulación y el desarrollo de una cultura antiautoritaria, que localiza en el centro de la naturaleza de las revueltas estudiantiles de los años sesenta, desde pro-

blemáticas cotidianas y académicas, que alcanzarían el terreno de la política a tenor de las respuestas de las autoridades y las propias limitaciones de los órganos de representación y participación oficiales.

Por último, merece la pena señalar, a modo de conclusión que algunas de aquellas dinámicas fueron igualmente apreciables entre el estudiantado español. Fenómenos similares a los descritos por el autor alimentaron las protestas universitarias durante el franquismo. Del mismo modo, aquellas expectativas utópicas de transformación política y social formaron parte del imaginario de una buena parte de la militancia universitaria. Situar el caso español en un marco transnacional similar al propuesto por esta y otras obras recientes es posiblemente una de las vías de estudio con más proyección dentro de los estudios sobre las movilizaciones sociales bajo el franquismo.

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SOLER AZNAR, MANUEL. *La resistencia silenciada. Historia del congreso universitario de escritores jóvenes y edición facsímil de su boletín (Madrid, 1954-1955)*, Madrid, Ediciones Ulises, 2021. ISBN: 978-84-16300-90-7.

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Aunque la historia del Congreso Universitario de Escritores Jóvenes (CUEJ) (1954-1955) es conocida por diversas narraciones académicas, biográficas y de recuerdo, *La Resistencia silenciada* supone un interesante aporte historiográfico para el conocimiento no sólo de dicho proyecto cultural, *silenciado* por la dictadura vía prohibición, sino, por relación, de la intrahistoria del movimiento estudiantil antifranquista en su fase germinal. De algún modo se radiografía el proceso de construcción del movimiento a partir de los primeros activistas de nueva generación y su *modus operandi* en aquellas fechas. El consenso es generalizado sobre la relación de dichos acontecimientos culturales y los sucesos de febrero de 1956 que marcaron un simbólico punto de inflexión en la historia de la protesta universitaria en la España de Franco.

Existen suficientes y cualificados testimonios directos que han relatado sus vivencias en torno al CUEJ, a sus prolegómenos y epílogo (Jorge Semprún, Enrique Múgica, Julio Diamante, Gabriel Elorriaga, Jaime Ferrán,

Ramón Tamames, Antonio Ferres, Fernando Sánchez Dragó, Pedro Laín, Dionisio Ridruejo, Javier Pradera, Carlos Semprún); hay reconstrucciones desde el periodismo (Pablo Lizcano), contamos con recopilaciones de documentos policiales sobre personas y actividades (Roberto Mesa) y se ha abordado desde la investigación histórica (Elena Hernández Sandoica, Miguel Ángel Ruiz Carnicer y Marc Baldó; Eduardo González Calleja; Nicolás Sartorius y Javier Alfaya), entre otros. ¿Qué puede, entonces, aportar el libro de Manuel Aznar Soler que, por lo demás, ya había tratado el asunto en su reciente libro *El Partido Comunista de España y la literatura (1939-1975)* (2021)? Son dos principales, una que afecta al objeto en sí (el CUEJ) y otra a su relación con el movimiento estudiantil. Veamos.

Para empezar, en la referencia ut supra la aproximación al tema se hace fundamentalmente desde el punto de vista literario, en un capítulo encabezado por el descriptivo título de “Resistencia estética y realismo literario: el *Boletín del Congreso Universitario de Escritores Jóvenes (1955)*”, texto actualizado que a su vez procedía de una comunicación presentada en el VIII Encuentro Internacional de Investigadores del Franquismo, organizado en 2013 por el Centre d’Estudis sobre las Èpoques Franquista i Democràtica (CEFID), de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (hoy Centre d’Estudis sobre Dictadures i Demo-

cràcies, CEDID). En este trabajo previo interesan particularmente los vínculos generacionales con líneas éticas y formales; en palabras de Jordi Borja, al realizar el retrato de aquella generación, la “adhesión expresa a una estética como instrumento transformador de raíz moral (...) narradores que, nacidos en unos años comunes, identificaban en ciertas formas de la estética del realismo su ética de resistencia” (*Estado y Cultura. El despertar de una conciencia crítica bajo el franquismo (1940-1962)*, p. 156). Es ésta una idea, asociada al llamado realismo social, que aparece recurrentemente a lo largo de *La resistencia silenciada*, tanto en fuentes de época como en reflexiones actuales que aderezan la narración.

Para este objetivo propio de la historia de la literatura –“el presente ensayo no tiene por objetivo la reconstrucción histórica del frustrado Congreso...”, alerta en el primer párrafo del capítulo citado– se recurrió al *Boletín* del Congreso como fuente de análisis, lo que permitía rastrear la presencia de realismo social en los ambientes universitarios de mediados de los años cincuenta; pero en la monografía de Ediciones Ulises, en el que el problema adquiere relevancia central, se rescatan y publican por primera vez en facsímil los tres números del *Boletín* que vieron la luz, situándolos en un marco conceptual más amplio que el puramente literario, gracias a lo cual podemos tener

un conocimiento más profundo del contexto en el que se editaron y de algunas de las aportaciones recogidas en los mismos, a las que, además, se le asignan sistemáticamente la autoría que no venía consignada en el original, donde siempre se quiso transmitir la idea trabajo colectivo, evitando las individualidades y personalismos.

Así pues, aparte de un mayor desarrollo del tema, con el uso de nuevas fuentes (de especial valor la correspondencia que complementa los trabajos anteriores), focaliza con precisión un problema y lo delimita conceptualmente, apuntando la relación entre la cultura (en especial la poesía) y el movimiento estudiantil, con un PCE presente que, en ese marco, consiguió sus primeros militantes universitarios en Madrid. Si no es un enfoque novedoso para el estudio de la poesía y su función social y política, estudiados por el mismo Soler, sí que implica una perspectiva original para afrontar el análisis de un movimiento social, fijando más la atención en la cultura e impulso personal que en las organizaciones, sin perder de vista a éstas, que han tenido historiográficamente una atención preferente en la bibliografía especializada.

Con serena y envolvente narración se fija un orden cronológico que estructura formalmente el libro a partir de casos concretos, algunos conocidos y otros no tanto; no en vano, el primer capítulo marca el camino: “Primavera de 1954: los encuentros

entre la Poesía y la Universidad”, donde se percibe la mano diestra del catedrático de Literatura, un rasgo apreciable en otros pasajes de la obra en los que la poesía se posiciona en el centro de la historia, haciendo buenas las palabras de Gabriel Celaya, precisamente de 1955 (*Cantos Íberos*): “La poesía es un arma cargada de futuro”, que tan suyas hicieron muchos de los implicados en el frustrado proyecto que se adscribían al realismo social en arte y literatura. Un signo inequívoco de orientación ideológica, ética y estética, que no necesariamente de pertenencia política, aunque muchas veces sí. Era una cuestión más vital que política, pero por la que, indefectiblemente, pasaron buena parte de los activistas. La primera brecha a la dictadura se tenía que hacer con armas culturales, y es ahí donde cobran todo su sentido los Encuentros Poesía-Universidad, porque lógicamente, no era cualquier poesía. El libro de Soler hace posible aproximaciones micro de las que se pueden extraer conclusiones de largo alcance para comprender la estructura y desarrollo de la oposición al franquismo y situar en su justo lugar la dialéctica individuo-partido político: la explicación de lo acontecido es más circunstancial y personal que estructural, en todos los sentidos, con las implicaciones que esto tiene en el orden historiográfico.

En el prólogo se sitúa al que es considerado el actor principal y se

apunta una circunstancia de interés teórico, pese a que no quede explicitado como tal: aunque el objetivo real del libro no es estudiar el movimiento estudiantil como agente colectivo y contencioso, sino la significación e historia del mencionado Congreso y el papel de la Cultura en sí misma como frente de oposición política, sí que supone un acercamiento al mismo rescatando al individuo y al papel que los sujetos concretos tienen en la Historia y en el seno de los movimientos sociales: en particular Enrique Múgica y en torno a él, Dionisio Ridruejo y Jorge Semprún, entre otros: el primero, estudiante de Derecho, realizó la tarea de zapa entre los escolares a nivel de base, y, a través de Ridruejo contactó con el rector Pedro Laín, vía que le abrió el camino para el contacto con cargos oficiales del ministerio, del SEU u otros escritores de relieve, aprovechando la cobertura legal que durante un tiempo tuvo el proyecto. Soler lo escribe explícitamente: “Mi convicción es que Enrique Múgica fue sin duda el cerebro, el estratega y el principal impulsor del Congreso Universitario de Escritores Jóvenes (CUEJ), y creo que este protagonismo puede demostrarse claramente a través de su epistolario durante estos dos años 1954-1955, un proceso sin el cual es obvio no se pueden entender los sucesos de febrero de 1956”. La idea del Congreso parece que la sugirió en primera instancia Jesús López Pacheco, según re-

conocen algunos testimonios y queda recogido en el libro en clave de duda.

A partir de esta base humana, el primer capítulo comienza refiriendo el impacto negativo que supuso para el escaso prestigio del SEU los hechos ocurridos en enero de 1954 con ocasión de la visita de la Reina Isabel II a Gibraltar y la represión de la manifestación convocada por el SEU para protestar por esta presencia: “El inteligente estrategia político-cultural que era el joven Múgica, consciente de que, “descartada cualquier posibilidad de actividad política (...) el único camino de actuación eran los actos culturales” –dice citando a Múgica–, supo encauzar pronto esa indignación y protesta a través de la estética, y más concretamente de la poesía, tal y como él mismo explica en sus memorias”.

A su vez, el contacto con Semprún unía a Múgica con la dirección del PCE (Santiago Carrillo, Vicente Uribe, Pasionaria, etc.). Es en el segundo capítulo cuando se plantea la cuestión de la militancia comunista de Múgica y se le pone fecha exacta a la creación de la primera célula comunista en la Universidad de Madrid: 1 de abril de 1954. Habitualmente se ha fijado la atención en las organizaciones clandestinas para analizar la oposición a la dictadura franquista; pero éstas no fueron más que la punta del iceberg de un universo político-sentimental sumergido; bajo esa realidad orgánica existió un mundo de relaciones y

de redes informales de relación, que, desde mi perspectiva, fueron condición necesaria para la subversión contra la dictadura de Franco, más allá (y sin negar) el papel de las organizaciones. Para comprender este hecho es fundamental el estudio de los espacios de sociabilidad y los contextos de micromovilización (más que los partidos), en los que aquellas redes informales funcionaron de manera más o menos natural, lo que, para empezar, facilitaba los encuentros, la toma de conciencia y la planificación de acciones posteriores. La Universidad y los espacios aledaños en los que la gente se desenvolvía cotidianamente (librerías, centros culturales, editoriales, parroquias, barrios, etc.) constituyen objetivos de estudio en sí mismos para la reconstrucción de un tipo de resistencia a Franco. Desde esta perspectiva, Soler nos pone delante un modelo perfecto para comprender cómo funcionaba la oposición al franquismo especialmente en la etapa donde se sitúan los acontecimientos. Este es el segundo valor del libro.

En efecto, los datos biográficos que aporta son ilustrativos de lo que quiero subrayar y dibujan un camino esclarecedor: en otoño 1949 (con diecisiete años) Múgica, movido por su interés por el teatro, la poesía y la literatura en general, se hizo socio del Círculo Cultural Guipuzcoano, donde conoció y entabló amistad con Luis Martín Santos. Fue ahí, según

testimonio del propio Múgica, el lugar en el que comenzaron sus lecturas expresamente políticas de corte marxista. En 1952 visitó la Librería Española en París, fundada por Antonio Soriano, lugar de encuentro de exiliados españoles, un hito relevante en su camino al comunismo, como reconoce el protagonista en sus memorias; y a finales de aquel año entabló amistad y entró en el círculo personal de Gabriel Celaya, verdadero contacto intermedio con el PCE. Ocurrió de manera natural, a través de la editorial Colección Norte de Poesía, fundada por Celaya en la calle Juan de Bilbao, en San Sebastián; y fue por aquí por donde Múgica conoció a Semprún en la ciudad donostiarra, en junio de 1953. Dicho en otros términos, la toma de conciencia política y el rechazo visceral al franquismo fueron anteriores al ingreso en el partido y no a la inversa, lo cual me parece un matiz relevante. En octubre de 1953 Múgica marchaba a Madrid para continuar la carrera de Derecho; con él iba el que sería el primer militante del PCE en la Universidad Central.

La función y los resultados del trabajo del instructor Semprún son incuestionable, y sirvieron para la transmisión de consignas y estrategias más o menos generales, como la infiltración en el SEU, el sindicato falangista oficial y único en la Universidad, antes de que el fenómeno se generalizara en el movimiento obrero a través de las CCOO. Con su

aliento y preparación hizo posible la formación de la primera célula comunista a partir del propio Múgica (Jesús López Pacheco y Julián Marcos, y posteriormente, Julio Diamante, Ramón Tamames, Javier Pradera, Fernando Sánchez Dragó, Emilio Sanz Hurtado, etc.), que, en buena medida estará vinculada con la organización del Congreso. El artículo "Responsabilidad y tareas de los estudiantes comunistas", firmado por Federico Sánchez [Jorge Semprún] en *Mundo Obrero* (nº 2, enero de 1956), iba destinado a ellos y marcaba las directrices generales de acción del movimiento estudiantil a la vez que venía a constatar lo que estaba ocurriendo, siendo un tanto visionario en lo que estaba por venir. Pero quizás haya que evaluar con más precisión el papel del PCE en el desarrollo de la historia del CUEJ, pues creo que éste fue más limitado: la correspondencia publicada por Soler y la documentación que se conserva en el importante Archivo Histórico del PCE pienso que lo dejan claro: no hay ni instrucciones concretas, ni financiación directa (el *Boletín*, por ejemplo, se pagó con fondos del rectorado), ni se sugieren nombres ni orientaciones específicas en el contenido del Congreso (más allá de consignas generales), ni el partido intermedió en ningún momento, ni la idea del Congreso salió del aparato, etc. Simplemente apoyó la iniciativa, como parece no podía

ser de otro modo dado el planteamiento cultural del proyecto y que estaba en la línea de aproximación y reclamo a los intelectuales planteada en el V Congreso del PCE (septiembre de 1954; y unos meses antes en el *Mensaje del PCE a los intelectuales patriotas*, fechado en abril).

Julio Diamante (*Del cine y otros amores*, 2021), que reclamaba la participación del PCE, reconocía igualmente la importancia de los no organizados: “Por supuesto, en torno al Congreso confluían compañeros de muy diversas tendencias, aunque todavía no organizados: socialistas, católicos no integristas, monárquicos, liberales, algunos desencantados de procedencia falangista...”; y añade, en relación con la implicación del *Partido*: “El PCE estaba sumamente interesado en el proyecto del Congreso. Por eso, en un documento interno se afirma: “Dada la gran importancia del Congreso de Escritores Jóvenes, se encarga a los camaradas Julio Diamante y Enrique Múgica la dirección del trabajo del Partido en el seno de la comisión del congreso sin perjuicio de aquel”. Y seguidamente se señalaba el contenido que había que mantener: “Defensa de las libertades democráticas y de expresión. Defensa de la paz. Defensa del realismo y el arte en literatura. Defensa de la relación entre el intelectual y el pueblo. Planteamiento de problemas de los universitarios”. Pero, por la militancia de Diamante, esto sólo se pudo

escribir cuando el proyecto del Congreso ya estaba andando.

El valor principal del PCE en estos momentos –y era poco pero tampoco todo– estuvo en el estímulo que se inyectó, la orientación general, en el reforzamiento que supuso para una juventud inquieta, huérfana políticamente, el sentimiento de pertenencia y unidad dentro de un colectivo que actuaba con idéntica señal política en aras de un objetivo compartido y justificado por el PCE; pero como organización, pienso que es relativa la responsabilidad concreta en la gestación y desarrollo del CUEJ y que el libro de Soler, sin hacerse formalmente esa pregunta, la responde. Era lógico, por lo demás, que se tratara de patrimonializar políticamente tan importante evento. Por su parte, para el franquismo, era un *leitmotive* recurrente el asignar la responsabilidad de todo lo que ocurriera contra la dictadura a la acción conspirativa del PCE, aunque no la tuviera, manteniendo la estrategia de enemigo único. Todo esto ha producido, a lo largo del tiempo, cierta distorsión interpretativa sobre el papel del PCE en diversos acontecimientos históricos. En realidad, no hubo, ni pudo haber un dirigismo mecánico del movimiento estudiantil –ni del CUEJ– tal y como dibujaba *conspiranoicamente* la dictadura y como hubiera, sin duda, deseado el PCE, a quien no se le puede negar, en cualquier caso, su papel de animador.

Fueron estos mismos estudiantes organizados, pero sólo parcialmente dirigidos los que una vez acorralado el proyecto del CUEJ, procuraron tensar más la situación haciendo una presentación pública del mismo (27 de mayo de 1955) y lanzaron tres números del *Boletín* (mayo-octubre de 1955). Cuando la batalla estaba prácticamente perdida, falleció José Ortega y Gasset y su entierro, en octubre de 1955, fue aprovechado para rendirle un homenaje al “filósofo liberal español” que se acabó transformando en un acto reivindicativo, en forma de manifestación multitudinaria, alternativo al reconocimiento oficial. El descontento que se iba acumulando desde, al menos los incidentes referidos de enero de 1954, unido a la ligazón emocional, de trasfondo político, que los estudiantes más activos habían ido tejiendo hacia una base más amplia, cada vez más inquieta y dinámica (la legislación sobre disciplina académica aprobada justo en estos años así lo atestiguan), explican lo que ocurrió en febrero de 1956 con la explosión de la protesta con ocasión del proyecto para destruir el SEU, mediante la ocupación de cargos por parte de antifranquistas que comenzaron a presentarse a las elecciones oficiales. El entierro de Ortega significó a su vez el certificado de muerte del Congreso. El siguiente paso fue tratar de celebrar un Congreso de Estudiantes Libres con el que se daba un salto cualitativo en

la lucha al pasar a plantear problemas universitarios específicos, relacionados con la representación. La línea de continuidad con lo ocurrido unos meses antes la fijaron en buena medida los estudiantes organizados en el PCE pero también sus “compañeros de viajes”, necesarios en este tránsito del despertar.

Así, en toda la historia que nos recrea Soler, creo que fueron más importante las redes informales de relación que las formales porque las primeras funcionan mejor en contextos dictatoriales; esta malla humana de participación y solidaridad fue la base real del Congreso, al que se le dedica un capítulo en el libro, describiendo, en la línea expuesta por Julio Diamante, cómo se hizo extensiva a otras personas que nada tenían que ver con el PCE (Gabriel Elorriaga, Jaime Ferrán, etc.). Tras este capítulo, para recorrer cronológicamente la historia del CUEJ, se intercalan epistolarios, a veces cruzados, entre Múgica y otros protagonistas: Semprún, Laín Entralgo, Gabriel Elorriaga, Jorge Jordana, Albert Manent (que visibiliza la posible presencia de los poetas catalanes en el CUEJ), Dionisio Ridruejo, Jesús López Medel, etc. Este aporte documental ordenado es otro de los valores indiscutibles del libro.

Finalmente, resulta necesario detenerse en el apartado de fuentes que, como pilastras, sostienen el edificio y le dan brillo. Y es que las fuentes son

las idóneas para el desarrollo metodológico de una historia como la que se presenta, modélica en el sentido expresado: para la reconstrucción y análisis de las redes informales de relación nada tan útil y procedente como la correspondencia privada, que se explora en profundidad y, en ocasiones, se aporta sistematizada por primera vez. No hay fuente sustantiva y potencialmente válida que no haya sido escudriñada y empleada con fortuna: desde las memorias y recuerdos personales (bibliografías y artículos) hasta la correspondencia cruzada, pasando por la fuente oral, documentos policiales, documentación de archivo (PCE), los *Boletines* y

otros documentos del Congreso y, por supuesto, las investigaciones y fuentes secundarias disponibles. Así pues, desde estos puntos de vista, *La Resistencia silenciada* avanza en el conocimiento factual de la historia del CUEJ y de su *Boletín*, y permite inferir conclusiones sobre el germen de un movimiento social tan corrosivo contra la dictadura como fue el estudiantil que nunca desestimó el papel de la cultura (teatro, música, literatura, etc.) en la destrucción del franquismo y en la alternativa democrática en la que profundamente creía, sea cual fuere ésta.

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