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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.¹ 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-

¹ 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.² 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.³

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

² 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).

³ 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.”⁴ 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.”⁵

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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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.⁸ For students of continental Europe (Britain

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

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

⁶ 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.

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

⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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

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.

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

¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹² 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

¹¹ 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^e-XXI^e siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2012), 138.

¹² 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),¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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

¹⁵ 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”.

¹⁶ 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 1914.¹⁷

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.¹⁸ 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

¹⁷ 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).

¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ Some more general perspectives on student mobility have also been offered.²⁰

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.²¹ 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

¹⁹ 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^e 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^e 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).

²⁰ 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).

²¹ 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.²² In addition, Georgina Brewis and other, especially British, scholars researched the history of international student volunteering.²³ 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),²⁴ the Netherlands, Portugal, and above all Northern and Eastern Europe.²⁵ University and student history of these last two areas

²² 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*.

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

²⁴ 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".

²⁵ 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).²⁶

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).²⁷ For the later

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

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ 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^e 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.²⁸ 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.²⁹

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.³⁰ 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.

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

²⁸ Möller, *Zwischen*, chapter III.2.

²⁹ 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^e-XX^e siècles). Volume 2 : sources et méthodes," *Histoire de l'éducation* 151 (2019).

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

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