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# Communities

In November 1928, Trinity College Dublin inaugurated a Hall of Honour to commemorate its First World War dead. The new building, bearing the inscription NIKH ('victory') on its front, was built in a neo-classical style and designed as a space where people could remember and mourn the 471 members of the university community who had died in the recent conflict, while also forming as a portico to a new library reading room. Despite the fact that it was built in the third decade of the twentieth century, the war memorial was the culmination of the process by which institution of higher learning  built community during the nineteenth century. War memorials of this type, common at universities across Europe and the wider world, literally represented a community of students, staff, and alumni, placing them together in death – carved into stone – as they had been imagined in life.

While the Trinity College Dublin Hall of Honour sought to represent the often intimate ties that bound members of university communities together, it was also premised upon exclusion; the long list of names featured one woman, a manifestation of not only the nature of fighting in the First World War, but the gendered composition of the university community which only admitted women to full membership in 1904. Excluded altogether were three non-academic members of the staff, a porter and two employees of the university printing house, whose names were added decades later.[1] The monument was a tribute to the imagined community that developed at many universities in the nineteenth century, which frequently drew upon ideas of masculinity, service to the nation and empire, and historically-informed ritual. This chapter will explore the ways in which community was consciously created at nineteenth century institutions of higher learning. The consequence of this emphasis on creating community was that, in the aftermath of the Fist World War, permanent memorials to

[1] Tomás Irish, *Trinity in War and Revolution, 1912-23* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy Press, 2015), pp. 261-262; University of Dublin, Trinity College, *War List, February 1922* (Dublin: Hodges, Figges, & Co., 1922), pp. 253-255.

the dead of the universities across the world were deemed an essential representation of collective life.

The nineteenth century was marked by a series of rapid and often unsettling changes that reconstituted the world of higher learning in crucial ways. The century featured the rise of the nation state, industrialisation, urbanisation, secularisation, and a revolution in transport and communications that connected the globe in new ways. Within the world of higher learning, hundreds of new institutions were established, student numbers at universities experienced rapid growth, and scholarship was internationalised as never before by the century's end. The extent of change can be clearly seen by looking at the growth of universities and students over the course of the century. Around 1800, there were only two universities in England, thirteen in the United States, and around twenty five colonial-era institutions in Latin America.[2] The first universities appeared in India, Australia, New Zealand and other parts of the British Empire in the mid-nineteenth century, Japan and China established universities in the final decades of the century, and numerous colleges and universities were founded in the United States and United Kingdom in the same period.[3] The rise of the nation state fuelled the widespread establishment of new institutions which were seen, in many cases, as important drivers of national sentiment.[4] In other contexts, new institutions were established as a means of strengthening colonial control. With the growth of institutions, student numbers rose dramatically in this period; it has been estimated that the number of students and teachers in Europe went from 85,000 combined in 1840 to just under 600,000 combined a century later.[5]

[2] Rodrigo Arocena and Judith Sutz, 'Latin American Universities: From an Original Revolution to an Uncertain Transition', *Higher Education*, 50.4 (2005), p. 573.
[3] Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, pp. 800-803; F.E. Keay, D.D. Karve, *A History of Education in India and Pakistan* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 205; Chan-Fai Cheung and Guanxin Fan, 'The Chinese Idea of University, 1866-1895', in Ricardo K.S. Mak, *Transmitting the Ideal of Enlightenment: Chinese Universities Since the Late Nineteenth Century* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2009), p. 13.
[4] On nation states, see Stefan Berger, 'National Movements', in Stefan Berger (ed.), *A Companion to Nineteenth Century Europe 1789-1914* (Williston: Wiley, 2008), pp. 178-192; Eric D. Weitz, *A World Divided: The Global Struggle for Human Rights in the Age of Nation-States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).
[5] Matti Klinge, 'Teachers', in Walter Ruegg ed, *A History of the University in Europe, vol. 3 (1800-1945)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 128.

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Given the transformations of higher learning in the nineteenth centuries, its institutions came to serve multiple, sometimes oppositional, functions. Universities were aligned with the aspirations of local interests like religious establishments or industrialists, nation builders, while also serving as a lever of international connectedness. Scholarly communities sat in the centre of a series of concentric circles meaning that they belonged to a local or town contexts, played a role in the development of nations, and were connected to scholars and institutions in other countries via modern technologies, all at the same time. These dynamics – sometimes complementary, sometimes oppositional – led institutions to seek to create a sense of community in different ways in order to provide stability and coherence to institutions and practices that were undergoing profound change. The exploration of community as a theme in the history of institutions of higher education (especially universities) facilitates analysis of these institutions in a manner that is at the same time local, national and international.[6]

The idea of community was widely invoked in accounts of nineteenth century universities, often in imprecise and intangible ways. In his account of American collegiate life first published in 1869, the American philosopher Noah Porter argued that 'the college community is emphatically an isolated community; more completely separated and farther removed than almost any other from the ordinary and almost universally pervading influences of family and social life.'[7] As students left their family homes for the embrace of the college or university community, they encountered an idiosyncratic community which made and

[6] Robert Anderson, 'Writing University History in Great Britain, from the 1960s to the Present', *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 20.1 (2017), p. 19. Examples of transnational and comparative approaches to the history of universities are Sonja Levsen, 'Constructing Elite Identities: University Students, Military Masculnity and the Consequences of the Great War in Britain and Germany', *Past and Present*, 198 (2008), pp. 147-183; Thomas Weber, *Our Friend "The Enemy": Elite Education in Britain and Germany before World War I* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Tomás Irish, *The University at War 1914-25: Britain, France and the United States of America* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Jan Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria 1848-1918: A Social History of A Multilingual Space* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2019); Tamson Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars: Universities, Networks and the British Academic World 1850-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

[7] Noah Porter, *The American Colleges and the American Public* (New Haven: C.C. Chatfield & Co., 1870), p. 167.

enforced law that, Porter claimed, 'no other community would recognize or understand.'[8] Speaking to a student audience in Montpellier in 1887, the French economist Charles Gide argued that universities should be defined as 'living people.' This institutional vitality could not be 'conferred by decree; not even an all-powerful legislator can create living people; it is from life alone that life proceeds.'[9] The idea that institutions of higher learning constituted communities was widely invoked – but what did this mean?

Communities of higher learning were simultaneously real and imagined; in this way, they bore much in common with the national communities forged in the nineteenth century. Benedict Anderson famously argued that nations are imagined 'because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.'[10] This was true of university communities where, on the one hand, people often lived in close proximity to each other and, on the other, alumni who had never met invested significance in a shared educational background. This was also true at the level of transnational affiliations, where institutions imagined that other institutions shared particular scholarly traditions. And, much like national communities, a paradox existed at the heart of university communities whereby inclusion of some was predicated upon the exclusion of others.[11]

University communities were at the same time stagnant and dynamic; strong bonds, whether they were formed in connection with a society, a college, university, or sports club, were frequently built on rites and rituals that were intended to perpetuate themselves over time, giving the impression of permanence and stability. They were often successful in this ambition; by the turn of the twentieth century, Chinese universities developed a strong sense of student

[8] Porter, *The American Colleges and the American Public*, p. 168.
[9] Charles Gide, 'L'association des étudiants de Montpellier', *Revue internationale de l'enseignement*, 14 (1887), p. 54.
[10] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6.
[11] Weitz, *A World Divided*, p. 3.

identity through both formal participation in class and informal engagement with societies and clubs.[12] University communities were also dynamic and impermanent; student bodies changed every year, as a new cohort began their studies and another completed theirs. And, depending on the length of the degree in question, students might only spend three or four years enrolled before moving on with their post-degree lives. Viewed in terms of dynamism and stasis, the quest to identify community presents considerable challenges given the constant turnover of the student population which was not mirrored among teaching staff in the same way.

The sense of community (or communities) prevalent among students and staff at institutions of higher education was not restricted to the physical environment of the university. It was, to be sure, born and nourished there, where buildings like dorms, quads, and sports fields could be key sites in both the imagination and performance of community; however, community often outlived the period of a students' formal time at university. The emergence of alumni organisations in the early nineteenth century – especially prominent at American colleges and universities – is one measure of the continuation of community at a physical remove.[13] However, it might also be seen in the cultural capital – and important networks – that came with having an education from an elite university where doors to employment could be opened on account of an individual being a 'Cambridge man', a 'Harvard man', and so on. Thus, because the built environment of the university was a key site in the imagination of the scholarly community, close ties, based upon a shared memory – and often romanticisation – of the built environment, often continued in contexts far from *alma mater*.

These ties connected students, academic staff, and alumni, and sometimes extended beyond the bonds of friendship to a point where they resembled the intimate but involuntary connections that structure families. Members of a university community could, for example,

[12] Jeffrey Wasserstrom and Liu Xinyong, 'Student Protest and Student Life: Shanghai, 1919-49', *Social History*, 14.1 (1989), p. 8.
[13] Frederick Rudolph, *American College and University: A History* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991), p. 428.

feel an intimate connection to each other based upon the shared rites and rituals of university life without actually being friends. Family ties often emerge through shared belief, behaviour and obligations and, unlike friendship, last for life and resonances of this can be seen at universities.[14] On arrival, a student had relatively little choice in their colleagues. At residential institutions, one had to live and fraternise with members of the same group; accordingly, the university or college community became a surrogate family for students who left home and looked to *alma mater* in the stead of their parents, with the institution often acting *in loco parentis*.[15] These sorts of intimate ties existed in different contexts at the university and could be formed by membership of the university, a constituent college, fraternity, society, sports team, or in less structured settings. The creation of such strong ties often came to the detriment of those who did not fit into the imagined or real vision of the institutional community, such as women, Jewish people, or people of colour.

This chapter will explore the creation of community in a number of linked ways. It will show how the performance of different rituals, traditions and customs, were all means through which bonds were created at universities, whether they were longstanding institutions or recently-founded. This development will be contrasted to the exclusion of different groups from these primarily campus-based communities. The chapter will then explore the ways in which higher learning came to constitute an international community in the nineteenth century, first through the creation of an greater transnational connectedness of scholars, and second through the self-conscious fashioning of an international family of institutions who shared similar practices, histories and values but also competed with each other. International manifestations of scholarly community were, like their campus-based counterparts, based on

[14] Graham Allan, *Kinship and Friendship in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) pp. 37-43, pp. 94-95; Leonore Davidoff et al., *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960* (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 80-81.
[15] Philip Lee, 'The Curious Life of In Loco Parentis at American Universities', *Higher Education in Review*, 8 (2011), pp. 65-90.

unequal inclusion of actors in certain institutions or parts of the world, and the complete exclusion of others. The outbreak of war in 1914 might be seen as a moment of rupture in the fabric of these carefully and consciously constructed communities; however, as the Trinity College Dublin Hall of Honour attests, the experience of the unprecedented global war demonstrated the resilience of many of the community ties formed at universities over the preceding century while also challenging many of their assumptions in profound ways.

*Creating Community*

For many institutions of higher education, the creation of community was closely linked to the formation of character for national, generally male, elites in the nineteenth century. In Europe, this phenomenon took place at the same time as nation states became the dominant political form.[16] The emphasis on elite formation can be seen not just in what students were taught, but in the ways that they socialised and were expected to behave, much of which placed great emphasis on masculine qualities such as 'character' and 'honour.' In France, the Third Republic emphasised education in order to inculcate republican values, while universities played a crucial role in its international dissemination.[17] In Germany, student corporations, the elite within the student body, aimed to maintain sincere friendship between members, to be honourable students, and to train character.[18] In Russia, student corporations enforced and policed their own honour code where transgressions could be resolved by a duel and where refusal to accede to a duel could indicate the lack of key masculine values.[19] Duels were also a means of solving disputes at American colleges.[20] At the ancient universities of England,

[16] Paul Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), p. 3; Robert Anderson, *British Universities Past and Present* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), p. 87.
[17] Anderson, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914,* pp. 181-186.
[18] Konrad Jarausch, *Students*, *Society and Politics in Imperial Germany: The Rise of Academic Illiberalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 247.
[19] Rebecca Friedman, *Masculinity, Autocracy, and the Russian University, 1804*-1863 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 64-68.
[20] Frederick Rudolph, *American College and University: A History* (University of Georgia Press, 1991), p. 97.

education aimed to build an elite identity that Paul Deslandes argues built a sense of masculine community and superiority.[21] Speaking to the newly-formed students association at Montpellier in 1887, Charles Gide noted with some humour that that student associations in Germany could be separated into those that proscribed alcohol and those that banned duelling, whereas, Gide joked, those in England tended to meet by night, drink tea and read Greek tragedies.[22]

The culture of duelling – common to a number of university cultures – was one means through which masculine character could be inculcated in the student body. This was part of a wider emphasis on participation in sport that took hold at colleges and universities in the second half of the nineteenth century. In his classic work on the topic, J.A. Mangan showed how the introduction of organised games progressed from the public schools to the ancient universities, squeezing out gambling and drinking as student preoccupations.[23] Sonja Levsen has argued that while sporting endeavours at elite universities in Germany and England may have differed in detail, in practice they served to develop similar concepts of manliness. In both cases, the culture of university sport, whether it was rowing and rugby at Cambridge or duelling at Tübingen, served to develop qualities such as self-discipline, courage, willingness to bear pain, and subordination of the individual to the group. By the turn of the twentieth century, these qualities were increasingly linked with militarism and preparation for war.[24] Sport performed a similar function at the higher schools and universities of Meiji Japan, where baseball, although an American cultural import, played an important role in inculcating traditional Confucian qualities such as self-sacrifice for the good of the group, as well as a competitive spirit that would benefit the wider nation building project.[25]

[21] Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*, p. 6.
[22] Gide, 'L'association des étudiants de Montpellier', p. 56.
[23] J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 122.
[24] Levsen, 'Constructing Elite Identities', pp. 149-154; Weber, *Our Friend "The Enemy"*, p. 42.
[25] Christopher T. Keaveney, *Contesting the Myths of Samurai Baseball : Cultural Representations of Japan's National Pastime* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2018), p. 28; Dan Gordon, 'Japan: Changing of

The emphasis on character was also evident in the way faculty appointments were made. Social capital – the collegiate, personal and political loyalties that an individual accumulated – played a major role in this process. In the case of the settler universities of the British Empire, the long distance required to travel to places such as New Zealand and Australia meant that appointment committees frequently met in the metropole and that characteristics such as 'trust' and 'character' were especially valued – as much as among the candidates as among the appointment committee.[26] These qualities were a means through which the ties of empire could be strengthened and were exclusionary of others, such as women and people of colour.[27]

The issue of *what* qualities students were intended to develop hinged on the question of *where* this character development might take place. The answer was, in many cases, to be found in residency at the university, and this was a commonly-discussed theme across the nineteenth century, especially when new institutions were being established. In Ireland, the Catholic demand for a university was premised on equality with Trinity College Dublin, a primarily residential institutions which traditionally catered to Protestant students. The Queen's Colleges, established in 1845 to offer university education to all religious denominations in Ireland, were criticised because they had 'neither domestic pupils, nor resident tutors, nor principals. Here there was no hearth, no focus, no family, no brotherhood, nothing that our Oxford and Cambridge men, or our public school men, expect, and make for themselves, in an academic community.'[28] Creation of institutional cohesion via the residential university could lead to the breakdown of community elsewhere; one critic wrote in 1889 of the collegiate system at Oxford and Cambridge that 'the students gradually begin to look upon themselves as something beyond the pale of ordinary mortals' and argued that the 'residential

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the Guard in High School Baseball', in George Gmelch ed., *Baseball Without Borders: The International Pastime* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), pp. 7-9.
[26] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars,* pp. 62-81.
[27] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars*, pp. 72-82.
[28] *Evening Mail*, 16 October 1861, p. 4.

university life is a vast mistake as it exists at present.' They instead praised the model of the University of London which deviated from this pattern.[29]

In the United States, the expansion of institutions of higher education in the nineteenth century led to much debate regarding residency in colleges and universities. Noah Porter argued that 'were we to tear out of our American life the civilizing and culturing influences which proceed from college residence and college associations, we should do much to vulgarize and degrade it.'[30] In the same period, Harvard president Charles W. Eliot argued that 'there is no place so safe as a good college during the critical passage from boyhood to manhood.'[31] The surge in the establishment of colleges in the nineteenth century United States saw debates about the most appropriate environment in which students might develop. This led to widespread discussion of what has been called the 'collegiate way', or what Frederick Rudolph defined as 'the notion that a curriculum, a library, a faculty, and students are not enough to make a college', but that an adherence to a 'residential scheme of things' was essential.[32] The dormitory became a key feature of many of the new colleges and universities that were established in the nineteenth century .[33]

An important mission for the new institutions founded in the nineteenth century was the creation of a collective identity and sense of community. This was often achieved through the adoption of symbols and rituals that drew inspiration from the iconography of older institutions and sought to place new ones in a longer historical lineage. As Eric Hobsbawm argued, the nineteenth century was notable for the many traditions which were invented in that period in order to 'inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which

[29] 'The Evils of University Life', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 2 June 1889, p. 2.
[30] Porter, *The American Colleges and the American Public*, p. 182.
[31] Rudolph, *American College and Universit*y, p. 88.
[32] Rudolph, *American College and University,* p. 87.
[33] Rudolph, *American College and University,* pp. 89-100.

automatically implies continuity with the past.'[34] In the United States, the establishment of new colleges and universities was accompanied by the adoption of institutional colours, mascots, college hymns, marching bands, reunion events that brought together students and alumni.[35] In Britain, the new civic, or Redbrick universities, sought to invent their own traditions by drawing upon those of the ancient universities. Accordingly, college hymns, coats of arms, magazines, cap and gown, were all adopted to create a sense of collective identity.[36] While the utilisation of such symbols may seem innocuous, universities guarded their iconography jealously; the establishment of the Royal University of Ireland in 1879 saw the new institution adopt the same hoods as its rival institution in Dublin, Trinity College.[37] The buildings of the new university in Sydney were based on 'some of the more celebrated examples of England', primarily the architecture of Oxford and Cambridge, and intended, in one account, to create 'the material as well as the moral attributes of the two great Universities of England.'[38] In myriad ways, the new institutions of the nineteenth century sought to create institutional cohesion through the appropriation of the history and iconography of more longstanding institutions.

*Communities of exclusion*

The creation of community was premised upon exclusion. While universities aimed to create tight bonds based on idealised character traits for its prototypical membership, in so doing they explicitly or implicitly distanced others. Students, staff and alumni did not uniformly perform the often-romanticized rites and rituals associated with membership of their community, nor

[34] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 1.
[35] John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 159-161.
[36] William Whyte, *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 152-154.
[37] Antony Traill to William Walsh, 30 October 1909, Dublin Dioceses Archives, William Walsh Papers, Laity Correpondence 1909, 382/4.
[38] 'The New University at Sydney', *Illustrated Times*, 26 February 1859, p. 12.

did their performance necessarily lead to the creation of the desired characteristics. Moreover, there were many for whom, in the context of restrictive definitions of who was entitled to become a university student or academic, membership of the university community was not even an option.

A modest form of exclusion can be seen in the case of residence at a given institution. Many colleges and universities, be they old or new, placed significant emphasis on the necessity of living residentially at the institution in order to fully belong to the institutional community. It could prove difficult to gain membership of intimate communities for those who did not live in residential halls. Writing in 1902, William MacNeile Dixon, a historian of Trinity College Dublin argued that those who did not live on site could not be considered full members of the college.[39] In cases such as this, students could be members of sports clubs, student societies, and participate in other collective rituals, but non-residence would deny them a full stake in the institutional community.

Modest forms of exclusion can be seen in the case of elitist student societies, many of which, like the Cambridge Apostles, were not open to all. Founded in 1820, the Apostles were a secret and elitist society which met weekly to discuss a paper given by a member; it developed its own idiosyncratic language which reinforced the close bonds between members and made it seem more distant to those on the outside.[40] Membership of the Apostles created an intimate sense of community that cut across college and other allegiances at Cambridge. The development of a special lexicon which was deployed by members of a particular university community to denote membership of an elite group can be seen in other instances, as was the case with students of the elite École Normale Supérieure in Paris.[41]

[39] William MacNeile Dixon, *Trinity College Dublin* (London: F.E. Robinson, 1902), p. 268.
[40] Lubenow, *The Cambridge Apostles, 1820 – 1914*, p. 30.
[41] Jean-François Sirinelli, *Génération intellectuelle. Khâgneux et normaliens dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris: Persée, 1990).

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Exclusion from the university community, with its frequent emphasis on the development of strong masculine qualities in the service of nations and empires, often took much more extreme forms. By the end of the nineteenth century, fewer than five percent of American eighteen to twenty two year olds were in higher education; many of those who sought entry into the college community either could not afford it or were denied it because of their gender or skin colour.[42] One of the primary groups that was excluded from much higher education across the course of the nineteenth century was women. While the story of women at Oxford and Cambridge was, even following the first admissions of women students in the nineteenth century, one of segregation and restriction, women became 'active participants in and an integral element of the general university community' at Britain's new civic universities.[43] German universities only admitted women to take degrees in 1900.[44] In France, women constituted just ten percent of the student population by 1914.[45] In the United States, higher education slowly opened up to women students after the Civil War, primarily through the establishment of women-only colleges such as Vassar and Smith. The drive towards the creation of a campus community was the same at the women-only colleges as elsewhere. When Smith College opened in Massachusetts in 1875, its trustees stated their desire to create a 'a literary community, in which young women may not only enjoy the best facilities for intellectual discipline, but may also attain a social refinement and culture.'[46]

In antebellum America, only an exceptional few colleges and universities admitted African Americans. By the end of the civil war, only twenty eight African Americans had

[42] Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, p. 169.
[43] Julie S. Gibert, 'Women students and Student Life at England's Civic Universities before the First World War', *History of Education*, 23.4 (1994), p. 405.
[44] Emily J. Levine, *Allies and Rivals: German-American Exchange and the Rise of the Modern Research University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021), pp. 84-103.
[45] George Weisz, *The Emergence of Modern Universities in France, 1863-1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 242.
[46] *Official Circular of Smith College* (Northampton: The College, 1875), p. 7.

received BA degrees.[47] At the same time, institutions emerged with the intention of serving these otherwise excluded communities, of which Howard University in Washington DC, with 400 students in 1870, was the largest. By 1915 a report claimed that there were 653 institutions catering to black education in the United States.[48] W.E.B. DuBois, who took his bachelor's degree at Fisk University, was the first African American to earn a PhD – at Harvard in 1894.[49] In *The Souls of Black Folk*, DuBois famously regarded integrated higher education as a means of creating social harmony in the American south. He called for the creation of 'centres of learning and living, colleges that yearly would send into the life of the South a few white men and a few black men of broad culture, catholic tolerance, and trained ability, joining their hands to other hands, and giving to this squabble of the races a decent and dignified peace.'[50] It was a similar case in South Africa, where five institutions of higher education had been established by the end of the nineteenth century and none catered to black Africans.[51]

In Europe, the presence of Jewish people in the universities of the Habsburg Empire was initially marked by what Jan Surman called 'a general atmosphere of polite hostility' whereby they would become the target of attacks from anti-Semitic nationalists by the end of the century.[52] Despite the existence of various informal and often unspoken barriers to their academic progress, Jewish students and academics were well-represented in many of the universities of Austria-Hungary; Jews constituted nine percent of the overall population of Vienna by 1885 but a third of the university population, and it was a similar situation in Prague. This disproportionate representation of Jewish people in universities was often the subject of public discussion and nationalist anti-Semitic attack which specifically targeted university

[47] Henry N. Drewry and Humphrey Doermann, *Stand and Prosper: Private Black Colleges and Their Students* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 45.
[48] Drewry and Doermann, *Stand and Prosper*, pp. 55-59.
[49] Levine, *Allies and Rivals*, p. 95.
[50] W.E.B Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: WW Norton and Company, 1999; orig 1903), p. 61.
[51] Sabela J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'The Emergence and Trajectories of Struggles for an 'African University': The Case of Unfinished Business of African Epistemic Decolonisation', *Kronos*, 43 (2017), pp. 58-59.
[52] Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria 1848-1918*, p. 236.

communities.[53] There is much evidence of anti-Semitism at the elite universities of England and Germany in the same period, where, for example, it was virtually impossible for a Jew to become a college fellow at Oxford.[54]

*The International Community of Scholars*

The late nineteenth century saw an explosion in international connectedness in the world of learning. Attendance at international congresses, publication in international journals, and correspondence with scholars in different countries became a feature of the lives of many university academics, all of which was powered by the revolution in transport and communications brought about by the steamship, railways, and telegram. While owing much to the possibilities afforded by new means of traveling and communicating across long distances, it was also the consequence of the professionalisation of many academic disciplines. Historically, academia had always crossed boundaries; many nineteenth century scholars believed deeply in the notion of a 'republic of letters', an intellectual community which transcended space and time. The idea of the republic of letters emerged in the early seventeenth century but claimed a universal heritage dating to ancient Greece and Rome.[55] However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the vision of the republic of letters had been transformed into something new: an international community of scholars where people travelled, corresponded, and engaged with the work of international colleagues through publication in scholarly books and journals.

The codification of academic disciplines led to the creation of discipline-specific learned societies and journals, many of which were international in scope and drew on scholars from around Europe and the world. In this way, scholars participated in disciplines which were

[53] Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria 1848-1918*, pp. 236-239.
[54] Weber, *Our Friend "The Enemy"*, p. 200.
[55] Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 15–16.

increasingly professionalised, governed by rules and norms, and which constituted part of larger, transnational conversations. These interactions took place through international correspondence, reading international publications and scholarly journals, and attendance at international conferences. The codification of disciplinary knowledge was evidence of what Peter Haas called 'epistemic communities', or networks of professionals with 'recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain.'[56] In the academic world, community was formed through the collective pursuit of shared endeavours and the conviction that these efforts traversed national borders. This conviction was especially apparent among international scientists; they frequently invoked the universal applicability of the laws of science, irrespective of nationality. Mark Mazower has argued that attempts to measure and collate information about institutions, events, and objects helped to 'create new scientific communities across the world', by producing new professional bodies around agreed upon standards of measurement.[57] At both national and international levels, scholars constituted a community of practices as well as values, where the methods and ethics that informed academic research helped to define identities.[58] The expansion and spread of primarily Euro-American scholarly practices and institutions led to the supplanting and erasure of longstanding approaches to the organisation of knowledge – as well as languages – in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere.[59]

Much as was the case on campus, the international community of scholars was exclusionary. The nineteenth century was notable for a deep-rooted belief in civilization as an organizing principle for the world. Nineteenth century emphases on historicism meant that many saw contemporary civilization as being the successor to – and drawing inspiration and

[56] Peter M. Haas, 'Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination', *International Organization*, 46.1 (1992), p. 3.
[57] Mazower, *Governing the World,* p. 101.
[58] Marie-Eve Chagnon and Tomás Irish, 'Introduction: The Academic World in the Era of the Great War', in Chagnon and Irish, *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 5.
[59] Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'The Emergence and Trajectories of Struggles for an 'African University', p. 52; Ousmane Oumar Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu: An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa (*Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 119-128.

succor from – ancient Greek and Roman civilizations.[60] While the idea of civilization claimed to be universal in that it traversed national borders, it was also highly Eurocentric and a means of exerting Euro-American control over the world. The logic of civilization was used to map out the parts of the world that would be subject to European rule as well as marking the furthest extent of international law. The international community of scholars, convinced of the supremacy of European civilization, was in turn highly Eurocentric and excluded much of the rest of the world with the notable exceptions of North America and Britain's settler colonies.[61]

The phenomenon of scientists and scholars meeting in congresses was not new to the nineteenth century, but it changed in meaningful ways during that time. The first half of the century was notable for conferences which were generally national in their focus. For example, national Associations for the Advancement of Science were established in Switzerland, Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Scandinavia and the United States in the decades prior to 1850.[62] The second half saw significant growth in international congresses with around forty international meetings taking place per year in science, medicine, and technology in the period leading up to 1914.[63]

The growth of international organisations came to a peak by the end of the nineteenth century. In each year of the 1890s, ten new international organizations were founded and, by 1914, over 400 international bodies had come into existence.[64] This was especially prominent in the scholarly world, where international exchange and connectedness mirrored and

[60] Mark Mazower, 'An International Civilization? Empire, Internationalism and the Crisis of the Mid-20th Century', *International Affairs*, 82 (2006), 553–566.
[61] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars*.
[62] Giuliano Pancaldi, 'Scientific Internationalism and the British Association', in Roy MacLeod and Peter Collins eds., *The Parliament of Science: The British Association for the Advancement of Science 1831-1981*, (Northwood, 1981). p. 146
[63] Robert Fox, *Science Without Frontiers: Cosmopolitanism and National interests in the World of Learning, 1870-1940* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2016), pp. 18-19; Akira Iriye, *Global Community: the Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), p. 11.
[64] Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, p. 13; Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press,1997), p. 28.

accelerated the emergence of academic disciplines in the late nineteenth century. While it is difficult to generalise regarding the political and social outlook of these bodies, Robert Fox has argued that they were united by 'belief in the value of association and communication across national, linguistic, and cultural boundaries.'[65] This deep-rooted believe in the importance of transnational interaction was a crucial foundation of the international community of scholars.

While there were territories – such as Africa and central Asia - which this academic world did not fully or equally embrace, it was still more-or-less global in its reach, encompassing scholars in North and South America, Europe, the universities of Britain's white dominions, and Japan. Movement of people and ideas through these networks was a pronounced feature of the pre-1914 academic world, and many academic disciplines held regular international conferences in the decades preceding the outbreak of the First World War. International historians gathered regularly, hosting meetings at Paris, Berlin, Rome and London in the decade and a half before 1914.[66] In 1899, an International Association of Academies was established that connected long-established national academies in twenty-two countries.[67] At the same time, the institution of international awards, such as the Nobel Prizes in physics, medicine and chemistry, all first awarded in 1901, further underscored the idea that scholarship was framed, produced, and rewarded internationally as well as nationally. In 1900, delegates from different national associations for the advancement of science met at an international congress in Paris in the first meeting of the International Association for the Advancement of Science, Art, and Education. The purpose of the international body and the meeting was justified in the following way: 'in every field of human activity, the individuals and agencies engaged are more and more felt to be working in harmony. All are seen to be helping in the

[65] Fox, *Science Without Frontiers*, pp. 31-32.
[66] Karl Dietrich Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community of Historians* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2005).
[67] Brigitte Schröder-Gudehus 'Division of Labour and the Common Good: The International Association of Academies, 1899-1914', in Carl Gustaf Bernhard et al eds., *Science, Technology and Society in the Time of Alfred Nobel* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982), pp. 7-8.

development of a common civilization, and each advance, whatever its place of origin, speedily oversteps local and national boundaries. The Great International Exhibitions and Congresses, so characteristic of our time, are but an expression of this.'[68]

In the world of international scholarship academics, and in particular scientists, wore a number of hats – as nationalists, internationalists, representatives of a discipline or institution – meaning that international cooperation sprung from efforts to strengthen individual nations.[69] This was true of many other international organizations as well as individual internationalists in the period before 1914. Internationalism required nationalism and vice versa; international cooperation and exchange was premised upon national competition and difference. [70] Participation in international exhibitions, conferences, and competitions reflected well upon individual nations, who could garner prestige by establishing themselves as superior to other 'civilized' nations in a spirit of friendly rivalry. And while many internationalists – with scholars prominent amongst them – tried to invoke the idea that international scholarly cooperation might be a politically neutral area of international cooperation, this was far from straightforward.

The nineteenth-century internationalisation of scholarship can also be seen in the growth of international student mobility which became especially prominent by the turn of the twentieth century. The rise in the numbers of international students in this period reflected the asymmetrical composition of the international community of scholarship which had global reach but power centred in elite institutions of Europe and North America. For the latter, attracting international students was a means of projecting soft power and asserting the

[68] International Association for the Advancement of Science, *The Paris International Assembly of 1900* (London: The Association, 1900), p. 1.
[69] Robert Marc Friedman, *The Politics of Excellence: Behind the Nobel prize in Science* (New York: W.H.Freeman & Co Ltd., 2001), pp. 81-82.
[70] Heather Ellis and Simone M. Müller, 'Editorial – educational networks, educational identities: connecting national and global perspectives', *Journal of Global History*, 11.3 (2016), p. 316; Tamson Pietsch, 'Between the Local and the Universal: Academic Worlds and the Long History of the University', in Meng-Hsuan Chou, Isaac Kamola, and Tamson Pietsch eds., *The Transnational Politics of Higher Education: Contesting the Global/Transforming the Local* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 26.

superiority of a particular national approach to higher education; by the late nineteenth century, the German research university led the way for international students seeking to complete doctoral studies.[71] International student numbers increased across elite institutions; the number of international students in France rose from 500 in 1868 to 6,000 by 1914.[72]

Student mobility reflected the asymmetry of the wider international community of scholarship; it was a means whereby states that were peripheral to the international community of scholarship could engage in 'self-strengthening', sending their best students to be educated in Europe or North America so that they could apply their learning on their return home – as was the case with the Chinese Educational Mission of the 1870s and 1880s.[73] Many African students did likewise, with those who could not afford to or who chose to remain at home undertook correspondence courses which led to university qualifications as external candidates.[74] Student mobility also enabled the spread of evangelical Christianity through missionary work with organisations such as the YMCA prominent in South Asia.[75] The international movement of students also offered opportunities to circumvent exclusion from national systems of education. As Emily Levine has shown, many American women – and also many African Americans – who were unable to access higher education in the United States went to Germany, where they hoped that the prestige of a German degree would provide a way into American academia on their return.[76] The growth in the number of international students at European university by the start of the twentieth century could equally lead to greater

[71] Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 76-112.
[72] Guillaume Tronchet, 'The Defeat of University Autonomy: French Academic Diplomacy, Mobility Scholarships and Exchange Programmes (1880s-1930s)', in Ludovic Tournès and Giles Scott-Smith eds., *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and Transnational Circulations in the Modern World* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018), p. 50.
[73] Paul Kramer, Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century, *Diplomatic History*, 33.5 (2009), pp. 783-784.
[74] Micheal Omolewa,' The Impact Of U.S.-Educated African Students on Educational Developments in Africa, 1898–1955', *Journal of African American History*, 100.2 (2015), p. 274.
[75] Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and physical-education schemes in late-colonial South Asia (circa 1900–40)', *Modern Asian Studies*, 53.2 (2019), pp. 512-559.
[76] Levine, *Allies and Rivals*, pp. 82-91.

exclusion and othering; Thomas Weber argued that in both German and English universities staff and students often reacted with 'extraordinary hostility' when confronted by this new type of student.[77] By the end of the nineteenth century, such was the prominence of international students at the University of Chicago that it was described as 'a cosmopolitan community.'[78]

*Institutional Communities*

While individual scholars saw themselves as part of wider communities, either in the immediate local, national, or international settings, the nineteenth century saw universities themselves develop what might be termed a community of institutions. This can be best seen in an international context, where universities increasingly constituted a community of traditions and practices, both real and imagined. In this period, universities became international actors who competed against each other, exported institutional models to each other, and who also came together to celebrate institutional anniversaries in order to demonstrate that they were part of a greater whole with ancient roots.[79] However, this international community of institutions was premised upon unequal relationships between universities of different ages as well as those in Euro-America and those beyond it meaning that universities established outside Europe in the nineteenth century were generally founded on a European model.[80]

The nineteenth century was marked by the emergence of national 'models' of universities which were then adopted, exported or imposed in different parts of the world. Following the achievement of independence of many Latin American states in the 1810s and 1820s, universities, many of which were established as colonial institutions, were reformed

[77] Weber, *Our Friend "The Enemy*", p. 210.
[78] Ellen H. Richards and Marion Talbot, *Food as a Factor in Student Life: A Contribution to the Study of Student Diet* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1894), p. 5.
[79] Edward Shils and John Roberts, 'The Diffusion of European Models Outside Europe', in Ruegg ed., *A History of the University in* Europe, vol III, pp. 163-229.
[80] Shils and Roberts, 'The Diffusion of European Models Outside Europe', p. 164.

along the lines of French universities in order to train a new national elite.[81] The exception here was Brazil, where university education had been available in the colonial metropole, Portugal, and where universities were not formally established until the 1920s.[82] Three universities had been established in India by 1857 on the model of the University of London, meaning that they were strictly examining bodies.[83] In a similar manner, colonial powers imported national models when establishing institutions of higher learning in Africa.[84] The reformed Humboldtian research university emerged in Germany in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars and came to embody German cultural eminence in the century that followed, especially after 1871. Accordingly, states and institutions either adopted the German 'model' wholesale, or were spurred to reform their higher education in order to keep pace with Germany. In Japan, the university was a key means through which the state embarked upon a process of 'westernisation' following the Meiji Restoration through the importation of the German model.[85] In the United States, the German model also proved to be adept at the level of state action rather than national legislation, in the period following the American Civil War.[86]

Beyond the realm of national systems of universities that looked to each other with some degree of jealousy, institutions themselves also looked to their peers in other parts of the world, studied their workings, and appropriated suitable elements as part of their own self-strengthening. This process, predicated upon the idea that universities not only served their local and national communities but themselves formed part of an international community of

[81] Andrés Bernasconi, 'Is there a Latin American Model of the University?', *Comparative Education Review*, 52.1 (2008), p. 27; Rodrigo Arocena and Judith Sutz, 'Latin American Universities: From an Original Revolution to an Uncertain Transition', *Higher Education*, 50.4 (2005), pp. 573-592.
[82] Arocena and Sutz, 'Latin American Universities', p. 574.
[83] Shanti S. Tangri, 'Intellectuals and Society in Nineteenth-Century India' *Comparative Studies in Society and Histor*y, 3.4 (1961), pp. 387.
[84] It should be noted that the widespread establishment of universities in Africa did not take place until the early-to-mid twentieth century. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'The Emergence and Trajectories of Struggles for an 'African University', pp. 55-56.
[85] Masako Shibata, 'Controlling national identity and reshaping the role of education: the vision of state formation in Meiji Japan and the German Kaiserreich', *History of Education*, 33.1 (2004), pp. 75-85.
[86] Levine, *Allies and Rivals*, pp. 30-35.

institutions of higher education, has been described by Emily Levine as 'competitive emulation.' Understood this way, institutions were simultaneously rivals and colleagues, who imagined themselves as part of a wider network of institutions that shared much in common but who were also locked in a competitive rivalry.[87] They attempted to do this by copying structures and attracting faculty from other universities in order to bolster their own provision. The rivalry between international universities can also be seen in the drive to recruit international students and scholars. In the United States (where there was no governmental control of university policy) some universities began to conduct their own foreign policy as actors on the international stage, often negotiating directly with heads of state and foreign ministers in the process.[88]

While universities were engaged in rivalries that cut across national borders, they were also keen to articulate the sense that they were part of a wider community of institutions, all bound together in the universal pursuit of knowledge, and brought into closer contact with each other by the revolution of communications and transport of the mid-to-late century. The most striking manifestation of this was the university jubilee. These late nineteenth-century ceremonials were heavily choreographed to articulate a vision of a community of institutions engaged in shared scholarly pursuits, bound by a common commitment to universal values of civilization derived from antiquity, tradition, and, fundamentally, by the fact that they were universities. However, in the realm of jubilees there was also much evidence of unequal relationships between universities who imagined themselves occupying different places in the international institutional hierarchy, whether that be for reasons of age, function, or geographical location.

[87] Levine, *Allies and Rivals*, p. 253.
[88] Elisabeth Piller: *Selling Weimar: German Public Diplomacy and the United States, 1918-1933* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021), pp. 77-79; Charlotte Lerg, *Universitätsdiplomatie : Wissenschaft und Prestige in den transatlantischen Beziehungen 1890-1920* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019).

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University jubilee ceremonies clearly delineated the respective communities to which institutions of higher education believed they belonged. There was usually an academic ceremony which featured delegations from different universities and the bestowing of honorary degrees – a literal coming together of the community of institutions. These ceremonies reflected the hierarchy of the wider community; when the University of Edinburgh celebrated its tercentenary in 1884, delegates from Europe and North America far outnumbered their counterparts from Latin America and Asia.[89] On the occasion that Trinity College Dublin celebrated its tercentenary in 1892, it decided that 'older and larger universities' (such as Oxford, Cambridge, Berlin and Vienna) could send an unlimited number of delegates, Scottish, American and Dutch universities could send two delegates, and the rest could send one each.[90]

Universities also used the opportunity afforded by an anniversary to reinforce their relationship with the urban environment as well as their students; this was often done through colourful processions through both the university grounds and the encompassing urban environment. Statues were unveiled, new buildings inaugurated, lavish commemorative publications produced, and many other activities among a litany of events. Indeed, the celebration of anniversaries was not restricted to the so-called ancient universities; for those new institutions that were themselves founded in the nineteenth century, the twenty fifth or fiftieth anniversary of their foundation was deemed an appropriate marker for an elaborate ceremony.[91] As Peter Dhondt has shown, these ceremonies were often highly political and sought to strike the right balance between the national, regional and international contexts in which universities operated, as well as the communities to which they felt that they belonged.[92]

[89] *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of the University of Edinburgh, Celebrated in April 1884* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885), Pp. 5 -6.
[90] *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of the University of Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges, Figges & Co.: 1894), p. 8.
[91] Pieter Dhondt, *National, Nordic or European? Nineteenth-Century University Jubilees and Nordic Coopeartion* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 2-3.
[92] Dhondt, *National, Nordic or European?* p. 7.

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The staging of university jubilees bore the hallmarks of competitive emulation. As the University of Aberdeen approached its quatercentenary in 1895, it published a work that overviewed recent university jubilees in order to determine how fellow universities had celebrated their landmark anniversaries. One Aberdeen professor remarked of his hope that 'the brilliant assemblage of the Quatercentenary delegates from all parts of the world would bring home to the minds of the citizens of Aberdeen more clearly … the great benefits which the University had conferred on the town, and also the great esteem in which it was held in the Republic of learning.'[93] The work noted that, from a study of the many ceremonials that had taken place in the preceding decades, there was some common features, such as the awarding of honorary degrees to distinguished guests and processions that embraced 'every picturesque element in the town.'[94] Looking forward to the six-hundredth anniversary of the faculty at Montpellier 1889, Charles Gide implored students to celebrate the jubilee 'because we love our university, not as an abstraction but as a living person … just as in a family we do not forget to celebrate the birthdays of those who are dear to us.'[95]

*Fracture and community*

The nineteenth century occasioned the creation of a wide range of communities at institutions of higher learning. The coming of a global war in 1914, however, posed a fundamental threat to the lives of university communities. The outbreak of war was, on the one hand, a moment of major rupture when the communities built up around universities broke down amidst national passions and the widespread mobilization of young men. Tens of thousands of students, staff and alumni – all members of institutional communities – lost their lives, their names subsequently added to university war memorials like the Trinity College Dublin Hall of Honour.

[93] John Malcolm Bulloch, *University Centenary Ceremonies* (Aberdeen, 1893), p. vi.
[94] Bulloch, *Universiy Centenary Ceremonies*, p. xii.
[95] Gide, 'L'association des étudiants de Montpellier', p. 60.

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The First World War was also understood and described as a cultural war, where in addition to armies, national ideas were seen to be in conflict with each other. In this way, intellectual elites, many of whom fashioned a world built upon transnational interactions and exchanges from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, saw their entire world view literally and metaphorically menaced. Many of the international ties, cultivated so assiduously in the preceding decades, came to an abrupt halt.[96]

At the same time, the outbreak of a world war in 1914 demonstrated the resilience of many of the bonds that connected members of university communities. With many young university men mobilized and at the front lines with their respective national armies, the regular life of institutions came almost to a standstill. In spite of this, the correspondence of university men at war frequently reveals a desire to continue peacetime activities in wartime; thus, there is frequent reference to the life of university societies, clubs, and reminiscences from lessons past. Indeed, the leverage of the intimate bonds of university community was often a key means of mobilizing and motivating young student soldiers. While mobilized, often thousands of miles from home in unfamiliar surrounds, student and graduate communities sought to reconstitute themselves; some soldiers went out of their way to meet colleagues from the same institution elsewhere behind the frontlines having heard of their presence there and seeing connection with someone from their community as especially meaningful. Many officers wrote to colleagues at home seeking out academic literature to read behind the lines, while army libraries developed specialist reading collections for the educated elites among them.[97] Alumni gatherings took place in far flung locations. An American University Union was established with headquarters in Paris to enable American university men and alumni on active service in

[96] Marie-Eve Chagnon and Tomás Irish, 'Introduction: The Academic World in the Era of the Great War' in *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War*, pp. 1-18.
[97] Sara Haslam, 'Reading, Trauma and Literary Caregiving 1914-1918: Helen Mary Gaskell and the War Library', *Journal of Medical Humanities*, 41 (2020), pp. 305-321.

Europe to meet people of a similar institutional background.[98] While the life of the institution was on hiatus, with campuses initially rendered eerily quiet owing to the absence of students, in another sense we might simply think of it as being displaced; the imagined university community was reconstituted, piecemeal, far from home.[99]

This shifting of the life of the university community was harder to sustain where it involved members who had different national allegiances. In a cultural war fought between nations, the overlap between communities that were institutional and those that were international was difficult to reconcile. National identity generally – although not always – trumped institutional affiliation. The international mindedness that connected individuals and institutions across Europe and North America began to break down owing, on the one hand, to the bitterness borne by belligerents towards their counterparts on the 'other side', and, on the other, to the difficulties inherent in travelling and corresponding over vast distances while communications were greatly impeded by war.[100] International conferences and congresses, such a staple of late nineteenth century scholarly life, broadly ceased after 1914. However, in many cases international mindedness was amplified through the extension of pre-existing connections between those on the same side, essentially excluding the current enemy but otherwise continuing the project of building international – or inter-allied – connections.[101] While communities of higher learning were generally victims to the global cataclysm that broke out in 1914, it is also apparent that communities were also durable and flexible, and capable of circumventing epoch-defining upheaval and destruction.

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[98] Irish, *The University at War, 1914-25,* p. 79.
[99] Tomás Irish, 'Fractured Families: Educated elites in Britain and France and the Challenge of the Great War', *Historical Journal*, 57.2 (2014), pp. 509-530.
[100] Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus, 'Challenge to Transnational Loyalties: International Scientific Organizations after the First World War', Science Studies, 3.2 (1973), pp. 93-118; Daniel Kevles, ' "Into Hostile Political Camps": The Reorganization of International Science in World War I', *Isis*, 62.1 (1971), pp. 47-60; Marie-Eve Chagnon, 'La Manifeste des 93: La mobilisation des academies françaises et allemandes au déclenchement de la Première Guerre mondiale (1914-1915)', *French Historical Studies*, 35.1 (2012), pp. 123-147.
[101] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars*, p. 126; Tomás Irish, 'From International to Inter-allied: Transatlantic University Relations in the Era of the First World War, 1905–1920', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 13.4 (2015), pp. 311-325.

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*Conclusion*

War memorials abound at universities that were established at the time of the First World War. Like the Hall of Honour at Trinity College Dublin, these monuments sought to reconstitute an imagined community, with all members, usually listed in alphabetical order, equal before death. These monuments highlight the tensions inherent in the types of community created at institutions in the nineteenth century. Some omitted the names of certain members of the community, or listed them separately, because the person in question had fought with the wartime 'enemy.'[102] Memorials also perpetuated the exclusion of those who did fit into the imagined institutional community in the first place, such as non-academic staff. At the same time, these monuments spoke to the importance ascribed to permanently memorialising those who *did* belong to the community – on its own terms.

Analysis of community sheds much light on the development of institutions of higher learning in the nineteenth century. The creation of community was often a self-conscious act to provide stability and cohesion, especially for new institutions. The communities formed at institutions of higher learning, especially universities, simultaneously connected local, national, and international contexts, although there was a tension between these three settings – evidenced by the outbreak of war in 1914. While the trappings of community – the cap and gown, the college dorm, and the sports club - were frequently romanticised, communities themselves were built upon different forms of exclusion, mirroring the wider structures of the societies to which they belonged.

[102] Irish, 'Fractured Families', p. 524-529.