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MAKING INTERNATIONALISM CONSCIOUS: LIBRARIES AND THE  
TRANSNATIONAL PROPAGATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL MIND  
(1911 – 1951)

BY

STEVEN WILLIAM WITT

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Kathryn La Barre, Chair and Director of Research  
Professor Emeritus Alistair Black  
Professor Clara M. Chu  
Associate Professor Melanie Kimball, Simmons College

## ABSTRACT

Focusing on the role of information professions and INGOs in the creation and dissemination of information to support the internationalist movement during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, this dissertation examines three historical cases: the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's (CEIP) International Mind Alcove Program, the international community's work to re-build the University of Louvain Library, and the American Library Association's development of the Paris Library School. Analyzing these cases historically through the dual lens of library history and transnational history, this dissertation provides a unique view of the role of information professions in promoting internationalism. The history provides further understanding of the evolution of these information dissemination and propaganda activities as they were implemented domestically and abroad toward enacting the transnational aspirations of internationalists during this period.

Close reading of primary source materials shows not only the extent of participation of the library community in the internationalism movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century but also the manner by which both the library profession and the CEIP expressed agency and used the structure and ideals of the library movement to implement their respective and complimentary internationalist missions. Both organizations relied upon the movement toward public access to knowledge through libraries to advance their international goals. Together the CEIP and the library profession attempted to use the social role of libraries as both a symbolic and practical mechanism to promote new internationalism by influencing public opinion on a transnational scale and creating a sustainable organizational structure that could continue to advance internationalism on a

global scale. Through the transnational networks associated with these programs, the library profession and CEIP resources helped enable the creation of the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) and influenced the library mission of UNESCO toward support of public libraries as a means to foster international understanding.

The dissertation offers insights into the wider global and transnational movements that were propagated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the CEIP, exploring an early partnership between NGOs and libraries in information creation and dissemination that generated new transnational social structures and perspectives.

*Dedication*

*To Allison, Emmeline, and Liam*

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Dan Schiller's seminar on the political economy of information led me to pursue a PhD when I should have been far too advanced in my career to embark on such a journey. I took this course because it seemed to fit with some of the work I was doing within the Center for Global Studies. Upon entering the program, I was lucky to have Alistair Black as an advisor. Alistair's high standards mixed with a calm demeanor were just what a

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Early twentieth century internationalism and its history.....	1
Introduction .....	1
The Evolution of Internationalism in the early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century.....	3
U.S. Philanthropic Foundations, the Internationalist Movement, and Public Opinion .....	10
Conclusion.....	15
Chapter 2: Questions, Significance, Organization, and Methodology.....	16
Research Questions and Significance of the Study .....	16
Methods and Sources.....	30
Organization .....	35
Chapter 3: Promoting the International Mind.....	38
Introduction .....	38
The International Mind Campaign .....	40
The Psychological Basis for the International Mind .....	43
Librarians, Documentalists and the Development of the International Mind Campaign .....	46
American Librarians and the Internationalist Movement.....	50
Conclusion.....	58
Chapter 4: International Mind Alcoves (1917 – 1954).....	60
Introduction .....	60
Early Evolution, Growth, and Adoption of the International Mind Alcove.....	63
The International Mind Alcoves: Network and Operations .....	68
Exporting the International Mind – The Growth of Collections Abroad .....	77
The International Mind Alcove and Global Public Opinion .....	89
From Advocating Peace to Supporting War.....	92
Conclusion.....	100
Chapter 5: Putting the Nationalism into Internationalism: Rebuilding the Catholic University of Louvain Library (1914 – 1945) .....	104
Introduction .....	104
The CEIP, Louvain, and Library Re-Building Projects.....	109
From International Committee to Bibliotheque Americaine .....	115
The Means of Propaganda for the Fund Raising Campaign.....	118
Replacing the Louvain Library Collections .....	120
Architecture and Symbolism – Reconciliation vs Reparations .....	126
Conclusion.....	133
Chapter 6: The Paris Library School .....	137

Introduction .....	137
The ALA's Rationale for Training Librarians Abroad.....	140
Raising the Technique of Librarianship in Europe.....	145
The French Reception of the Paris Library School .....	148
From French School to International Center .....	154
The Enduring Strength of a Transnational Network .....	160
Conclusion.....	170
<b>Chapter 7: Conclusion.....</b>	<b>173</b>
Summary of Findings .....	173
Reflections on the Research Questions .....	175
Discussion and Significance.....	180
Opportunities for Future Research .....	185
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>189</b>

## CHAPTER 1: EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY INTERNATIONALISM AND ITS HISTORY

“the aim of all rational and practicable activity for the permanent establishment of the world’s peace, and for the promotion of justice, is and must always be the education of the world’s public opinion” – Nicholas Murray Butler - 1909

### INTRODUCTION

In August of 1930, as the world economy sat on the brink of economic depression and fascism began to spread out of Italy, Sarah Bogle, the Assistant Secretary of the American Library Association, addressed the newly formed *Federation Internationale des Associations des Bibliothecaires* (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions or IFLA) in Stockholm, Sweden. Bogle opened her talk by stating that:

The elimination of time and space through means of communication and transportation has had its full effect on library work as seen by the American Library Association. Every activity in civilization has made its demand upon library service, be the activity educational, social, industrial, informational or recreational. . . . A universal library consciousness has made itself felt as never before. (American Library Association, 1930a, p. 834)

Bogle's report focused on the extensive international activities within librarianship and the growing interchange of library organizations with various international organizations. She noted work with the Pan-Pacific Women's Congress in Hawaii, library collaboration with the World Federation of Education Associations in Geneva, and representation at the World Association for Adult Education. In addition, she highlighted the work to develop international technical standards and promote exchange within the growing transnational library network. Librarians were creating an International Lending Library and Information Bureau for Librarians, plus working toward uniform statistics, terminology, and methods to present bibliographical data to "aid in effecting the international interchange of librarians" (American Library Association, 1930a, p. 836). With her travel funded by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), Bogle's speech to this international gathering represented nearly two decades of CEIP funded activities that sought to use libraries to advance global public opinion regarding international relations, re-build libraries across war-torn Europe as a symbol of civilization's victory over barbarism, and solidify a transnational library profession with shared values and standards to serve an increasingly interdependent world.

The work of Bogle and this growing network of librarians from Asia, Europe, and the Americas belonged to the wider internationalist movement that created an "international society" during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century era (Gorman, 2012; 2017). This society emerged "to underwrite the international peace" and promoted personal relations across cultures and was interconnected with transnational "networks of conferences, educational activities, outreach, and publicity created by groups such as the ... Carnegie Endowment for International Peace" (Gorman, 2012, p. 16). Examining the role of

libraries and the growing library profession in this movement provides the basis for understanding how public access to information and the professions that provide it worked within the internationalist movement to promote a global consciousness and create transnational networks that continue to resonate across the library profession and world.

## THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONALISM IN THE EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

International history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is often seen as a “series of catastrophes” caused by a nationalism that fueled two world wars (Winter, 2006). Because of the extensive carnage caused by the great wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the history of internationalism and its associated advocacy for peace, especially during the interwar period, has often been ignored or viewed as insignificant (Pugh, 2012; Winter, 2008). Further, the history of internationalist movements is often seen through the work of ideologues and utopian projects that range from working class revolutionaries to anarchists striving to radically remake the international system (Sluga, 2013). The role of internationalism as an effort to develop a means to sustain peace within the international system, however, is an increasingly important facet of the historical narrative of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Though the idea of internationalist solutions for eliminating conflict among nations can be traced to Immanuel Kant’s vision for a “universal cosmopolitan state”, the modern internationalism that developed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century has its immediate roots in the 1899 Hague Peace Conference, which initiated dialogue around notions of

international humanitarian law and the peaceful arbitration of disputes among nations (Eyffinger, 2000, Kant 1991). Despite being eclipsed by war and rampant nationalism, the form of internationalism that developed during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century is seen as an important contributor to the creation of contemporary international systems of governance such as the United Nations and the European Union, while also an early response to an economic and technological globalization that continues to impact society (Duranti, 2016; Gorman, 2012; Iriye, 1997; Mazower, 2009; Pugh, 2012; Sluga 2013; Sorrels, 2016; Winter, 2008).

Glenda Sluga describes the new form of early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalism as having distinctive roots in the same political realism that also generated nationalism. Sluga asserts that this period of internationalism was a product of the social and political modernity of the times, “including new international institutions, new international forms of sociability, and ‘the importance of human beings with the right outlook’” (2013, p. 2). Internationalism was animated by the threat of war throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, but it was also informed by increased economic integration and the “transnational spread of ideas and power of public opinion that accompanied mass literacy” (Sluga, 2013, p. 2). This new form of internationalism aimed to create the conditions for permanent peace through international law and through a population of people around the world that rejected war as a means of solving disputes. Michael Pugh similarly describes internationalism during the interwar period as an extension of “liberal internationalism.” Like Sluga, Pugh describes internationalists as embracing transnationalism as a mode of organizing and asserting the importance of public opinion

based on the assumption that knowledge and education would create within the population the capacity to make rational choices about war (Pugh, 2012).

Although rooted in the political realism that fueled nationalism, early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalism diverged from traditional ideas of international relations by focusing on the universal view of the individual and the power of non-state actors to contribute to international governance solutions. This concentrated attention onto creating a public opinion informed by the dissemination of cultural knowledge and fueled by the impacts of transnational cultural exchange to create a mindset sympathetic to internationalism and peace (Duranti, 2016; Mazower, 2009; Pugh, 2012; Rietzler, 2011; Sluga 2013; Sorrels, 2016). As Akira Iriye describes, many of the activities to inform public opinion within the early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalist movement constituted cultural internationalism (1997). Cultural internationalism, which Iriye also refers to as cultural transnationalism (2013), describes the “variety of activities undertaken to link countries and people through the exchange of ideas and persons, through scholarly cooperation, or through efforts at facilitating cross-national understanding” (Iriye, 1997, p. 3). This was distinct from the “world order defined by military power and considerations of national interests” (Iriye, 2002, p. 129). Central to the idea of cultural internationalism is the notion that the key to a sustained peace was cultural understanding engendered by education and exchange. These notions also contributed to the growing sense of “global community in which all nations and people shared certain interests and commitments” (Iriye, 2002, p. 18). Although not always in contradiction to national interests or state sovereignty, this form of internationalist activity often conflicted with imperialist, nationalist, and nativist movements by espousing a cosmopolitanism that sought to transcend the state, culture,

and race to establish a universal view of an individual's rights and obligations within an international system (Pugh, 2012; Sluga, 2013). The new internationalism, however, contrasted with communist internationalism, which anticipated an inevitable struggle that would unite the global working class. As both Sluga and Pugh demonstrate, this was an internationalism that was "liberal, nation-embracing, and anticommunist," which included "leaders of powerful Western states, middle-class women and feminists, anti-colonists, social scientists, moral reformers" and librarians organized around the idea of being internationally minded (Sluga, 2013, p. 5).

Although this form of internationalism like many others was rooted in Western philosophical ideas, economics, and legal systems that made-up the broader normative concept of "civilization", the idea of a global community inclusive of non-Western nations and peoples was emergent at this time. After World War One in particular, internationalism took a more global turn often emphasizing the interdependence and interconnectedness of both peoples and nations (Iriye, 1997). Although complicated by what is often described as its "civilizing mission" when encountering non-Western peoples, internationalism also attempted to include all people and nations in the world as potential actors within the emerging global system (Mazower, 2012; Sluga, 2013; Weber, 2015). This sense of global interconnectedness created a competition for internationalist ideas on a worldwide scale. The struggle to win people's minds manifested itself in many educational activities, cultural exchange programs, and forms of propaganda aimed at the idea of a global population with common interests (Iriye, 2002; Sluga, 2013).

The new internationalism, which promoted Western democratic values and asserted its opposition to racism and imperialism, countered similarly global international

visions for establishing order and ensuring peace. The Soviet Union promoted a parallel movement that advocated international communism. Iconic posters from the Soviet Union portrayed the unity of a racially diverse group of laborers with cultural representations from each continent to create the idea of a global working class poised to organize into an international system of communism (King, 2009). To develop the mindset of international communism, the Soviet Union organized a global network of Friendship Societies that aimed to ensure peace by building common bonds and sensibilities among the global proletariat (Nemzer, 1949; Prokorhorov, 1979). Like the new internationalists, this movement sought to secure peace by changing public opinion towards communism through cultural exchange, lectures, and the distribution of books. This movement, however, reported directly to the Soviet state and aimed to create a transnational community of people with a communist mindset to support the expansion of Communism.

Within the new internationalist movement, the cultivation of the “international mind” became a primary metaphor and means to promote a Western liberal democratic system animated by populations of globally conscious citizens. Rather than being led directly by nation states, however, it was largely promoted through civil society organizations such as the CEIP and associations allied with the League of Nations. The term “international mind” was frequently used within early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalism and is credited to Nicholas Murray Butler, former President of both Columbia University and the CEIP. In 1913, two years before the outbreak of World War One, Butler published a slim volume titled, *The International Mind: An Argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes*, which contained the text of speeches Butler gave at

the Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration from 1907 - 1912. Through this book and Butler's extensive political and academic network, the CEIP led efforts in a vast social experiment to change public opinion around the world and develop an international mindset that would replace "law for war, peace with righteousness for triumph after slaughter, the victories of right and reasonableness for those of might and brute force" (Butler, 1913, p. 69). Discussed in detail in Chapter 3, this advocacy didn't stop the outbreak of war yet became a central emphasis of the CEIP's work to promote international mindedness among the world's populations, continuing through the interwar era and after World War Two. As Butler advocated, people "must be taught to know the international mind, to accept it, and to guide national action and policy in accordance with it" (Butler, 1913, p.102).

The ideals of internationalism provided fuel for the growing trend toward international cooperation through International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs). These organizations often bypassed the agendas of nations by working from the assumption that "cultural and social questions knew no national boundaries and that they required an international framework for solution" (Iriye, 2002, p. 25). During the interwar period many new organizations and international networks formed to promote the exchange of knowledge and ideas. INGOs proliferated, and according to the League of Nations 1929 *Handbook of International Organizations*, almost four hundred of the nearly five hundred groups listed were private INGOs. These included the International Confederation of Students, International Federation of University Women, World Association for Adult Education, International Research Council, and International Society for Microbiology. In addition, comparable service organizations took root,

including the International Council of Women, Save the Children International Union, and Service Civil International. By the late 1920s, when nationalism was again on the rise, these INGOs represented the “conscience of the world” and became the core tool for the networking of individuals and ideas that continue to influence processes of globalization (Iriye, 2002). The organization of the League of Nations attempted to address this interdependence through a new international order that included the whole of the world and did not depend upon political structures to accomplish all of its goals. Cooperation among organizations and the promotion of knowledge exchange were seen as important structural elements to maintain peace and develop a world population cognizant of the importance of participating in an international system (Laqua, 2011; Webster, 2005). The proliferation of these organizations and the need to organize them to promote international order created new challenges regarding the sharing of knowledge among groups while also presenting new avenues through which to communicate and organize transnationally.

Philanthropic foundations supported many organizations focused on internationalism and peace. Internationally-oriented foundations such as those associated with Andrew Carnegie’s Endowment for International Peace and Edwin Ginn’s World Peace Foundation were at the forefront of this work (Weber, 2015). These organizations supported the cause for international peace in a strategic and scientific (or positivistic) manner described a philanthropic internationalism, funding propaganda, educational, legalistic, and pragmatic approaches to peace (Weber, 2015).

## U.S. PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS, THE INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT, AND PUBLIC OPINION

US philanthropic foundations such as the CEIP, World Peace Foundation, and Rockefeller Foundation expended considerable resources during the early twentieth century and into the mid-twentieth century. They concentrated research and educational activities on international topics while also working to impact public opinion toward a belief in a peaceful community of nations.

Mainstream American internationalists shared the progressive belief of the times that America's "exceptional" model of governance, ideas of liberty, and leadership in the world would lead to universal peace and prosperity as espoused by President Wilson in his Senate speech advocating for US inclusion in the League of Nations (Sluga, 2013).<sup>1,2</sup> American exceptionalism animated US participation in international peace building.

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<sup>1</sup> President Wilson ended his July 1919 speech aimed at convincing the US Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and accept the League of Nations by stating that "America shall in truth show the way. The light streams upon the path ahead, and nowhere else" (From Full-Text of President's Speech, 1919, p. 5). During his unsuccessful bid to sway American opinion and the Senate toward accepting the Treaty of Versailles and joining of the League of Nations, President Wilson argued that the United States' leadership in the world was an obligation the country must embrace in order to ensure a lasting peace and the success of the League of Nations. Ultimately, the Senate voted not to ratify the treaty or join the League of Nations. This defeat signaled a move toward isolationist tendencies in the US, and Wilson's internationalist policies were rebuked again with the election of isolationist Senator Warren Harding to the presidency in 1920. This was not, however, the end to the international presence of the United States or the nation's internationalist movements. Although marginalized by the strong isolationist mood of the country, internationalism in the US was by no means dead in either the Democrat or Republican Parties. US internationalism took various forms that ranged from expansionist interventionism on the far right to cooperative peace building toward a one-world State on the other end of the spectrum.

<sup>2</sup> See Rossi, From Theodore Roosevelt to FDR : Internationalism and Isolationism in American Foreign Policy. Staffordshire, England: Keele University Press, 1995 for a discussion of the various trends and forms of US internationalism and isolationism during this period.

Public figures such as Elihu Root, former Secretary of State under Theodore Roosevelt and an early President of the CEIP viewed the US as essential to the advancement of civilization around the world and that the US needed to continually strengthen its presence<sup>3</sup>. Root articulated the role of the US and need for international engagement in the inaugural issue of *Foreign Affairs*:

with the increased intercommunication and interdependence of civilized states, all our [US] production is a part of the world's production and all our trade is a part of the world's trade, and a large part of the influences which make for the prosperity or disaster within our own country consists of forces and movements which may arise anywhere in the world beyond our immediate control. (Root, 1922, p. 2)

Despite US isolationism and failure to join the League of Nations after the first world war, the war itself “confirmed the interdependence and interconnectedness of world affairs in the eyes of internationals and signaled the beginning of a new stage of US international philanthropy” (Weber, 2015, p. 530). Although steeped in a geopolitical realism that assumed national conflict over territory and resources, philanthropists and policy makers such as Root helped to create a new internationalism through which “the key to peace lay in cross-national understanding, which in turn had to be built solidly upon active cooperation of cultural elites” (Iriye, 1997; Sluga, 2013). According to Rietzler, this contribution to internationalism “was marked by a commitment to the creation of expert knowledge, especially in the social sciences, with a view to the practical application of this knowledge” (2011, p. 57). To further world peace, these foundations supported inquiry that explored nationalism and internationalism with the

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<sup>3</sup> See Iriye (1997), for an in-depth discussion of the role of nationalism, colonialism, and imperialism in framing notions of civilization and state power.

aim of creating a transnational elite of social scientists that would translate international knowledge to governments and the public to “forge an international consensus on the major problems affecting world politics” (Rietzler, 2011, p. 49). This campaign required the creation, dissemination, and access to international knowledge to impact public opinion and political affairs.

The strategic use of information was at the core of Andrew Carnegie’s well-known efforts that supported libraries and the development of the library profession in North America. A year after the founding of the CEIP, Carnegie founded the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY). Its founding documents stated the organization’s focus on the advancement and dissemination of knowledge to build understanding. Lagemann’s (1992) *Politics of Knowledge* establishes firmly the CCNY’s use of information dissemination and organization as tools to impact public policy. Lagemann’s argument is based on the assertion that by the end of the nineteenth century, the importance of creation, organization, and dissemination of information “crystallized as knowledge of various kinds became more and more essential to economic activity and to the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of public policy” (1992, p. 4). Lagemann provides an excellent analysis and description of the CCNY’s use of libraries and the library science profession as mechanisms to disseminate information and influence social development. Her analysis, however, only touches upon the activities of the CEIP or CCNY activities abroad, noting that these peace and international programs mirrored and replicated in many ways the CCNY’s domestic activities.

Much research on the international activities of US philanthropic organizations highlighted the wider impact of these organizations as agents of US foreign policy,

cultural power, and hegemony as a form of colonialism and means to spread and assert US cultural and economic power across the globe (Weber, 2015). Beginning with Curti's *American Philanthropy Abroad* (1963), the analysis of the international activities of US foundations focuses on their role of exporting American values with an emphasis on progressive visions of social development and welfare. Berman's *Ideology of Philanthropy* (1983) analyzes critically the efforts of foundations such as Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller to use education, cultural affairs, and professionalization as a means to promote US social values and policy. These were initiatives that included the exportation of American democracy and the development of educational and cultural programs that would encourage international discourse among elites to foster shared values and cultural understanding. Like Lagemann, Berman discusses the role of foundations in producing and disseminating specific kinds of knowledge and ideas that supported each foundation's objectives. He argues that these foundations achieved a great deal of influence over the production and dissemination of ideas, influencing "the way in which people view the world and the commonsense categories into which they organize their knowledge and by which they conduct their lives" (1983, p. 11). The overall aim of these activities tended toward the progressive era attempt at the "rationalization of social services and the more efficient and manageable functioning of the larger social system" (1983, p. 17). As Kuehl and Dunn note, this was an expression of an "attitude that reflected both traditional American beliefs about the progressive nature of education" and new academic assumptions that presumed social science could examine and find solutions to human problems (1997, p. 64). The CEIP promoted the social sciences globally to bolster international organizations and helped to get expert knowledge into the

hands of the public through sponsored lectureships, International Relations Clubs, and other activities (Reitzler, 2011). The CEIP actively exported US-based social and political priorities around the world.

Analysis of the role of foundations such as the CEIP also takes what is referred to as a global or transnational historical perspective that attempts describe the rise of internationalist activities in the early twentieth century as an alternative to the advent of the modernist nation state and the nationalism associated with World Wars One and Two. Much of this scholarship concentrates on new institutional forms through which professional organizations and advocates for social and political change collaborated across national and cultural boundaries toward common goals. These activities included the work of US foundations that provided funding and organizational support for many of these activities (Matysik, 2006). The new institutions are considered the initial roots of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), which are often linked to the transnational and global forces that define contemporary society (Iriye, 2002). These histories also illuminate the key role of knowledge production and information dissemination in supporting transnational efforts. As Iriye, asserts the development of international and educational cultural exchanges among elites was a part of a new phenomenon categorized as cultural internationalism (1997). In contrast to the work of Berman, which focuses on the role of foundations in exporting and implementing US social ideals and policies abroad, the global historical perspective is more on the non-state or transnational actors within what might still be considered information politics. The emphasis is rather upon the growing trend toward international cooperation through INGOs, organizations that often by-passed or even subverted State-driven agendas by

working from the assumption that “cultural and social questions knew no national boundaries and that they required an international framework for solution” (Iriye, 2002, p. 25). This global perspective on the impacts of organizations such as the CEIP relies heavily on the rising importance of the creation, organization, and dissemination of knowledge and cultural information transnationally.

## CONCLUSION

Analyzing the work of the CEIP and its interaction with libraries during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century through the dual lens of library history and transnational history, this dissertation provides a unique view of the role of information professions in promoting internationalism. In addition, the history extends further understanding of the evolution of the information dissemination and propaganda activities as they were implemented domestically and abroad toward enacting the transnational aspirations of internationalists during this period. This dissertation also offers insights into the wider global and transnational movements that were propagated by NGOs such as the CEIP, exploring an early partnership between NGOs and libraries in information creation and dissemination that generated new transnational social structures and perspectives.

## CHAPTER 2: QUESTIONS, SIGNIFICANCE, ORGANIZATION, AND METHODOLOGY

“Much new insight would be gained if we examined transnational linkages and non-state networks.” - Akira Iriye, 2013, p. 59.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

International networking activities are by no means new within libraries and have been central to the distribution of knowledge from the time that book collecting and organizing began (Black, 2016). The increased internationalization within librarianship is “for the most part a rapid acceleration of trends in library practice that have been important parts of the profession from its beginnings” (Glynn, 2004, p. 1). The early 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, marks a significant period of change for the internationalization of librarianship since it occurred in conjunction with new forms of internationalism, the rise of transnational NGOs as an organizational form, and the global movement to influence public opinion toward peace through sources of activity and funding from wealthy philanthropic organizations that advanced social change outside of the traditional national governance structures. The CEIP influenced both the development of internationalism and the institutionalization of cultural relations as a central component of what Akira Iriye calls “cultural internationalism” (Iriye, 1997; Winn, 2004; 2006). The unique context within which libraries and the library profession evolved as a transnational

network and the extent to which the CEIP supported libraries during this era raises important questions about the development of international professional networks, the rise of global civil society, and the increasing importance of information dissemination as access to knowledge and information continues to impact public opinion globally.

The research revolves around the following questions:

*[RQ1] How and to what extent were the activities of the library profession and the societal role of the library significant to the development of early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalism?*

*[RQ2] In what manner did the library profession express agency in support of these activities and how did organizations, specifically the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, utilize and support libraries and the library profession in achieving an internationalist mission?*

*[RQ3] How and in what ways were libraries used as mechanisms to influence global public opinion to achieve the policy goals of internationalist organizations?*

This dissertation attempts to fill critical gaps in the history of internationalism, and more specifically to interpret the social impacts of this movement through the lens of library history. The emergent historical practice known as transnational history combined with the more critical and theoretical base of the new library history espoused by Alistair Black provides a means for analyzing the historical developments within the library profession and wider internationalist movement (Black, 1995; Iriye, 2013). This approach complements Wiegand's (1999) assertion that the field of library history suffers from

“tunnel vision and blind spots,” in terms of its failure not only to embrace social theory but also, as Black (1995, p. 80) argues, to “reach out to wider history,” something which Pawley echoes in calling for an infusion of the subject “with ideas and energy by tapping into the knowledge and expertise of colleagues in other fields” (2005, p. 234).

In asserting that the societal impacts of the ubiquitous institution of libraries is vastly understudied, both Black and Wiegand present multiple deficits in the scope of and approach to library history, suggesting that this subfield lacked both attention from within the library community and dialogue with historians from other fields of study. At a time of much social change with the rise of information technologies and the fall of the Soviet Union to end the Cold War, Black and Wiegand are not alone among historians in questioning and perceiving shifts in historiographies of the late 20th century. As historian Akira Iriye notes in arguments for global and transnational approaches to history, during this time historical writings shifted from national and regional frames of reference toward approaches that include interdisciplinary views of transnational actors such as races, social movements, professions, organizations, and themes such as human rights (Iriye, 2013).

New library history’s drive to connect with the work of other scholars and methods of analysis in history parallels the impetus of transnational history to focus on important societal themes that had been widely ignored. Wiegand asserts that historians need “to address huge gaps in our knowledge of one of this nation’s most ubiquitous twentieth-century institutions..., [and] with the help of education, social, cultural, and intellectual historians, and scholars from research communities such as American, women, race, and ethnic studies, we can accelerate and augment our effort” (1999, p. 29).

As Wiegand applauds shifts already occurring in library history, he notes thematic works that fall within the interdisciplinary frame – censorship and cultural change fostered by library institutions, professional organizations, and access to knowledge. Further, Wiegand calls for histories that bring to light the multitude of social impacts libraries, information technologies, and professional practices have on society, including political economic discourse and the role of information as an actor within daily life (1999, p. 27). By asserting the need for library historians to connect to historical sub-fields that study other social institutions or sub-groups, Wiegand mirrors the call of historians that seek to knit interdisciplinary threads into historical analysis of libraries and information science. As Wiegand notes upon reflecting on the absence of citations of critical theorists within library history, “one gets that impression of a profession trapped in its own discursive formation between power and knowledge that affect issues of race, class, age, and gender, among others, are invisible or ignored” (1999, p. 24).

Alistair Black’s 1995 article, *New Methodologies in Library History: a Manifesto for the ‘New’ Library History*, also asserts the need to adopt historical methodologies of social history (1995). Black’s 1997 paper on Victorian libraries calls for both a wider appreciation of the social role of libraries and a merging of research communities along interdisciplinary lines. Black’s critique of library history anticipates Wiegand and integrates the discussion as it relates to the “new history of information”:

[L]ibrary history already struggles to catch up with the developments seen in mainstream history in recent decades, let alone those that may be considered in the future. Top of the library history agenda, surely, before library historians can even begin to contemplate the viability of a wider history of information into which libraries can be inserted, is the need to re-energize library history by making cultural historians and other scholars more aware of its attractions, and

encouraging current library historians to be more dynamic in their accessing of contextual historical knowledge. (p. 108)

Black, like Wiegand, calls for a more critical approach to library history that could join the cultural and critical dialogues held through the work of widely adopted scholars such as Foucault and Habermas in order to cast new light on the historic role of libraries and other key information organizations in important historical developments.

The study of the rise of global librarianship amidst early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalism in the context of library history is a significant means to better understand the impact of libraries and knowledge production on societal change (Black, 2006; Davis, 2010). Several fields of inquiry attempt to explain the rise of international nongovernmental organizations in which librarians and the international library participated actively in the early twentieth century. These activities gave rise to the phenomenon of cultural internationalism (Iriye, 1997) and the advent of the term globalization to explain the interconnected condition in which humanity finds itself. Viewing international librarianship and the arrival of new organizational forms within the profession through a lens that encompasses perspectives of both library history and transnational history makes an important contribution to the examination of the evolution of libraries and librarianship within a wider context of internationalism and globalization while informing our knowledge of the manner by which information professions such as librarianship contributed to the globalized context in which society is governed.

As noted previously, many contemporary historians are engaged in understanding early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalism (Gorman, 2012; Iriye, 2002; Matysik, 2006; Mazower, 2012; Pugh, 2012; Sluga, 2013; Weber, 2015; Winter, 2006). The work of these

historians focuses on transnational actors and the rise of internationalist activities in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as opposed to the nation state and the nationalism that fueled two world wars. Much of these efforts concentrate on developments within a growing civil society associated with the international peace movements, international labor, international women's organizations, and attempts to cooperate in areas such as medicine and health. Historians of what is called transnational history, assert that these activities served as the initial roots of International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), important actors in the development of the international perspectives and global consciousness that has developed during the past century (Iriye, 2002). Iriye characterizes these organizations as both symptomatic of globalization and key participants in helping to develop "global consciousness" or transnational interconnectedness and serving to "turn the world's attention to global issues . . . when geopolitics and military strategy have divided nations against one another" (Iriye, 2002, p. 196-97). Globalization theorists also point to the development of transnational networks as alternative sources of power and influence in international relations (Apparadai; 2000; Castelles, 2009). Many of these theories emphasize the impact of increased global connections, flows of knowledge, and the development of new transnational cultural forms that break from traditional views of information and power flowing from geopolitical centers toward the development of new transnational social forms that operate as an alternative to State-mediated flows of culture and information.

A transnational unit of analysis has been largely absent within library history. Most works that cover international aspects of librarianship and libraries concentrate on the developments within the profession or take institutional or state-centered approaches.

The work of Maack, Rayward, Worman, and Black acknowledges the role of libraries in cross-cultural exchange while also highlighting the significance of activities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the development of international networks that fostered collaboration and innovation within the growing library profession (Black, 2016; Maack, 2005; Maack, 1983; Rayward, 1981; Worman, 1968)<sup>4</sup>. Rayward and Worman establish the influence of the interwar era on fostering new forms of international collaboration that persisted in some instances during WWII or were quickly reestablished in the late 1940s. Earlier works by Worman associate these activities with wider international trends and note that international cooperation in libraries developed a new pattern after World War One in the creation of international agencies and associations that were no longer based on national activity and co-ordination (Worman, 1968). Rayward's historical work also establishes this period as important to the development of an international community within the profession (Rayward, 1981). Much of Rayward's analysis of the evolving international connections of the modern library exposes important facets of the technical functions of such organizations, including developments such as document delivery agreements, standardization, and development assistance (1981). In addition, Rayward establishes the role of new organizations and international communities such as the International Institute of Bibliography (IIB), League of Nations Committee for Intellectual Cooperation, and IFLA as centers of international bibliography and librarianship that emerged during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although Rayward makes

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<sup>4</sup> In addition to a focus on the role of cross-cultural exchange in innovating library practices, Maack's work on the development of library education and the role of women in France during this period provides an excellent feminist perspective on the leadership of women in the profession in important educational and international ventures.

important connections between the work of Otlet and the transnational internationalist community, the overall emphasis is not on the modern library profession and largely fell out of the scope of library history (2003).

Maack's historical view of the Paris Library School emphasizes the school within the "era of expansion and experimentation" in the development of formal library training programs, which she categorized as a missionary phase in library education (Maack, 1986a; 1986b). In addition to describing the major shifts in library education and the contributions of female librarians during this period, Maack also establishes the significance of the Paris Library School in international exchanges that fostered the diffusion of public libraries in France (Maack, 1986a; 1986b). These exchanges also influenced the school's role as an innovator in cultivating international collaboration.

Institutional histories help to illuminate the importance of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to international librarianship. Koops and Wieder's compilation of essays to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of IFLA documented effectively the organization's early years and the activities that led to the organization's founding (Koops and Wieder, 1977). Wilhite's follow-up, *85 Years IFLA*, provides an important chronology of congresses and activities within the organizations that is of great utility to historians (Wilhite, 2012).

More prominent in works of library history is the analysis of the important relationship between the library and the state. For example, Wiegand's study of the American public library in WWI provides an excellent backdrop to the activities and the role of the American public library and librarians to support nationally-driven efforts during the war (Wiegand, 1989). Similarly, works from Kraske and Young focus on the role of the library profession in America as it related to support of national level foreign

policy initiatives during WWI, WWII, and the Cold War (Kraske, 1985; Young, 1981). Kraske, however, discounts international collaboration and exchanges prior to World War Two, describing them as insignificant based on their modest level of activity and reliance upon private funding from organizations such as the CEIP and Rockefeller Foundation. In concentrating narrowly on the internationalization of professional practices or State-centered histories, the larger narrative of the role of libraries in contributing to the internationalist agenda and development of what is now considered an era of cultural and economic globalization is largely obscured.

The role of libraries in broader international social movements is more often linked to the period after World War Two and the use of libraries and information as tools to promote democracy and capitalism through cultural diplomacy during the Cold War and the globalization of libraries through UNESCO. For example, Intrator's dissertation, *Books across borders and between libraries: UNESCO and the politics of postwar cultural reconstruction, 1945-1951* documents thoroughly the post-war development of the public library movement globally through collaboration between UNESCO, the library community, and the Rockefeller Foundation, discussing in part the insinuation of peace advocacy within the public library mission (2013). Brewster's work, for example, focuses on international library technical assistance in the period from 1940 to 1970, concentrating mainly on US Government involvement in international library activities. Kraske's *Missionaries of the Book* concentrates more narrowly on the ALA's efforts to take advantage of US foreign policy during the period from 1938 to 1949 and expand its international activities. He notes that this was a pioneering era in which "there developed a three-way partnership in the national interest among the organized library

profession, the federal government, and the great private charitable trusts” to promote international exchange and friendship (1985, p. 3). All of these works document the role of information and the US library profession in promoting cultural relations and disseminating knowledge to aid in the United States’ new foreign policy initiatives that included many international development activities through programs such as the State Department Division of Cultural Relations and United States Information Service (Brewster, 1976; Kraske, 1985).

Although the role of philanthropies are noted as important contributors to these efforts, the unit of analysis of these works is essentially the relationship of the library and the state with the profession taking advantage of and responding to the priorities of US domestic and international policy. This suggests that new historical approaches to the development of international librarianship that take into account current trends in transnational and global history can provide a better understanding of the work of libraries and non-state actors, such as the CEIP, in influencing public opinion through cultural exchange, knowledge production, and new uses of information. A logical place to begin this analysis is through the programs of the CEIP, an early internationally oriented philanthropic foundation that operated in a manner closely associated with the idea of cultural internationalism pioneered by Iriye and used in the historical analysis of global or transnational movements of the early twentieth century. The CEIP was clearly engaged in distributing books and information around the world in an attempt to change public opinion globally through cultural exchange and exposure to information on languages, cultures, and history. On the whole, these activities paralleled the use of information and libraries as tools of social development projects in the US and abroad:

adult education, raising literacy rates, and personal development. CEIP activities differed, however, in the scope and breadth of programs that transcended regional and national borders to deliver the CEIP's universal formula for building a global culture of peace. The CEIP's work with libraries in information creation and dissemination is significant to the development of international librarianship since it showed the organization's early attempts to use new methods of information organization and distribution to bypass US policy as the CEIP attempted to create transnational social structures and perspectives.

Like the CCNY's efforts to disseminate knowledge because of its impact on economic development and the building of democratic institutions, information was central to the CEIP's activities. In the period between 1910 and 1938, the CEIP strategically engaged libraries, disseminated information, and developed knowledge in order to influence public opinion in regards to the importance of fostering international relations. This work is acknowledged in accounts of the development of international librarianship as contributing to the expansion of US-based international library development programs (Akhund, 2011; Brewster 1976; Hary, 1991; Kesselman and Weintraub, 2004; Krzys and Litton and Hewitt, 1983; Luddington, 1954). Through early grants from the CEIP and other US foundations, the ALA's international profile expanded greatly in the 1920s, constituting an increasingly large portion of the ALA's program (Brewster, 1976). In her account of the development of American overseas library technical assistance programs, Brewster associates many of these ALA activities with efforts to recover from the First World War and an extension of the ALA's Library War Services work (p. 198). Of these activities in which ALA engaged, CEIP funding assisted and often initiated projects such as the re-cataloging of the Vatican library's

collection and the rebuilding of the University Library of Belgrade (Akhund, 2011; Brewster, 1976). CEIP also supported the ALA's Books for Foreign Countries Committee, by providing funding for books on international law and international relations (Brewster, 1976). As noted above, these works concentrate more on the institutional role of American libraries and librarians as they began to develop more robust activities that attempted to export the US model of libraries and the profession. Very little of the focus of these publications is on the role of libraries in the implementation of larger globalized social aims associated with internationalism.

Several works document and analyze the international work of the CCNY and CEIP and contribute to the global perspectives of library and information history. Rochester's work analyzes the CCNY's international library related activities that helped to establish the library profession and libraries throughout the British Commonwealth and in other nations. Rochester describes in detail the CCNY's rationale for library building activities in terms of their provision of key social services and contributions to adult education. Like Lagemann, Rochester links Carnegie's emphasis on knowledge dissemination and organization with the rise of information as an important constituent of economic and policy making activities (1995, 1996; 1999).

The most in-depth treatment of the CEIP's work with libraries is Hary's 1991 dissertation which describes in detail the Endowment's funding to re-catalog and modernize of the Vatican Library. Hary's extensive history of this monumental project, which lasted nearly twenty-one years, focuses on the impact that it had on the Vatican library and the close collaboration with the CEIP. Hary's dissertation seeks to establish the CEIP's collaboration with libraries as a part of its strategy to sway public opinion

regarding international conflict through the dissemination of books. Hary, however, was unable to provide a definitive explanation regarding the motivations of the CEIP in working so closely with the Vatican in such an ambitious and time consuming project. The closest explanation was that “besides the prestige that a collaboration with the Vatican Library could bring to the Endowment, Butler [the CEIP President], was anxious to secure the approval and moral support of the Catholic Church for some of his pacifist initiatives” (p. 86). Hary’s work thus provides an excellent catalog of the CEIP’s international activities as they related to libraries and helps to establish the Endowment’s clear motivation to utilize libraries and the collaborative relationships fostered around library projects as tools to disseminate information and curry favor with strategic organizations.

The role of the CEIP domestically in US programs is only touched upon in fields of information and library history. Wiegand’s, *An Active Instrument for Propaganda*, which documents the manner by which American public libraries supported World War One, notes that by 1914 many public libraries had become “conduits for the propaganda wars waged by Germany and Great Britain” but willingly “took their place in the service to the state,” promoting war efforts locally and nationally (1989, p. 16). Wiegand mentions the involvement of the CEIP in pre-war propaganda, linking Butler’s Division of Intercourse and Education to gifts to libraries that supported British-led efforts in the “battle for the American mind” (1989, p. 16). The role of philanthropic organizations in influencing public opinion domestically and internationally may be more nuanced in regards to support for US policy initiatives than is suggested by some historians.

Wiegand clearly links these activities with the efforts of foreign governments to work through US organizations to sway public opinion.

The role of the CEIP in disseminating books and impacting US public opinions is again noted by Wiegand in his history of rural public libraries in America (Wiegand 2011). Wiegand explains that Minnesota's Bryant Public Library reached out to the community in a variety of ways, including the acceptance of a CEIP-funded "International Mind Alcove" collection that the librarian reported to the community as having books "discussing countries other than our own and by authors with widely divergent viewpoints" (2011, p. 35). As Wiegand describes, the Mind Alcoves were touted in library reports as a way in which the library positively impacted the community through reading. This was also taken up by the local paper in an editorial that connected books to the formation of public opinion and noted the role of the International Mind Alcove in both connecting local citizens to the world and contributing to the "national defense" by presenting the "right" perspective on international topics (Wiegand, 2011, p. 36). Wiegand uses the example of the International Mind Alcove as an illustration of the impact of libraries on communities and the role of books as tools for forming opinions. He does not, however, concentrate on the broader systemic intent of this reading to engender international understanding globally. These CEIP-funded collections were also mentioned in passing in other works that describe public library development during this time period (Finchum and Finchum, 2011). The existence of programs such as the International Mind Alcoves suggests that further analysis and research would provide useful evidence of the development of libraries and information as a tool for promoting

internationalism and serving organizations such as the CEIP to promote its transnational agenda.

## METHODS AND SOURCES

Close analysis and investigation of under-utilized primary sources help to increase our knowledge of how and why librarians and libraries partnered with and contributed to the broader, transnational effort from 1911-1951 to advocate for an international system that could prevent wars. As a historiographic investigation, my dissertation relies upon extensive examination of primary sources, including archival collections and grey literature. Through these sources, I aim to reveal the motivations of key actors to determine their perspectives on librarianship, libraries, and books as they pertained to the internationalist movement. This analysis focuses on the manner by which new internationalist practices and the development of libraries and librarianship conspired to extend transnational networks and perspectives throughout the projects that are the object of the dissertation. I also investigate the institutional role played by key organizational actors such as the ALA and CEIP. In addition to the necessary description of what happened, I place the actions of individuals and organizations within the context of the social impacts of the wider internationalist movement and the increasingly transnational professional networks of librarians.

Following Arthur Marwick's "standards and principals" of doing social and cultural history in a reliable manner, I aim to contribute to historical knowledge by using

primary source materials as an evidence base yet utilize secondary sources to identify gaps in knowledge and provide corroboration (Marwick, 2001).

Black's manifesto calling for "new methodologies in library history" maps a trajectory for a methodological approach that uses both a theoretical perspective and critical lens to bind library history to wider social context and overlapping historiographies. As described in preceding sections, my approach to historical research utilizes the historiographical practices of transnational history and library history. Transnational history developed in the early 1990s at the time of Black's call for a new library history. Both movements aim to expand historical methods to provide approaches to history that move beyond narrow frameworks that obscure broader and inter-acting social movements. Transnational history attempts to develop a unit of analysis that was not focused on nations and regions (Iriye, 2013). This approach seeks to work outside of the geopolitical framing that often analyzes history within post-war, pre-war, and interwar units of analysis (Iriye, 2013). Influenced by and drawing upon Iriye's study of international non-governmental organizations through works such as *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (1997) and *Global Community: The role of international organization in making the contemporary world* (2002), my research explores the internationalization of librarianship as a global profession and the related use of libraries as a means to promote internationalism through a historiography that attempts to situate this history transnationally rather than strictly through a local, national, or geopolitical lens. Through this approach, I hope to provide a better understanding of the role of libraries and librarianship in shaping views of internationalism and the contributions of internationalist activities to the development of professional networks,

multinational organizational structures, and global public discourse, which transcend and breach national boundaries and purely geopolitical frames. In this manner, I take a transnational or global approach to library history by situating the informational role of librarians, libraries, and books within the broader global developments of internationalist organizations as they rapidly developed during the early and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

By taking a transnational approach to library history during, I situate library history within the broader social and cultural developments of this period. Following the call for a new library history, I adopt the theoretical stances established within transnational history to better illuminate and contextualize the role of libraries and transnational library networks in the new internationalism of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Black 1995).

As noted in the introduction, I consulted a large number of secondary sources relevant to my proposed topic of study. Through numerous years of research on this topic, analysis of primary source materials, and after consulting multiple finding aids, I identified the ALA Archives and the CEIP archives as primary archival sites. These archives are central to my research because their collections provide essential correspondence, meeting notes, and unpublished reports related to the internationalist projects that are the focus of this dissertation. Although many of these sources have been consulted in the past and have been used by other scholars, I re-examined these sources to illuminate the manner in which the persons, organizations (specifically the CEIP), and activities intersect transnationally with broader internationalist movements and trends; the ways in which activities and perceptions evolved over time; and the broader networks

that tied together the International Mind Alcove program, Paris Library School, and the rebuilding of the University Library of Louvain.

The most formidable collection of primary source materials on the CEIP and its work with libraries was from the CEIP itself. Each CEIP annual report in which the International Mind Alcove program was active featured an evaluation of the program, lists of books disseminated, and statements of the program's impact from libraries that adopted the collections. These evaluations featured quotes from libraries and patrons on the use of materials, their popularity, and their impact on adults and children. Although these reports are highly biased toward the CEIP, they provided useful information on the scope of the program and way it was promoted by both the endowment and its benefactors.

The Rare Books and Manuscripts Collections in the Butler Memorial Library (Columbia University) are the most important source for primary source material associated with the CEIP. The Butler Memorial Library maintains the CEIP's archival record and contains important documents on activities with foreign libraries, universities, and correspondence between CEIP leadership and staff. These materials document important initiatives such as the International Mind Alcove Program, University of Louvain Library, and Paris Library School. These materials were essential for research that focused on the practices, motivation, and operations of the CEIP and libraries as these programs operated.

Located at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the American Library Association Archives represented a significant source of materials on the international

programs administered by the ALA and funded by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Records in the ALA Archives include the papers of ALA Executive Director Carl Milam, records of important bodies such as the Roundtable for International Relations, and the records of the Paris Library School program, which was administered by the ALA. Issues of publications such as *ALA Bulletin* and professional literature from this period are readily available at the University of Illinois Library in print and electronic formats.

To augment these archival resources, I consulted reports and publications from within the professional literature of the early twentieth century that described and promoted the international library programs and collaborations. In addition, various reports of state and local participation in international programs were described in regional publications that include states such as *Missouri, Illinois, and New York* (Brooklyn Public Library, 1918; Illinois Libraries, 1944; Missouri Library Commission, 1921). In contrast to articles in the national professional literature, these articles described in detail the activities and goals of bringing the world to localized and often culturally isolated communities.

Newspapers also provided an important source of materials. There are numerous articles in national papers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* that either profile or note CEIP programs to disseminate information and educate people about international issues during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Further, the speeches, travels, and activities of prominent CEIP leaders such as Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler are well covered by the national and international press. These articles provided key

perspectives on how libraries, books and the projects of the CEIP were covered in the press and how these activities were received by the public at large.

## ORGANIZATION

Focusing on the role of information professions and INGOs in the creation and dissemination of information to support the internationalist movement, this dissertation relies upon three historical cases that each involved funding and support from the CEIP and represented different types of transnational engagement towards internationalist ends.

Chapter 3, *Promoting the International Mind*, concentrates broadly on the idea of the international mind and social science theories employed to change public opinion toward “international mindedness” as a means to secure global peace. Specifically, this chapter looks at the work of the CEIP and specifically the endowment’s Division of Intercourse and Education, which spearheaded activities aimed at changing world public opinion through the dissemination of books, creation of cultural exchange programs, and the development of international studies as an academic discipline. Led by Nicholas Murray Butler, this Division provided significant funding to libraries and librarians toward the programs which are the focus on this dissertation. This chapter explores the importance of these CEIP programs and the manner by which the organization engaged both documentationists and librarians to further its mission to establish the “international mind” as a global social psychology experiment aimed at influencing public opinion,

changing the nature of international relations, and creating the preconditions for international peace and new systems of global governance.

Chapter 4 describes the International Mind Alcove programs of the CEIP to provide a lens through which to view the role of information dissemination and propaganda activities as they were implemented domestically and abroad to achieve the CEIP's global aims. Overall, the chapter engages with the often complicated and controversial relationship between the CEIP, the state, the media, libraries, and society. By concentrating on the International Mind program from its beginnings to its end in 1951, this chapter examines key questions within library history to provide a better understanding of the role of non-governmental organizations, libraries, and the media within an early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalization movement that aimed to transform the power of the state through new systems of global governance backed by an internationally minded civic consciousness.

Chapter 5 tells the saga of the Louvain University Library and provides a case study on the contested symbolism of the library building that resides far from the utilitarian and grandiose notions of the library as center for research or heart of a community. In this instance, the Library served as a symbol of the destruction of cultural heritage, civilization's conquest over barbarism, and the potential for moving beyond a state warfare system. Viewing this episode through the CEIP's attempts to foster reconciliation in Europe, however, exposes the difficulties faced by internationalists working in a transnational context to overcome the power of nationalism as an animating force among states and citizens. The chapter examines the role and motivation of the

CEIP as it pursued this and other library focused re-construction programs during the interwar era.

Looking at the development of international librarianship, Chapter 6 uses the Paris Library School as a case study to explore the impact of new forms of internationalism on the development of the profession globally. Administered by the American Library Association from 1923 to 1928, the Paris Library School offers a unique view of the evolving international network of library and information professionals. Through this historical case study, international librarianship is viewed in the context of globalization theories that explain the advent of international nongovernmental organizations, growth of global networks, and impact of transnational cultural flows. This analysis places international librarianship in the context of the wider social and technological developments that contributed to the economic and cultural phenomena characterized as globalization and provides a new theoretical basis for examining the growth, impact, and flow of international library development.

Chapter 7, the conclusion, summarizes primary and secondary source evidence and shows how the library profession and the CEIP contributed to the wider internationalist movement. I revisit my research questions and assess the extent to which I am able to answer them. I explore possible reasons for gaps within my answers. The conclusion also discusses implications of my findings and thoughts for future research.

## CHAPTER 3: PROMOTING THE INTERNATIONAL MIND

“Internationalism must become conscious” – Henry La Fontaine, 1911

### INTRODUCTION

Throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the term International Mind was used extensively to refer to the manner of thinking or mindset shared amongst members of the internationalist community. In 1926, Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett, Secretary of the League of Nations Associations, addressed the Geneva Institute of International Relations in a talk titled, *The Psychology of Patriotism and the Aims of the League of Nations Associations*. Garnett informed the group of scholars, administrators, and politicians that “the aim of League of Nations Associations is . . . to create the international mind. . . . one-fifth of the effort of the League of Nations Associations is concerned with the organization of public opinion, and all the rest is concerned with the enlightenment . . . of the public mind-the creation of the international mind and the creation of the right kind of public opinion” (1927, p. 326). By the late 1920’s, the “international mind” had become a common trope and normative description for the manner by which internationalists thought and reacted to cultural, racial, and linguistic differences within society and the world. It had become symbolic of a perspective that could bind the world together and unify an interconnected humanity with the same zeal that animated patriotism and nationalism. Within the League of Nations, cultivating the international mind had become

an aspirational force that required the strategic organization and engagement of international organizations following the rationale posed by Henri La Fontaine to the Carnegie Endowment in 1911 (Wobse, 2006).

Prior to the outbreak of the First World War, peace activists and internationalists established the framework of the international mind and its relationship to international public opinion. Credited with coining the term, Butler<sup>5</sup> defined the International Mind in a 1912 opening address to the Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration as

nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, with regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization . . . in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world. (p. 102)

To gain an “international mind,” Butler informed the conference, one must first “learn to measure other peoples and other civilizations than ours from their own point of view and by their own standards” and to hasten the time when “races and nationalities are able to cease preying upon and oppressing one another, and to live together as fellow-sharers in a world’s civilization” (p. 103-04). Butler used his position within the CEIP to promote the power of international mindedness to encourage nations to resolve disputes peacefully

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<sup>5</sup> Despite the utopian rhetoric of the International Mind, Nicholas Murray Butler was a controversial and ubiquitous figure in US and International academic, political, and cultural life during the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. As the President of Columbia University, Butler was both lauded and criticized for his heavy handed leadership. It is important to note that Butler shared much of the antisemitism that flourished in the US during the time, marring his legacy as a leader of Columbia University (Rosenthal, 2006, p. 333). In addition, Butler maintained a close relationship with Benito Mussolini and was initially enthusiastic about the manner by which Fascism transformed Italy politically and economically. It was not until Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1936 that Butler’s fondness for Mussolini ended. Butler never harbored any fondness for Hitler and German Fascism (Rosenthal, 2006). At the same time, Butler shared the 1931 Nobel Prize for Peace with Jane Addams. Like other facets of the internationalist movement, Butler’s actions, disposition, and achievements create troubling and conflicting views when assessed by contemporary standards of social justice, human rights, and racial equity.

and resolve unnecessary wars. The overall aim of this work was to replace nationalism with internationalism by nurturing cosmopolitan perspectives that transcended political boundaries while informing the actions of countries through the enlightened will of the people (Kuehl & Dunn, 1997; Mazower, 2012; Sluga, 2013; Weber, 2015).

## THE INTERNATIONAL MIND CAMPAIGN

In 1913, the staff of the CEIP worked to disseminate Butler's 114 page compilation of Lake Mohonk Conference speeches, *The International Mind: an argument for the judicial settlement of international disputes*. The CEIP dedicated funds and significant labor to distribute the volume to a "selected list of libraries and individuals" and to translate the book to French for distribution in Europe (CEIP, 1914). By mid-year, the second set of over 1,000 volumes shipped to complete the initial North American distribution to professors of international law, cabinet members, congressional delegates, governors, and all members of the American Political Science Association, American Economic Association, and American Society of International Law (Mailing list for 2200 copies of *The International Mind*, 1913). In the early fall, the Pan American Union provided translational assistance as well as the names of Ministers and academics within the twenty-one American Republics represented within the Union for distribution throughout Latin America (Hale, 1913). The global campaign to promote peace through the *International Mind* was in full gear despite or perhaps because of the threat of war in Europe. Aimed at influencing a political and intellectual elite, the mass dissemination of

this book exemplified attempts to influence and network academics and representatives of the public through intellectual exchange and distribution of knowledge of internationalism (Laqua, 2011; Rietzler, 2011).

The dissemination of Butler's *International Mind* caused a mixture of reactions to both the content of the book and the CEIP. The State of Illinois' Congressman H. Robert Fowler opted to return the book, informing the Endowment that he "cannot accept anything coming from an Organization established by Mr. Carnegie" (Fowler, 1913). In the same week, the University of Illinois' political science professor, James Wilford Garner, sent a two-page, hand-written, thank you letter expounding on the merits of the work and its "substantive contribution to the literature of the peace movement" (Garner, 1913).

Other scholars soon adopted the concept of the "international mind" to describe both the cosmopolitan perspectives advocated by Butler while also linking this internationalist perspective to the social, technological, and economic conditions brought on by of early 20<sup>th</sup> century globalization. J. A. Hobson's 1914 book, *Towards International Government*, suggested an inevitable evolution toward international mindedness that was driven by the "web of international relations, economic, social, scientific, philanthropic, which everywhere testifies to a liberal-mindedness and a community of interests and purposes transcending the limits of country and nation" (p. 191). Hobson, like others who advocated for internationalism, saw the system of commerce and information dissemination as working to create a new governance structure that required new means of making sense of the world and its diverse populations. Hobson posited that the integration of "the railroad, shipping, postal,

telegraphic, financial, journalistic apparatus, by which these communications are carried on, constitutes an immense structure of social-economic government” that brought together the races, languages, and cultures in a novel and interconnected manner that required new approaches to governance (1914, p. 192).

As pointed out by critics of US foundations abroad and noted in Chapter 1, the “international mind” clearly reflected American or Western notions of civilization, culture, and the role of enlightenment thinking in bringing about common perspectives and outcomes regarding international relations (Curti, 1963; Rietzler, 2011; Weber, 2015). Internationalism and the international mind thus also included an element of a civilizational mission from the Western nations when exported and a pacifying mission when implemented within the borders of the Western world (Weber, 2015). The Endowment aimed the campaign for the international mind at both the American public and people around the world, and promoted this vision of internationalism in a manner that followed transnational patterns. Although very much focused on the potential of the United States as a world leader, the CEIP worked to establish a universal and normative vision for international mindedness through international exchange, dissemination of particular types of knowledge, and building institutions that would help create a global community of civilized society with shared interests. Butler dedicated his collection of essays on the *International Mind* to:

that large and growing company of men and women who, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the two Americas, are working to hasten the coming of the day when justice shall take the place of force in the settlement of difference between nations. (1913, p. i)

The goal was to change the nature and behavior of people in all nations, which would also benefit a United States that at the time was politically inclined toward isolationism and non-engagement in foreign entanglements. The campaign was equally normative, attempting to transform Western society to one that embraced cosmopolitan views while simultaneously directing the “civilizational” forces of Western political and economic thought toward internationalism in the non-Western world. The dissemination of books and peace propaganda was central to both facets of this campaign.

#### THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MIND

From the beginning, the International Mind campaign operated on the belief that exposure to information would lead to changes in perceptions and result in changes in behavior. For example, in 1916, the Division of Intercourse and Education supported and distributed a mathematics book that was developed by Dr. David Eugene Smith, of Columbia’s Teachers College titled *Problems about War for Classes in Arithmetic* (Smith, 1915). This book attempted to provide information on the irrationality of war from political, economic, and human perspectives through the use of mathematical problems. The strategy for promoting the international mind functioned within the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century framework of a social evolution guided by positivist progression to improve society through the use of social sciences. Philanthropic organizations such as the CEIP adopted the view that the social sciences and the knowledge derived from social research needed to produce facts that were useful. In the case of the international mind, these facts were central to the promotion of international

expertise and the corresponding aim to change the manner by which people make sense of the world (Laqua, 2011; Rietzler, 2011). As noted by Marilyn Fischer, many of the underlying concepts for the International Mind corresponded with George Mead's psychological theories of social construction of the self as applied to the internationalization and civilization of nation-states (Fischer, 2008). Mead argued in his article the "Psychological Basis for Internationalism" that militarism and nationalism are "largely a psychological problem, for it has to do with the change of attitude, the willingness to accept the whole international fabric of society" (Mead, 1914, p. 605). It is this notion of both the social psychology of the state and the ability to affect cognitive changes in thinking and attitudes on a global scale that informed the campaign to develop International Minds that would serve as the foundation for an international system of governance that could end the warfare system and promote economic development.

It is no surprise that the threat of war and scale of carnage seen in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century inspired social scientists to focus on the social psychology of nationalism and ways to overcome its negative consequences through changes in public opinion. Works such as *Public Opinion in War and Peace* by Albert Lowell, President of Harvard University, took on the topic directly and attempted to rationalize and understand how people come to conclusions that yield opinions (1923). Pillsbury's *Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism*, which was published almost immediately after the end of World War One, also tried to provide solutions to perceived incompatibility between national perspectives and internationalism. Like Butler and Mead, Pillsbury rationalized that the combined forces of information technologies and literacy will work towards creating a global consciousness that will limit if not eliminate the problems of

nationalism. Noting the ability of modern communications to shrink the world, Pillsbury, echoing Hobson, observed that:

For the purpose of obtaining news and the diffusion of ideas all parts of the world are mechanically one through the agency of the press and the telegraph. The general spread of literacy has increased the possibility of a common understanding, and furthered the development of common ideals and the resulting common control. (1919, p. 293)

Pillsbury was evoking what Iriye described as the growing sense of a “global community in which all nations and people shared certain interests and commitments” (2002, p. 18). Amidst the movement to develop solutions to nationalism and the problem of war, the nexus of new information communication tools, increased literacy globally, and the availability of capital through American philanthropies created the environment through which librarians and the professional technology of the library found a natural partner within the internationalist movement. The campaign for the international mind needed a broad educational campaign that included the mass dissemination of books aimed at sensitizing the world’s population to accept the plurality presented through the exposure to foreign cultures and realization of shared obligations among humans regardless of their national origin or race. Like other social initiatives that ranged from the support of war efforts, mass literacy, and to the integration of immigrants to society, libraries and the book became important vehicles and symbols for the movement.

## LIBRARIANS, DOCUMENTALISTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MIND CAMPAIGN

The work of Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine are often noted as an important if not the primary vehicle of internationalism within the information professions during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Rieussett-Lemarie, 1997). Otlet and La Fontaine's work to establish Documentation as a professional practice and their collaboration with librarians to standardize bibliographical practices internationally are often viewed as early and important points of collaboration and competition between documentationists and librarians (Rayward 1981). Their work and collaboration with the library community, however, isn't often extended to the utopian internationalist vision and advocacy toward influencing public opinion globally that is often emphasized among the historical contributions of Otlet and La Fontaine (Rayward 1981; 2003). The work of librarians and role of the library as an institution is not often linked to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalist movement. From its beginnings, however, the modern library profession and its emphasis of public access to information developed within an international context and often in support of the internationalist movement.

Prior to World War One and often coinciding with other international events such as World's Fairs, members of the emerging library and documentation professions organized multiple international meetings and conferences, beginning in 1853 and growing in attendance and national representation until World War One (Rudomino, 1977). As reported by Margarita Rudomino, founding Director of the State Library for Foreign Literature in Moscow, these meetings focused initially on questions of collection

building, the exchange of materials, and classification. By the 1897 meeting, librarians discussed the social role of libraries and impact of reading. Melville Dewey's essay, "The relation of the state to the public library" asserted the role of public library collections in combating the negative influence of sensationalist media that "poisoned the minds of their readers" (Dewey, 1898). In 1904 the ALA organized a session within the World's Fair in Saint Louis<sup>6</sup> and hosted a corresponding conference in Washington DC. This conference, which featured delegates from Europe, East and Central Asia, North and South America, featured discussions of the idea of the public library as a "vehicle for human progress" as well as the value of international exchange and cooperation among libraries (Rudamino, 1977, p. 3). The early meetings also engaged broader social ideas that surrounded the internationalist movement. As John Winter Jones, the curator of the Library of the British Museum asserted in the opening address of the 1877 congress, "we live in the age when the advantages of interchange of thoughts, ideas, and experiences are fully appreciated, and the benefits to be derived from unity of action in the affairs of life are recognized" (Rudamino, 1977, p. 67). These meetings gave rise to international connections binding the library profession as it developed. As noted by Black, these conferences and the travels of British librarians to the United States embedded within the newly formed British Library Association an international spirit (2016). As the Library Association was established in 1887, it was infused with the "desire for global cooperation . . . , the cross-fertilization of ideas and the building of strong links between

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<sup>6</sup> Henri La Fontaine who was closely engaged in the internationalist and documentation movements also attended the Saint Louis World's fair where he was a delegate at the Universal Congress of Lawyers and Jurists and presented on international law (Carnegie Endowment Archives; Porter, 1905).

the British and American library worlds (Black, 2016, p. 147). As modern librarianship developed around the world, this sense of interconnectedness within the profession persisted.

Although not formalized through an international body, these casual though professional relationships formed the beginnings of a more formative and organized transnational professional network. The exchanges certainly fell within Iriye's depiction of cultural internationalism. At the same time, many members of these early information professions sought to expand the impact of their international work beyond professional boundaries to advocate for more overt internationalist activities that aspired to use the tools of their work to further the cause for peace and to develop an international system of governance.

In Europe, the leaders of what would become the documentationist movement in Belgium, Henri La Fontaine and Paul Otlet, were similarly motivated by the idea of organizing the world's knowledge in ways that would promote internationalism and peace (Rayward, 2003). In March of 1911, when La Fontaine sought funding for the Central Office for International Institutions, which he founded in 1907, he contacted the CEIP, requesting roughly \$75,000 USD<sup>7</sup>. Using his status as a Senator in Belgium, La Fontaine shared a proposal and short essay titled *Salus Mundi Suprema Lex* (the welfare of the world is supreme law) (1911). In the essay and proposal, La Fontaine outlined the problems of the anarchical international system and proposed a means to change the tides toward peace through what he described as the use of "facts" and "institutions". La

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<sup>7</sup> In 2017, this would equate to \$1,875,000 in purchasing power source: Historicalstatistics.org.

Fontaine asserted that “we must oppose facts which are in contradiction with [peace], but especially create institutions which will be the denial of the pretended anarchy existing between the peoples” (1911, p. 1). The “facts” that La Fontaine sought to share were:

Those which tend to bring men in contact and induce them to enter in relation the ones with the others, notwithstanding the difference of their languages, opinions and races. The facts are the improvements realized by the conscious and unconscious contributions of men of sciences and technics (sic) pertaining to the most various peoples. (p.1)

For organization, La Fontaine strove to create a system by which the “scattered” small groups of specialized organizations could “become conscious of the immanent force which is at their disposal. This force we call internationalism: it is the strongest cause of peace” (p. 2). Aside from asserting the power of non-state actors in the State-controlled domain of international affairs, La Fontaine’s focus on information’s ability to change both unconscious and conscious thought toward internationalism echoes the “international mind” and posits the use of cultural information (or facts) as a mechanism for changing the way people think about war and the role of governance in creating peace.

La Fontaine’s request for funds from the Endowment included full support for a series of organizations and activities for “coordination, cooperation, collaboration on an international plan” that included building a transnational network of associations and scholarly societies, compiling and disseminating bibliographies and encyclopedia to help form a “real world’s spirit” (La Fontaine, 1911, p. 5). In October of 1911, the Endowment provided a \$24,000 annual grant to support La Fontaine’s work as the President of the International Permanent Bureau of Peace in Berne, Switzerland,

establishing the bureau as “the central agency of the Endowment for work of propaganda in Europe” and making the CEIP the principal funder of this international body (Butler, 1911a; CEIP Annual Report, 1912)<sup>8</sup>. The CEIP additionally provided a \$15,000 annual grant for La Fontaine’s L’Office Central des Associations Internationales. In December of 1911, Butler informed La Fontaine that the funds were provided to “develop the spirit of internationalism; . . . to send delegates to special international congresses in order to emphasize the international influence; [and] . . . to develop international documentation (Butler, 1911b). Although the relationship between La Fontaine, a socialist, and Nicholas Murray Butler, a conservative Republican, was not always amicable and resulted in struggles, they shared an internationally minded vision of peace and a conviction that cultural and international exchange of knowledge would change people’s consciousness (La Fontaine, 1913; Rosenthal, 2006).

## AMERICAN LIBRARIANS AND THE INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT

American librarians were also active in promoting their participation in the peace movement and like La Fontaine saw the opportunity to engage the CEIP. By the time Carnegie founded the CEIP, many urban public libraries were active in promoting peace studies and literature through their collections. In 1908, the Brooklyn Public library published a 57 page list of books on peace and internationalism and libraries in Denver,

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<sup>8</sup> La Fontaine was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1913 for his work with the Bureau of Peace.

Boston, and Buffalo had followed suit (Bowerman, 1915). In 1911, the same year that La Fontaine requested Endowment funds, George F. Bowerman, Director of the Public Library of the District of Columbia (a Carnegie library founded in 1903), wrote a series of letters to the CEIP in March, May, and October, proposing the use of public, college, and school libraries to further international peace (Scott, 1911). As an 1895 graduate of the New York State Library School in Albany, NY, Bowerman worked extensively within the wider library profession as it developed in America and had served as the President of the District of Columbia Library Association from 1906-07. Among American librarians of the day, Bowerman was known for championing social issues ranging from the peace movement to intellectual freedom. Although reviewed by Nicholas Murray Butler, Bowerman's efforts were not initially successful.

Others also wrote to encourage the CEIP to better use libraries as a vehicle for providing access to peace literature. Many of the letters came from librarians and educators, individuals that were already integrated into the peace advocacy network of organizations, publications, and professions that were the focus of the Endowments efforts. A letter from W. J. Rockwell, a teacher frustrated by the lack of peace related materials in the San Francisco Public Library, asked the CEIP: "Do you not think it a good plan to supply regularly every public library in our country with the "Advocate of Peace"<sup>9</sup>? . . . surely the public library is an excellent medium thru which to give publicity [to furthering the cause for peace]" (Rockwell, 1913). In 1914, Willard Small, Principal

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<sup>9</sup> Currently published as *World Affairs*, the *Advocate of Peace* began publication in 1834. The CEIP provided the American Peace Society, the publisher, with \$31,000 of the organization's \$41,000 budget in 1914 (CEIP Annual Report, 1915).

of Eastern High School in Washington, D. C. suggested that the CEIP send every high school library in the country the Endowment's annual year book plus titles such as Elliot's *Some Roads Towards Peace* and Norman Angell's [sic] *Great Illusion*" (Small, 1914). The titles Small referred to were already supported by the CEIP and being distributed widely. According to Angell's annual report to the Endowment, 23,000 French translations of *Great Illusion*, which argued that European economic integration was making militarism obsolete, had already been sold; 10,000 Spanish versions had been distributed to newspapers and libraries in Spain and Spanish America; and an Italian translation of other works by Angell were underway (CEIP, 1916). These letters suggest the support for the use of public libraries as vehicles for the international mind campaign that came from members of library and education communities.

Given its extensive network of activities and associations, it is no surprise that the CEIP engaged librarians and libraries early on in its work. In 1912, Butler spoke at a meeting of the New York Library Club on the topic of "The Relations of Libraries to the Peace Movement" (Quieted Germany, 1912, p. 9). Butler spoke about ways in which the CEIP was working to change public opinion and promote peace, and he described in detail the CEIP's efforts to translate and disseminate what he characterized as an affectionate address about the Germans by Lord Haldane, the British Minister of War, to over 300,000 "carefully selected addresses in all parts of the German Empire" (p. 6). According to an earlier report by the *New York Times*, the pamphlets were sent throughout Germany and Austria to military, academic, and political leaders; labor and social organizations; businesses; the clergy; and news outlets. The distribution list also included what was reported to be 10,355 libraries broken down as 225 reading rooms,

1,980 public libraries, 6,600 school libraries, 340 municipal libraries, 570 people's libraries, 640 military libraries (Peace Pamphlets Flooding Germany, 1912)<sup>10</sup>. As reported by the CEIP, the project was initiated by Butler and carried out by the Association for International Conciliation for \$4,000. Translation was done by teaching "staff of the University of Berlin, and an addressing bureau in Leipzig undertook the task of addressing and posting the edition" (CEIP, 1912, p. 60). The mass dissemination of pamphlets throughout the German Empire displayed the CEIP's ability to marshal information and coordinate a vast transnational network of actors involved in what would have been an organizational task impossible for the CEIP to take on alone.

Butler's speech at the New York Library Club's meeting carried the overarching point that the CEIP made an impact on the peace movement by helping to quiet Germany, had the resources and networking capacity to disseminate information to organizations and individuals around the world, and sought to use libraries as a vehicle to reach publics in various nations. In addition to Butler's talk, Paul Brockett, of the Smithsonian Institution Library "told of some ways in which librarians and teachers might co-operate to encourage the spread and accessibility of peace literature" (p. 9). The group also discussed the work of University of Chicago librarian and German Professor Adolf Carl Von Noé. Titled, "The International Institutes in Berlin for the Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Medicine, Jurisprudence, and Technology," Von Noé's paper encouraged librarians in the United States to join an ambitious German effort at creating an international multilingual bibliography for social sciences and news reports that is

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<sup>10</sup> The CEIP's Annual Report for 1911 reports numbers slightly different from those in the New York Times, listing 4,400 public libraries (CEIP, 1912).

compared to Otlet's Institut International de Bibliographies in Brussels (Von Noé, 1911). At the end of the meeting the Secretary of the New York Peace Society proclaimed that "the libraries were the hope of peace sentiment and that it was necessary not only for librarians to be informed . . . but to have the necessary literature and have it be . . . accessible to all" (p. 9). The themes of this meeting saw the needs of the CEIP's International Mind campaign overlap with the international library and bibliography community as they grappled with their international role of developing information resources to make the world's knowledge accessible across nations and promoting internationalism through libraries by providing access to resources on peace.

The distribution of Lord Haldane's speech was consistent with the CEIP's multifaceted approach to using transnational networks, information organization, and dissemination systems such as libraries as a means to send international mind propaganda to a broadly conceived worldwide public. In the months before the outbreak of World War One, the CEIP's information campaigns continued to emphasize dissemination of publications and the use of libraries. In early 1914, the CEIP provided funding to the Church Peace Union to establish a library in New York "to bring together a comprehensive and valuable collection . . . on the subject of peace, emphasizing especially those books which approach the problem from the point of view of religion and ethics". Concurrently, a similar library was established for the Church Peace League in Germany as announced by the *New York Tribune* under the headline, "Books to Play Part in Ousting War" (1924). Despite continued efforts to intervene between Germany and England, the CEIP and pre-war international mind campaign quickly ran out of time.

By August of 1914, Germany had violated its treaty with Belgium, Britain had declared war on Germany, and the United States had asserted its neutrality in the war. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, Paul Otlet wrote an impassioned letter to the CEIP with an all caps title: TO OUR FRIENDS ABROAD. Otlet described the situation at the Union des Associations International Office Central as that of a military encampment surrounded by the war. Otlet informed the CEIP that the:

behavior of Germans against poor little Belgium is a fadt [sic] of mad barbary [sic] for us. But we remain to live in hope of better times and will not remove a bit from our humanitarian ideals. The facts clearly demonstrate the unity of the World. (Otlet, 1914)

In November, Otlet wrote again, sending a letter via an engineer who sailed to New York. Otlet appealed for the CEIP's help in disseminating a "treaty on the end of the war" to help put an end to the conflict. The CEIP informed Otlet that it was unable to provide further financial assistance until the end of the war (Haskell, 1914). The war had limited the CEIP's ability to function and severed significant aspects of the transnational network upon which Otlet and the Associations International had relied. The CEIP's Division of Intercourse and Education suspended all activities in Europe and Asia pending the war's outcome and focused its attention on the Americas (Minutes, 1916).

Amidst the outbreak of war in Europe, librarians in the US engaged in debates on how and whether to engage the war through their collections and services. Librarians such as Bowerman continued to advocate for library involvement for advocating peace. In 1915, he addressed his colleagues at the American Library Association annual conference, arguing that libraries should avoid becoming agents of war propaganda and should rather engage in more activities to work toward collections and educational

activities that promote international understanding as a means to foster world peace (1915). Bowerman expressed concern that librarians in Europe were fighting their “professional colleagues of other nations” (p. 129) and argued that libraries needed to maintain collections on all topics, yet should be obliged to promote collections that could help bring about peace because libraries are institutions dedicated to the:

spread of democracy and the promotion of enlightenment, as an institution with books in many languages, containing information about all peoples of the world, and as an institution with many international friendships with librarians and other scholars throughout the world. (p. 131)

Bowerman’s description of an internationally integrated library profession, mirrored the characteristics of the new internationalism and the international mind.

The ALA’s solidarity with Russian colleagues in 1917 exemplified the organization and profession’s early embrace of an internationalization that served as a democratizing and peaceful force. Like La Fontaine’s vision for an internationalism made conscious through information sharing via the networking of associations and organizations, American librarians embraced the role of information access through public libraries as a means to promote a vision for an international community. In June of 1917, the American Library Association adopted a unanimous rising resolution to greet the new Russian Republic through a message to their Russian colleagues that lauded the newly formed library school in Moscow and hailed new library projects such as a Trans-Siberian railway library that would show the “local people what a library is and may be” (American Library Association, 1917, p. 329). Activities in Russia were hailed as “the greatest opportunity for library development that presents itself in the world today” (p. 329). The ALA welcomed what it referred to as notable achievements in library

development spawned by a democratic spirit in Russia that brought conditions of freedom that would “make the development of public libraries an important factor in the education of the people” (p. 329). The American Library Association clearly viewed itself and the profession as a whole within a transnational framework marked by the elements of new internationalism and allied with the movement toward the international mind. Through this, the ALA viewed libraries and the work of librarians as vehicles for internationalist progress around the world. This progress is linked to the idea that broad public access to knowledge and books would instill democratizing forces and aid nations and their peoples in joining the international community of civilized nations envisioned by the internationalist movement.

As Wayne Wiegand observed, however, it was also during this time that American public libraries became “conduits for the propaganda wars waged by Germany and Great Britain” (1989, p. 193). Wiegand noted the involvement of the CEIP in pre-war propaganda, linking Butler’s Division of Intercourse and Education to gifts to libraries that supported British led efforts in the “battle for the American mind” (p. 193). One of these books included the *Collected Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War*, which was published in London in 1915. The dissemination of such books coincided with the mass distribution of other materials by the CEIP and was clearly a part of the struggle to influence American perspectives on international matters. Wiegand’s work provides an excellent example of the important social role of libraries and their use as vehicles for engaging questions of public opinion as they related to nationalism and internationalism: questions that were taking place in the US and around the world.

The CEIP continued to partner and support libraries with the aim of building collections that support international understanding. In 1916, the Education Division negotiated with the government of Argentina to acquire a collection of books for the New York Public Library that were on display in San Francisco. The CEIP hoped that they could then arrange to send a similar American library collection of books on history, literature, science, and arts for the Museo Social in Buenos Aires (CEIP, 1916, p. 48). In addition to Argentina, the Endowment proceeded to work with the Inter-American Division to establish collections of 50 to 3,000 North American books at selected institutions in Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay (CEIP, 1918). The selection and deposit of books within library across the US and around the world had become a standard means for promoting the international mind. The CEIP also took an interest in training librarians from outside of the US during the pre-war period. In 1915, the board approved funding for a librarian from Chile to study at the Library School of the New York Public Library (CEIP, 1916).

## CONCLUSION

Through all of these efforts by the CEIP to promote the international mind and create within the public an understanding of international affairs and the world's interconnected economic and political condition, the role of communication, exchange, and dissemination of information was clearly paramount. The positivist social science that suggested public opinion could be molded through educational and informational intervention provided the motivation for the CEIP and members of professions such as

librarians to partner to bring about the conditions under which popular will could inscribe peace through the international mind. By 1918, the CEIP had already fully articulated its international mind campaign and was working closely with library and documentation communities to organize, disseminate, and make available the world's knowledge as a means to both educate people on international affairs and exemplify the interconnectedness of scientific thought and the production of knowledge that underpinned the emergent global society. Although slowed by the First World War, the CEIP and the members of the internationalist community with which it partnered maintained their faith in the mechanisms for propaganda and education that would bring about a democratically governed global society guided by a public that thought internationally. As the world emerged from the war, the CEIP was poised to continue the international mind campaign and worked closely with librarians to build collections, libraries, and a profession that could support this vision and symbolize the globalized interconnections perceived by leaders of the internationalist movement. After the war, these activities and sentiments regarding knowledge and internationalism persisted within the library community.

## CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL MIND ALCOVES (1917 – 1954)<sup>11</sup>

“Public libraries and reading rooms, International Mind Alcoves and International Relations Clubs are to be strengthened or brought into being not in one land, but in many lands, that the public mind, which in the modern democracies is in the last resort the source of authority, may be opened and broadened and deepened and instructed in all that relates to international understanding and international cooperation” - Nicholas Murray Butler, 1927

### INTRODUCTION

In 1924, W. Dawson Johnson, librarian of the American Library in Paris, addressed the British Library Association’s Glasgow meeting. Johnson came to Paris after working as a librarian at Columbia University and Director of the St. Paul, Minnesota Public Library. Like many librarians working on CEIP projects, Columbia and Butler provided a link (Butler, 1921). When Johnson moved to Paris with his family in 1921, Nicholas Murray Butler wrote a letter of introduction to Baron d’Estournelles de Constant, the Director of the CEIP’s European Bureau in hopes that the CEIP and American Library could collaborate (Butler, 1921). As a part of what would become a close collaboration, the CEIP funded Johnson’s travel to Glasgow so that he could give a speech. In the talk, Johnson informed his colleagues that “every problem is an educational one, and that every educational problem is an international one” (1925, p.1). His speech proceeded to describe the role of libraries in informing readers of

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<sup>11</sup> Material in this chapter was published previously by the author and is included in this chapter with permission from the rights holder. Witt, S. (2014). International Mind Alcoves: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Libraries, and the Struggle for Global Public Opinion, 1917–54. *Library & Information History*, 30(4), 273–290.

international affairs and international relations, relating in detail the “International Mind Alcoves” promoted by the CEIP as a means to develop international understanding. Immediately after World War One, the internationalist sentiment shared by many librarians spread further around the world with the expansion of the profession. It is during the interwar era that IFLA was established. The evolution of IFLA in 1927 was influenced directly by the Paris Library School and the work of the CEIP. As explained by Rayward, organizations such as IFLA, Paul Otlet’s International Federation for Information and Documentation (FID) in Brussels, and La Fontaine’s Union of International Associations were key centers of international library and information activities that contributed to the evolution of this global network (Rayward, 1981). In both the foreground and background of these internationalist library activities, were large philanthropic foundations (Weber, 2015). These organizations funded the building of libraries destroyed in the war, supported collection building, and trained librarians in countries around the world. Among these foundations, the CEIP stands out for its uniquely extensive work with libraries and librarians at multiple levels and through a variety of programs as a means to impact public opinion globally. The CEIP integrated the development of what it referred to as the “international mind” with the organization and dissemination of knowledge through library collections, library buildings, and information networks aimed at reaching a broad and globally conceived public. For the CEIP, the International Mind Alcove became the center piece of these efforts.

The International Mind Alcove was one of the earliest and most persistent programs attempted by the CEIP to educate people around the world about internationalism and issues of global governance. These book collections were used to

promote learning about international relations and foreign cultures and influence people to realize their “duties, rights, and obligations” as humans within an international system (Butler, 1923, p. 344). Beginning in 1918 and ending in 1948, the International Mind Alcove program established 1,120 adult collections and 447 juvenile collections in mainly rural US public libraries, plus additional collections throughout Europe, Latin America, the Near East, and Asia.

The International Mind Alcove program provides a unique lens through which to view the role of American librarians in promoting internationalism. In addition, the history of the program shows the evolution of the CEIP’s information dissemination and propaganda activities as they were implemented domestically and abroad to achieve its global mission. Overall, the program’s history reveals an often complicated and controversial relationship between the CEIP, libraries, and society.<sup>12</sup> The State and organizations such as the CEIP vied to share power and influence domestic and

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<sup>12</sup> Several library historians analyze the international work of the CCNY and CEIP and contribute to the global perspectives of library and information history. These include Rochester’s documentation of the CCNY’s international library related activities that helped to establish the library profession and libraries throughout the British Commonwealth and in other nations (Rochester, M. K. ‘Bringing Librarianship to Rural Canada in the 1930s: Demonstrations by Carnegie Corporation of New York’. *Libraries & Culture*, 30/4 (1995), 366–390.

Rochester, M. K. ‘American Philanthropy Abroad: Library Program Support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York British Dominions and Colonies Fund in the 1920s and 1930s.’ *Libraries & Culture*, 31/2 (1996), 342–363.

Rochester, M. K. (1999). ‘The Carnegie Corporation and South Africa: Non-European Library Services’. *Libraries & Culture*, 34/1, (1999), 27–51). Hary’s history provides an excellent catalog of the CEIP’s international activities as they related to libraries and the CEIP’s motivation to utilize libraries as tools to develop information networks and curry favor with strategic organizations. Hary, N. ‘American Philanthropy in Europe: The Collaboration of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace with the Vatican Library’. *Libraries & Culture*, 31/2, (1996), 364–379. Hary, N. ‘The Vatican Library and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: The history, the impact, and the influence of their collaboration in 1927-1947.’ (Doctoral, Indiana University, 1991).

international policy while the United States navigated from interwar isolationism to World War Two and into Cold War cultural diplomacy.<sup>13</sup> By centering on the International Mind Alcove program, this chapter focuses on the CEIP's use of information and the library profession in the internationalization movement of the early twentieth century. The chapter offers insights into the wider global and transnational movements that were propagated by NGOs such as the CEIP, showing an early partnership between NGOs and libraries in information dissemination that aimed to create new transnational social structures and perspectives.

#### EARLY EVOLUTION, GROWTH, AND ADOPTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL MIND ALCOVE

The emergence of International Mind Alcoves coincided with US involvement in World War One and suggests a movement within some libraries that countered the service to the State described by Wiegand. In 1917, International Mind Alcoves were formally incorporated into the CEIP through a proposal attributed to J.W. Hamilton, a librarian and internationalist from St. Paul, Minnesota (Finch, 1925). Hamilton and Mary Chase, a leader in peace advocacy and the women's suffrage movement from Andover, New Hampshire, began seeking help to develop collections on foreign countries in small public libraries, echoing directly Bowerman's earlier advocacy to the CEIP and the ALA.

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<sup>13</sup> See Rossini (1995) for analysis and discussion of the various forms of US internationalism and isolationism during this period.

As reported by Chase, “the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace furthered the movement by promising to send books, free, to any part of the world, as long as the supply lasted” (Chase, 1919, p. 361). Early CEIP reports categorized the International Mind Alcove collections as rather informal library initiated programs. Their first mention is in the 1918 Annual Report, which stated:

some libraries have begun the establishment of what they designate as International Mind Alcoves where they bring together their collection of books dealing with international relations and international policies. In some cases, the Division has aided libraries in selecting books for such alcoves and has assisted in laying the foundation of such a collection” (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1918 p. 76).

In just a year, the CEIP helped to establish “about one hundred so-called international mind alcoves” (CEIP, 1919, p. 67). The program quickly expanded well beyond New Hampshire.

The CEIP sent Mind Alcove collections within the US to rural libraries and provided larger library systems with CEIP-produced Mind Alcove booklists to inform purchasing (Jones, 1933). The CEIP choose to award Mind Alcove collections in the United States only to state library commission libraries and to public libraries in cities with populations under 10,000. Within the US, the CEIP aimed to engage rural America directly. As described by Jones to the North Central Library Conference in St. Paul Minnesota in October of 1930, “each library is sent twelve books a year, part of them juvenile, not ordinary travel books but books at once truthfully and entertainingly describing the life of the people” (North Central Library Conference, 1930, p. 275). Jones further explained the importance of linking Andrew Carnegie’s name to the collection

because of his great interest in reading. In fact, the twelve books sent to libraries paralleled the Carnegie Memorial collection in his Dunfermline, Scotland home where “Mr. Carnegie’s first twelve books, which were given to him when he was a boy in Pittsburg and were cherished all of his life” were on display (p. 275). To promote the collections, the CEIP asserted the importance of books with international content yet traded upon the Carnegie’s name and prominence within the library community.

Books in the International Mind Alcove collections combined a mixture of travel and explorer narrative, cultural studies, and internationalist political thought. Drawing on a list of over 200 titles published from 1909 to the mid-1940s, these books attempted to bring the world and new ideas about governance to rural Americans and people across Europe, South America, the Middle East and North Africa, and East Asia. The books profiled nearly 50 nations with scores of titles taking a regional approach to introducing the global public to the nations, cultures and political systems of the world. Titles included famous works of fiction by authors such as Pearl S. Buck (*The Good Earth*) and E. M. Foerster (*Passage to India*) to provide readers with cultural escapes across India and China among other locations. The collections also featured what are now considered classics of the explorer genre, including expeditions in Central Asia via *Across the Gobi Desert* by Sven Hedin and *Desert Road to Turkestan* by Owen Lattimore. On the more political end of the spectrum are works that have receded into memory yet impacted the development of the study of international relations and international law as these fields developed as a response to the 20th Century’s series of war and détente. Of the 30 some titles dedicated to international relations and politics, five were written by Nicholas Murray Butler of the CEIP with one *Basis for a Durable Peace* under his pseudonym,

“Cosmos.” The collections helped to disseminate the perspectives of social theorists such as *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* by Harold Laski (1917). A prominent British scholar and socialist, Laski promoted pluralism and the creation of an international democratic system. Also included in the list were journalists such as Sir Norman Angell, who won the 1933 Nobel Peace Prize and was active in organizations such as the World Committee against War and Fascism. Angell’s work the *Unseen Assassins: Peace with Dictators?* (1932) focused on the battle for public opinion that raged within the struggle for internationalist solutions versus the nationalism and militarism being espoused through fascist developments in Europe. These books though tinted by Western-centric perspectives presented arguments for internationalism as the solution to the problem of war and nationalism, while also serving as the basis for a broader fight and rationale for a struggle against fascism and anti-democratic practices.

The rapid growth of the program suggests support from libraries and communities. Reports advocating the program and other forms of internationalism within the profession appeared in *Library Journal*, *The Bulletin of the American Library Association*, and early issues of *Library Quarterly*. Clearly, a core group within the profession embraced and promoted its role in the CEIP’s efforts toward international understanding and peace. In addition, the work of Pawley (2010) and Wiegand (2011) on the collections and practices of public libraries in rural America would suggest that the adoption of IMA collections would have likely been approved by the community at large in some capacity. As Wiegand noted, the building of book collections in small public libraries “was a community endeavor” that required collaboration and compromise

between librarians, library trustees, and library patrons (Wiegand, 2011, p. 133). The CEIP insinuated itself into this local arrangement through its gift of books.

From the beginning, the collections were distinctly international and distributed globally, incorporating domestic efforts to internationalize the perspectives of US citizens and international aims to export the CEIP's vision of internationalism abroad. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, these internationalizing activities followed the pattern of a civilizing activity outside of Western nations and a pacifying activity within the West. As early as 1919, Mary Elizabeth Wood<sup>14</sup> founder of the Boone University Library in Wuhan, China, had requested to join the IMA Program (Haskell, 1919). While building the program in the US, the CEIP also provided collections to select libraries in England, Scotland, Wales, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, New Zealand, China, and Japan. By 1924, Butler described the program as "one of the surest agencies at the disposal of the Division for developing an instructed public opinion on all that pertains to international understanding and international relations, and for providing a background of intelligent comprehension when new events and new policies are discussed" (CEIP, 1924, p. 21). In a short time, the International Mind Alcoves became one of the principal tools of the CEIP's Division of Intercourse and Education, commanding regular funding and occupying a section within each annual report for the next 24 years.

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<sup>14</sup> Mary Elizabeth Wood is often credited with bringing Western library practices to China through the Boone University Library, and the library school she founded there. This library school is now part of Wuhan University and considered one of the top LIS programs in China (Zhang, 2014).

## THE INTERNATIONAL MIND ALCOVES: NETWORK AND OPERATIONS

The early CEIP efforts to disseminate materials relied upon the massive and largely unsolicited distribution of specific publications and pamphlets. As described in Chapter 3, early efforts to send Nicholas Murray Butler's the *International Mind* entailed mailing lists and existing networks and associations as the vehicle through which to organize contacts and distribute materials. As CEIP correspondence regarding these mailings suggests, not all recipients welcomed the materials. The CEIP also relied upon a broad and blunt distribution mechanism when it sent over 300,000 copies of Lord Haldane's speech across the German Empire in an attempt to quiet the murmur of war in 1912 (Quieted Germany, 1912). The dissemination of the Haldane speech in particular relied on a method of distribution that used established organizations with both the mailing lists and capacity to organize a mass mail enterprise. In this regard, the CEIP's global network relied heavily on leveraging established contacts and nurturing organizations such as La Fontaine's to ensure breadth and capacity. The International Mind Alcove program, however, relied upon more personal and demand driven tactics to reach the public. This strategy relied upon building a network of personal relations with librarians and institutions through correspondence and travel to inspire the use of IMA collections among the public.

As the program developed after World War One, the CEIP continued to emphasize the role of libraries as mechanisms for cultural exchange and to promote peace through international understanding. The CEIP sought to sway US public opinion toward joining the League of Nations, develop international governance structures, and promote

cultural exchange and understanding around the world. A 1921 article in the *New York Times* entitled, “Training Librarians” called books that the CEIP sent abroad and distributed nationally “silent teachers” that work in concert with periodicals and the press “to the creation of that desirable phenomenon which Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler has called ‘the International Mind’” (Training Librarians, 1921, p. 26). The same article places librarians as key elements in ensuring the flows of information required to promote the CEIP’s work toward peace, proclaiming that the public library functions to “foster international friendship and understanding by means of books” (p. 26).

Rather than simply sending unsolicited books to libraries in hopes that they would end-up in the hands of interested readers, the CEIP organized International Mind Alcoves as a program to which libraries were required to apply and maintain a direct and personal connection. Through this, the CEIP established itself as the hub at the center of a network of librarians. Oddly, there is little evidence that the CEIP directly partnered with or leveraged the ALA to promote or even manage the International Mind Alcove program. Correspondence with library leaders makes clear that there was interest in partnering with the CEIP to use libraries to support the international mind campaign as early as 1912. The CEIP, however, seems to have purposefully kept its internal programs separate from its support for complimentary ALA projects. When the ALA reached out to the CEIP for support for international cooperation and the distribution of materials on American librarianship abroad, the CEIP responded positively. At the same time, despite the CEIP’s generous contributions to multiple ALA programs and projects, including travel to participate in international conferences and meetings, the CEIP made clear the need to avoid parallel and non-duplicative efforts (Milam, 1929). For similar programs such as

the distribution of books on international law to academic libraries across the Americas and Europe, the CEIP closely partnered with the ALA. However, the Mind Alcoves, which were closely held by Nicholas Murray Butler's Division of Intercourse and Education, were managed as an internal project. The CEIP reached out directly to libraries and library organizations around the world to promote the availability, importance, and utility of the International Mind Alcove Collections. CEIP staff maintained close relations with the libraries and librarians in charge of the project.

As part of the agreement to host International Mind Alcoves, libraries were asked to create a separate space for the collection to promote the materials and draw readers. In addition, the librarians were asked to confirm receipt of shipments, share reading lists and reviews of books in local newspapers, and send reports and photos to document use and popularity of mind alcove books. These interactions slowly built a significant network of correspondence and association, which placed the CEIP in direct communication with librarians around the world while serving as a node between libraries that hosted mind alcove collections. This correspondence provides a view into the mechanics of the CEIP efforts to work with libraries and displays the close personal connection established with librarians across the globe.

The vast correspondence with librarians around the world provided a conduit for international exchange that formed a network of relations bound by the International Mind Alcove collections. For example, early correspondence with librarians in Japan regarding IMA collections within universities, public libraries, and schools shows how these relationships developed. Far from anonymous or strictly businesslike communications, CEIP staff managing the program engaged librarians and educators to

facilitate the continued receipt of IMA books. In 1919, Butler's assistant Henry Haskell, responded to the interests of teachers at the Himeji Girls High School in Japan by sending leaflets on the "International Mind" and "Peace" and "The Basis for a Durable Peace" by Cosmos<sup>15</sup> translated into Japanese. In response, Mitsu Yoshiura from the school wrote of their astonishment to receive Japanese books from America and assured the CEIP that "the books all will help us in this school to understand what international peace really means" (Yoshiura, 1919). In the beginning of the program, these letters were frank, friendly, and professional, focusing mainly on the acknowledgement of the receipt of books and gratitude for the program. In these formative years, the program was run through the work of Mary Chase of the New Hampshire Peace Society and Nicholas Murray Butler's Assistant, Haskell. Chase managed the selection and shipment of books while Haskell maintained the reporting relationship. As described in early reports, the Mind Alcove program was rather informal and became more structured as it grew rapidly across the US and abroad (1918).

Amy Heminway Jones was soon promoted as the Division Assistant in charge of both the IMA program and its associated International Relations Clubs. Jones, the daughter of a bookkeeper from Boston, was an early employee of the CEIP and worked her way up from stenographer to chief clerk in 1913 at the age of 38. Jones selected books for the program, authored the International Mind Alcove Booklists, and travelled extensively to promote the CEIP's work. Ms. Jones, however, served as more than a facilitator and assistant for the program. Her correspondence and candid, friendly

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<sup>15</sup> Cosmos was Nicholas Murray Butler's pseudonym

communications with librarians around the world soon established her as the voice of the mind alcoves and international relations clubs. Through her correspondence, Jones established rapport and confidence among librarians whether they be in Oregon, Glasgow, or Tokyo. In a sense, Jones embodied the cosmopolitan ideals of internationalism via her individualistic approach to building relationships through cultural exchange. She soon developed a vast transnational network of correspondence that linked librarians in rural Texas with their counterparts in New York, China, Australia, and Japan. These linkages also included frequent travel throughout the US and abroad.

Jones' letters flowed throughout the rural US, Asia, the Americas, and Europe, reporting shipments of books and building comradery among librarians through her personal concern and wit. In September of 1925, Jones exchanged letters with Mary Ida in Clairmont, New Hampshire, after Jones' site-visit to the Clairmont Public Library's International Mind Alcove collection. Responding to Jones' concern regarding the impact of the IMA collections to meet their aspirations, Ida wrote encouragingly that Jones could "rest securely in the good selection of books for acquainting people with other peoples" (Ida, 1925). Jones responded with apologies for writing via a type writer and described to Ida her fondness for music and piano, and ideas related to faith, patience, and love. Jones closed by encouraging Ide that "any librarian in New Hampshire ought to feel she is doing worthwhile. The most important thing in the world it to get people to think and the first step toward it is to get them to read" (Jones, 1925). Clearly, it was not just the selection of books that was serving to acquaint people.

Jones' communication style and manner of correspondence established candor and friendship within the IMA's network of librarians that transcended cultural and political differences. For example, in 1924, the librarian from the Tokyo University of Commerce (now Hitotsubashi University), complained to Jones that US foreign policy and the proposed Immigration Act of 1924, which effectively banned Asian immigration to the US, would create difficulties for the peace campaign in Japan (Ota, 1924). In return, Jones agreed that the US law was unjust and remarked about how pleasurable it was that she and Mr. Ota, the librarian, could "write sincerely and frankly regarding this matter" (Jones, 1924). Similarly, librarians in Bend Oregon complained that the titles didn't circulate much with the exception of the travel books and told Jones that the name "'International Mind Alcove' frightens the casual reader" (Lyons, 1926, April 6). Jones replied with humor, suggesting alternative names they could use for the IMA such as "how the other half lives," "do you want to travel", and "books on foreign lands" (Jones, 1926, April 12).

Jones' correspondence also provides glimpses of the way in which libraries received and used the IMA books<sup>16</sup>. The St. Helens Public Library in Oregon reported that books on Arabia had enduring popularity while one young man that preferred non-fiction "is going right through the Alcove books. I shall soon have to have "A daughter of the Samurai" rebound (Dillard, 1928, February, 11). A high school in Jamaica New

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<sup>16</sup> Christine Pawley's *Reading Places* and Wayne Wiegand's *Main Street Public Library* provide further evidence of circulation patterns and reading habits of public library users in small public libraries in the US. Both histories focus on the social and cultural impact of libraries and books on library patrons in early and mid 20<sup>th</sup> century America. Some their work overlaps with the IMA program and suggests that further research on the circulation and use of IMA collections is possible following their methodology with a localized perspective on library and reading history (Pawley, 2010; Wiegand; 2011).

York reported that the books “have been a boon to us in our modern history classes and are largely used, but for reference work and home consumption (Joslyne, 1922, September 22). As the Bend Oregon letter suggests, not all of the reports were positive and the collections didn’t always fit the needs or practices of the libraries. The Laconia, New Hampshire Public Library reported that they were pleased to continue to receive IMA books but “it has not been practicable to keep all of these books in one alcove. For years our shelving has been too crowded to permit this to be done” (Davis, 1922, July 24).

The close, personal, and open-minded form of correspondence between Jones and librarians continued throughout her tenure, binding the CEIP and the library community in what was becoming a collegial and friendly professional network that promoted peace and internationalism. Jones carried on correspondence with librarians in Ireland, Australia, Japan, China, North Carolina, Texas, California, Wisconsin, and Missouri to list a few. Through her letters, birthday greetings, and well wishes, Jones maintained friendships among what became a transnational network through which the CEIP linked librarians in the rural United States with their counterparts across the Atlantic and Pacific, forming an important social network that tied the Mind Alcove collections to an internationally minded and cosmopolitan group.

CEIP interaction with the IMA’s were not constrained to letters and the shipping of books. Jones also traveled extensively to support both the International Mind Alcoves and their allied International Relations Clubs. She travelled by train throughout the US to Alcoves, conduct workshops, present to library boards, and visit librarians, making stops in North Carolina, Georgia, Indiana, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Oregon,

and up and down the East Coast. Through these visits, Jones presented on the concept of the IMA and the CEIP's aim to introduce internationalism to the public. Her travels included transatlantic and transpacific steamship journeys to Europe and across Asia with visits to Japan, China, and Australia, resulting in a travel memoir, *An Amiable Adventure*. During the interwar period, Jones visited Europe on an almost annual basis to visit IMA libraries, promote the international relations clubs, and work with the European office of the CEIP. Passenger records indicate that Jones made a total of seven transatlantic crossings for the CEIP from 1921 – 1938 with last her voyage arriving to New York from Genoa, Italy, on July 21, 1938 (Ancestry.com, Passenger Records). This travel is in addition to several trips to Mexico and a lengthy Asian trip. In many ways, Jones' vast communications and hyper-mobility represented a new globalized mode of work that is now common among the socially networked and mobile transnational professional class.

Through her close relationship with librarians, Jones was able to expand upon the IMA collections, developing guides for the use of programs, sharing best practices among librarians, and creating new initiatives. Continuing to heed input from her library friends, the CEIP responded positively to the Oregon State Library Commission's request to establish Children's International Mind Alcoves in 1925. These collections soon gained favor among libraries and became the basis for youth and school focused activities to introduce children to cultures and languages from around the world. As reported by Indiana's Brookville Public library,

the fifth grade teacher is using the books about children in other lands for collateral reading this year and she could scarcely wait for me to get 'In Sunny Spain' ready for the shelf. She began to read it aloud at opening exercises this morning. The books for the little tots are darling! I shall use them in story hour this week (CEIP, 1927, p. 27).

Subsequent reports and photos described and documented the use of these children's collections in programming, ranging from the issuance of reading passports for children to travel clubs, and world friendship clubs. By 1945, the CEIP had established over 500 of these children's collections.

Children's Mind Alcove collections featured books authored mainly by American and Western writers that depicted the lives and cultures of other children around the globe. With the aim of making youth more sympathetic to other cultures and the lives of their peers in other countries, many of these books would be categorized today as youth and young adult literature and featured the adventures and often difficult struggles of young people in Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia, South America, and the Middle East in addition to Europe, the source of many US immigrants in the early 20th century.

Although by contemporary standards most of these books would be seen as inauthentic or biased cultural presentations, many of these titles were acclaimed and from prominent authors. For example, *Boy with the Parrot* by Elizabeth Coatsworth, a 1931 Newberry Medalist for *The Cat Who Went to Heaven*, told the story of a boy in rural Guatemala who successfully sells goods in the countryside to purchase his mother a sewing machine. Elizabeth C. Miller's *Pran of Albania*, which followed the life of a traditional girl from the mountains of Albania through her refugee experience during the war was nominated for the prestigious American Library Association Newberry Medal. Perhaps the most prominent of authors was Pearl Buck, whose first children's book, the 1932 *Young Revolutionist* closely followed her Pulitzer Prize winning *Good Earth*. The *Young Revolutionist* depicted the struggles and transformation of a child-soldier in revolutionary China. Like contemporary stories that call attention to the atrocities of war

as they are visited on the most vulnerable, many of these books often focused on refugees, young soldiers, and social upheaval to show young readers the problems of war while attempting to build pluralistic and cosmopolitan perspectives regarding other cultures and peoples.

## EXPORTING THE INTERNATIONAL MIND – THE GROWTH OF COLLECTIONS ABROAD

The CEIP's plans for the International Mind Alcove program, however, were much larger than an attempt to impact policies or insinuate foreign perspectives in America's domestic agenda. By 1924, International Mind Alcoves had grown to a transnational program with 81 collections in the US and 22 in other countries. From the onset, the CEIP developed and promoted the program simultaneously within the US and abroad, employing a similar formula and aspiring to similar results: a change in global public opinion. To help achieve this aim, the CEIP sent librarians to conferences and meetings to advocate for the program. For example, the CEIP funded W. Dawson Johnston's participation in the Library Association conference in Glasgow, Scotland. Johnston, who was the Librarian at the American Library in Paris and European representative of the American Library Association, spoke about the international role of libraries and described to his British counterparts the merits of the International Mind Alcove program. At the same time that Dawson was advocating for an expanded mind alcove presence in Europe, Amy Heminway Jones was working to expand programs in Asia and Africa.

Although keen to disseminate IMA collections and books as broadly as possible around the world, there were limits to the terms for sending collections. In addition to limiting collections in the US to cities with a population below 10,000, the CEIP initially sought to maintain the integrity of the IMA collections regardless of the destination or type of library. IMA collections were seen by the CEIP as coherent and well curated representations of cultures, histories, and political analysis. Censorship and selective adoption of titles was not allowed. In December of 1925, Alice Hazeltine, the Supervisor of Children's Work in the St. Louis Public Library, who also worked as the Director of the Library Service for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, inquired about the possibility of extending IMAs to 150 mission stations in Japan, Korea, China, the Philippines, Malaysia, Burma, India, Africa, France, Bulgaria, Italy, Mexico, and South America. Hazeltine hoped to use the IMA books to "help build a 'Bridge of thought' around the world" (Hazeltine, 1925). Jones responded with much enthusiasm. Excited about the opportunity to expand the IMA program considerably, she requested that Hazeltine provide a list of fifty stations outside of Europe and South America for the Executive Committee to consider (Hazeltine, 1926). The CEIP managed programs for collections in Europe and South America already. Hazeltine responded within the month, and by February of 1926, Jones sent a proposal to supply a collection of 18 books to fifty-five centers at a cost of \$2,500. Jones noted to the Executive Committee that the IMA

collection is the result of five years careful consideration and study and ought to be a unique collection particularly suited for these centers . . . it would extend the [IMA] influence in the countries not reached by the European Bureau . . . they are hungry for books to keep them in touch with the thought of the world. (Jones, 1926b)

The Executive Committee sought clarification on whether there were already libraries established in the mission centers. (Jones, 1926c). Although the CEIP actively worked to build libraries that had been destroyed during the war, the Executive Committee was not interested in establishing libraries through the IMA program. Correspondence between Hazelton and Jones continued.

By April of 1926, Jones began to have doubts about the practicality of supplying the Mission Society with IMA collections. Jones feared the collections would serve neither the missionary nor IMA goals. Jones shared these concerns with Hazelton, noting that the IMA books “cover every phase of thought [and are] in no way religious.” She further explained that these books had been selected to portray the daily life, customs, and governmental policies of various countries accurately and that “one or two of the books criticize missionary work” (Jones, 1926d). In response, Hazelton requested the potential omission of books the society would prefer not to distribute. Jones countered with a friendly letter that opened with hopes that the two might meet in Europe during their mutual summer travels. She then indirectly informed the Mission Society they would not receive IMA collections because increasing demands for IMA books would make it difficult for the CEIP to fulfill their request and that “it would not be permissible to eliminate any of the books for the Alcove collection for various reasons, which I could explain more easily if I meet you personally” (Jones, 1926e).

The failure of the Mission Society project provides important insights into the workings of the IMA program. First, it is clear that Jones and the CEIP viewed the IMAs as much more than a casual selection of books. Each title selected for the program served a purpose and formed a collective whole representative of international mindedness. The

CEIP was unwilling to break-up collections to serve other purposes. A single book within the collection did not have the same power as the collection itself. In addition, the CEIP developed the IMAs with the aim to integrate CEIP resources into established libraries. By relying upon existing libraries with a developed infrastructure, professional practices, and patron base, the CEIP leveraged libraries to disseminate and promote its materials. The CEIP was not interested in their materials leveraging the establishment of libraries.

The CEIP's discomfort regarding the selective use of IMA books for missionary activities as opposed to changing public opinion toward cosmopolitanism is also revealing. The IMA collections and reading programs utilized a very specific form of engagement with the world that somehow excluded some of the other transnational activities that exported and promulgated Western civilizational ideals. The CEIP's brand of preemptive diplomacy was secular. The international mind campaign was based upon ideas of cultural exchange at the center of cultural internationalism and relied upon progressive values that presumed empirically-based materials would bring about the prescribed and predictable outcome of international mindedness. Rather than saving the souls of individuals, the IMAs represented a form of social construction that required internationally-minded individuals to lead a new form of international democracy built upon liberal Western ideals. For this reason, the selection of materials and their use were of critical importance as the program continued to develop and expand.

The evolution of the IMA collections is clearly documented in the work of the European bureau of the Endowment, the Dotation Carnegie Pour La Paix Internationale. Located in Paris, the Dotation Carnegie began developing a uniquely European version of the IMA collections in the spring of 1925. The US office of the CEIP asked their

colleagues in Paris to “initiate work along the lines of the ‘International Mind Alcoves’ and ‘The International Relations Clubs’” and encourage their establishment in European public libraries and smaller colleges and universities. The American office described how the CEIP inspired librarians’ personal interest in the program to ensure that the books were promoted to “entice” the public to read them (CEIP, 1925a). During this process, the CEIP and its close partner, the American Library in Paris were also concerned about the extent of public library collections available across Europe. Concerns about broad public access to materials in European libraries also animated the training and mission of the Paris Library School, discussed in Chapter 6, which was to be housed in the American Library of Paris and was established in parallel to the IMA expansion across Europe.

Although largely managed by Jones, CEIP leadership actively discussed and sought consultation regarding prospective titles for the European IMA collections. In 1925, Haskell referred the books “The English Speaking Nations” by Morris & Wood Butler and Hobson’s “Cobden, the International Man” as potential titles for both the American and European IMA lists (Haskell, 1925). To create what would be called the “Collection de la Pensée Internationale”, the Paris office consulted widely among scholars and political leaders across Europe regarding the best titles to select for distribution. These inquiries focused on compiling contemporary analysis of international relations from the perspective of scholars in England, France, Germany, and Czechoslovakia with the aim of replicating the US Mind Alcoves across Europe.

The CEIP carefully crafted letters to introduce both the International Mind Alcove and International Relations club idea to scholars in these countries to seek input and raise

support. Inquires sought advice regarding the best contemporary periodicals and recently published books on international questions and the cause of peace for students and their teachers. Specifically the letters requested suggestions of 2 or 3 periodicals and 5 or 6 books published in their home country that would be suitable for readers in another country. The letters instructed that “we do not call a ‘good’ book, a work of mere propaganda for peace, neither a pamphlet representing the ideas of a ‘party’, but any publication (including novels) the spirit of which might develop better international understanding” (CEIP, 1925b, p. 2). The letters further implored: “As you know, the great evil which we have to overcome is ignorance. France knows hardly anything of Germany, neither does England, I presume, know much about France, etc.” (CEIP, 1925b, p. 2). By early spring, postcards plus typed and handwritten letters containing lists of books and periodicals began to arrive to the St. Germain, Paris, offices of the CEIP.

From Germany came suggestions noting works on the sociology of religion, political philosophy, and the contemporary states. With recommendations for books such as Alfred Weber’s reaction to World War One and fascism in Italy, *Die Krise des Modernen Staatsgedankens in Europa* (the Crisis of the Modern State in Europe) and Thomas Mann’s most recent novel, *Der Zauberberg* (Magic Mountain). From England scholars and politicians suggested periodicals like the *Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, *Headway* from the League of Nations Union, *Goodwill* from the World Alliance of Churches, and the *Arbitrator* from the Arbitration League. Books like the Norman Angell’s *International Affairs, Geneva Protocol* by Phillip Baker and *The Revival of Europe* by Horace Alexander, plus Sir Phillips Gibbs’ novel *In the Middle of the Road* were also on the list. In total, the European office received 10

responses from twenty inquiries, a respectable response rate. The recommended titles represented works on the study of religion, economics, sociology, and political science that examined problems revealed by the First World War (CEIP, 1925c).

By September of 1925, the CEIP completed the International Mind Alcove list for Europe. Selected were a total of 10 periodicals and 15 books that were all solicited by experts from England, Germany, and France to share with the people of each country perspectives on international affairs (CEIP, 2915c). The means of compiling and selecting for the IMA collection suggests a methodological and thoughtful approach to ensuring the presence of highly relevant and contemporary scholarship on international affairs that was also representative of the countries that were the focus of the European collections. Archival resources pertaining to the creation of lists for the IMA collections in North America and other countries don't exist, but one can presume that the CEIP also consulted scholars and internal staff experts within the organization. What seems clear, however, is that librarians in North America and Europe were not consulted as experts in compiling lists of books that may have suited collections or conformed to the reading interests of their patrons. This suggests that the CEIP saw libraries as excellent vehicles for these collections and many librarians enthusiastically promoted and joined the project from its beginning. Librarians, however, were not necessarily viewed as qualified or placed to provide input into the content of the alcove collections (CEIP, 1925c).

The expansion of the IMA program to Europe also shows organizational lapses in communications and work with allied organizations in Paris that were managed by a close-knit group of people that seemed to move amongst various organizations affiliated with the CEIP and other philanthropic organizations. Collaboration with the American

Library in Paris, for example was indirect and handled through the ALA. In 1924, Robert Olds, the President of the American Library in Paris and supervisor of W. Dawson Johnson, whom the CEIP had funded to travel to Glasgow the same year, wrote to Earle Babcock, the Chair of American Library Committee, regarding his excitement for the CEIP's broad support for public libraries and expanded work in Europe. Although seemingly skeptical of the IMA project's impact, Olds hoped that Babcock might be able to encourage Butler to see his way to fund the American Library's activities directly rather than solely through the ALA. (Olds, 1924). By 1927, Babcock again received a letter from the American Library in Paris. This time as the Director of the CEIP's European Bureau. The librarian of the American Library in Paris, Burton Stevenson, hoped to secure an IMA collection (Stevenson, 1927). In response came a letter in French noting that their request had been forwarded to the New York Office (Babcock, 1927). The CEIP supported various American Library of Paris programs throughout this period, including the Paris Library School, yet for some reason, the European IMA collection could not be sent to the American Library since it was an American institution.

The CEIP also wanted to expand the reach of its programs into the Near East. In 1927, the CEIP sent Florence Wilson, former League of Nations Librarian and instructor in the Paris Library School, to engage in a survey of American educational institutions in Greece, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Wilson went from being an academic librarian at Columbia University in 1917 to serving as the American Library Association's liaison to the Paris Peace Process and the only female member of the American Peace Commission. Following that, she served as librarian for the League of Nations Library in Geneva. As the first librarian charged with implementing aspects of

the IMA project since it was proposed by American librarians in 1918, Wilson took a slightly different and more nuanced approach to the collections than Jones and her predecessors. Just prior to her departure, Nicholas Murray Butler sent Wilson a personal letter outlining her charge and his ambitions for the journey's impact on libraries.

Writing in March of 1927, Butler told Wilson

not only will you put life and power into the libraries that you visit and inspire, but you will establish personal relationships that will be most important in years to come as a means of enlisting strength and support for our general movement toward fuller international cooperating and buttressing of international peace. (Butler, March 3, 1927, p. 1)

Like the example of personal communications between Amy Heminway Jones and US librarians, the CEIP focused on the idea of establishing close personal relationships through visits and exchange as an essential component of advancing the CEIP's mission. Butler continued, expressing his hopes that Wilson will be able to also visit libraries throughout Europe and replicate the work of Amy Jones to create IMA collections that would support international relations clubs, provide a venue for CEIP speakers to host talks and discussions, and give "men and women of open mind new knowledge and new sympathy with all of the that relates to foreign relations." Butler closed the letter on a personal note, lauding Wilson for her work at the League of Nations. Speaking as President of Columbia University and Wilson's former employer, Butler explained why he hoped to keep her in the field, working with the CEIP: "your training and experience have been so exceptional that it would be little short of calamitous now to ask you to devote yourself for years to ordinary library administration" (Butler, March 3, 1927, p. 2).

Through travels to Greece, Turkey, Palestine, Egypt, and Syria Wilson consulted on the administration of libraries in the region and assessed the potential of CEIP programs such as International Relations Clubs and International Mind Alcoves. Institutions reviewed in these visits ranged from the American University of Cairo to small missionary schools. Wilson reported general enthusiasm and interest for Mind Alcove collections. Like the rural American public library participants, the Near East institutions expressed interest in international relations among their readers and a need for library materials on political science, history, and international events. Wilson noted in her report that International Mind Alcoves could contribute to the development of the peoples of the Near East, who, “held in restraint by despotic rulers and the domination of foreign governments, and without education facilities, need, as a preparation for their new democracies and to combat rather violent nationalism, a knowledge of international affairs” (Wilson, 1928a, p. 15).

Wilson approached the visit to the Near East with some skepticism, presuming there would be little interest in internationalism and the IMA collections given the cultural differences between the Near East and United States. Writing from the St. Johns Hotel in Jerusalem, Wilson informed the CEIP’s European Bureau Director, Babcock, that there was much interest in international relations clubs and improving libraries. She then observed that:

the tremendous contrast between the East and West in matters of education has produced such a different type of mind that I was not sure that it would be useful to consider organizing the clubs or the alcoves in the East. I am convinced now that it is not only possible to organize them but that it is an important out field. (Wilson, 1927)

Soon after Wilson's trip, letters poured in from Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria with requests for IMA collections. The program continued its expansion. Through this growth, it was clear that the CEIP solution to the perceived development needs outside of the US were similar to that developed for the rural US: an exchange of knowledge on cultural affairs and international practices through the distribution of Mind Alcove collections would change the minds of people and transform societies. Although the collections abroad were clearly aimed at an elite class of people with knowledge of English and access to private educational systems, the Alcoves were seen as opportunities for people in the rural US and abroad to develop an intellectual foundation leading to international mindedness. As Butler reported on adult education activities in 1927,

the resources of the great libraries and historical collections of the world are to be opened up and made available by cooperative scholarly effort. Public libraries and reading rooms, International Mind Alcoves and International Relations Clubs are to be strengthened or brought into being not in one land, but in many lands, that the public mind, which in the modern democracies is in the last resort the source of authority, may be opened and broadened and deepened and instructed in all that relates to international understanding and international cooperation. (CEIP, 1927, p. 27)

The collections were employed as part of a strategy to promote a new cosmopolitan worldview.

Butler continued to press the CEIP to keep Wilson in Europe and lead the international mind campaign there. In a memo to the European Bureau, Butler asserted Wilson was the best candidate to "deal with this movement". He told the Bureau that

if she comes back to America permanently, she comes simply as an ordinary librarian, one of perhaps fifty. If, on the other hand, she remains, in Europe, her really invaluable and unique experiences and contacts may be made to serve directly the

important part of our work that I have just outlined. (Extrait d'une lettre del le President Nicholas Murray Butler, [n.d.]

Again, Butler focused on the importance of the networks and relationships being built around the CEIP projects as essential keys to their success. Wilson's experience in Europe was clearly more highly valued than her capacity as a library administrator.

The CEIP hired Florence Wilson to manage the IMA and International Relations club programs in Europe in 1928, around the time of the closure of the Paris Library School where Wilson had taught (Chapter 6). As the CEIP expanded the IMA program across Europe and the Middle East, it sought to modify the program to reflect the varying situations in each country. Wilson's approach appears to have reflected her training and work as a librarian, and she immediately adjusted the manner by which collections were selected for libraries by taking into consideration the needs and context of the readers where the collections would be housed. When sending a new collection to the American Academy for Girls in Constantinople, Wilson explained that they had selected books without bias and included illustrated volumes for students that may struggle with the language (Wilson, 1928b). After travelling extensively throughout Europe, Wilson later noted, "I do not consider that our policy regarding Clubs and Alcoves has been decided. We have had to treat each case individually and experimentally (Wilson, 1929, p. 2). This was a clear departure from earlier practices and reflected the use of library selection practices to ensure that collections meet the reading interests and level of patrons.

## THE INTERNATIONAL MIND ALCOVE AND GLOBAL PUBLIC OPINION

The CEIP's promotion of internationalism was part of a wider debate over US foreign policy and the role of foundations in public discourse. At the onset of the program, the CEIP's internationalist mission and work towards US participation in the League of Nations were clearly against prevailing US sentiments toward isolationism and disengagement from international affairs. Unlike the period immediately after World War Two, the US government didn't engage in cultural diplomacy or promote international engagement as a means to bolster its policies and presence abroad. Thus, the advocacy of librarians for these programs contrasted the dominant voices guiding national foreign and domestic policy. Early criticism of the Alcoves aimed at the CEIP's attempt to get the US into the League of Nations. One article described the Alcoves as "arguing for internationalism as against Americanism . . . [and] these activities should all come under the classification of foreign propaganda. Their purpose is the breaking down of time-honored American policies" (Scope of Propaganda, 1927, p. 2). The children's Mind Alcoves were also scrutinized by those against the internationalist movement. A 1930 *Chicago Daily Tribune* article titled "Virtue for Tiny Tots" complained that the Children's International Mind Alcove collections were a part of a trend to water-down history and children's stories with "substitutes for the heroism of two-gun patriots" (Virtue for Tiny Tots, 1930, p. 14).

To further advance its mission, the CEIP also used the press to promote the Alcoves and internationalism. Information collected from librarians about the growth of

the Alcove program domestically and abroad were used as evidence of interest in international affairs:

Librarians all over . . . report that the man in the street, formerly interested in fiction, detective stories and in the stock market . . . has, in the last few years, been awakened to a consciousness of other countries, with their different customs, finances, and morals. (Many Study World Topics, 1930, p. 54)

In local US papers, Mind Alcove libraries contributed announcements of new acquisitions or receipt of collections with descriptions of their contributions to perceptions of international affairs. Just as the Mind Alcoves abroad served as links to other nations, the collections symbolized a connection between the seemingly isolated communities in rural America and the rest of the world. An early article in the *Charlotte Observer* described an Alcove as “a collection of books which shall be a definite contribution toward the formation of public opinion along international lines” (Library receives fine collection of books, 1922, p. 7). The *Tulia Herald* of the Texas Panhandle region described the potential of one of the titles, *Timbuctoo* by Lelan Hall, to change people’s perceptions of Africa as a dangerous place. The article related the impact and use of International Mind Alcove books as teaching tools and assigned reading for students in other libraries, including the Delta Public Library in Colorado and Moultrie Carnegie Library in Georgia (Brown, 1928). The reviews and descriptions of the Alcove collections were provided by Amy Heminway Jones, the assistant in the CEIP’s Division for Intercourse and Education, who oversaw the selection of books for the program, authored the International Mind Alcove Booklists, and wrote numerous reports on the program for the CEIP (Jones, 1933, p. 5). Through these coordinated efforts, the CEIP promoted International Mind Alcoves and the Endowment’s other activities around the world.

The International Mind Alcove program also continued to inspire criticism from people who feared that internationalism would replace nationalism. In Harlingen Texas, the Public Library board debated the need for “more books on Americanism” as a way to “combat the spread of communism” in an article that also noted “an interesting report on the popularity of the International Mind Alcove collection” (Rotarians Make Gift to Library, 1938, p. 5).

The juxtaposition of Americanism and internationalism also featured heavily in a series of Congressional speeches from George Tinkham, a Massachusetts Representative to Congress, who warned that “the manipulation of public opinion from sources which do not represent the general public will become the poisoned cup from which the American Republic will perish.” Tinkham called for “a congressional investigation of the propaganda methods of the Carnegie Endowment and its allies [to] . . . insure preservation of American independence and American neutrality” (Tinkham, 1933, p. 1). Tinkham feared that the CEIP through its ties to Great Britain and Europe would use its propaganda tools to advocate British foreign policy objectives and lead the US into war. In his speech to congress, which was later published in newspapers, Tinkham mentioned specifically the International Mind Alcoves as one of the tactics employed by the CEIP, noting ominously that the CEIP places these collections in libraries “even for children” (Tinkham, 1933, p. 1). Although criticism of the program continued, the CEIP continued to support the program as it evolved during the build-up to World War Two.

## FROM ADVOCATING PEACE TO SUPPORTING WAR

International Mind Alcove collections continued to evolve, making changes in outward purpose as the US entered World War Two. Moving from aims to expand international opposition to war, the Mind Alcoves shifted emphasis toward support for what the CEIP considered a just war against forces antithetical to its global mission: fascism in Europe and the expansion of the Japanese Empire in Asia and the Pacific. In a domestic shift, the CEIP began to highlight the International Mind Alcove collection's potential to build racial tolerance at home while continuing to promote internationalism. The 1939 Annual Report called attention to the need for broader understanding and acceptance of foreign cultures and practices to aid in accepting the multicultural aspects of the US. The report noted that:

in some parts of this country, the foreigner is still an object of suspicion, and even the fact that he eats different food and wears different clothes may open him to ridicule, if not to condemnation. One of the most vital needs in the development of better relations is for the average citizen, man, woman and child to get below surface differences and to realize that a human being is a human being no matter how widely customs and beliefs may differ. (CEIP, 1939, p. 21)

Although racial tolerance was always a facet of the “international mind,” this shift strategically narrowed the war-time policy goals of the Mind Alcove program from world peace to domestic tranquility.

As prospects for international activities and engagement became limited because of the growing conflict in Europe and Asia, the Mind Alcoves became tools to raise awareness of the conflict and need of post-war solutions. The CEIP emphasized the impact of the war on Mind Alcove usage through the reports received from libraries. For

example, a librarian from Santa Fe, New Mexico reported an increase in interest in the International Mind Alcove collection and noted that

we have a reason to be gratified at the increasing interest in world affairs. In the midst of such an appalling conflict as the present one, people are more likely to value peace as a precious thing, and to do some various thinking about how such wars can be avoided in the future. (CEIP, 1939, p. 27)

A librarian from Salisbury, North Carolina, expressed regarding the importance of the Alcoves amidst the growing conflagration, “we are particularly delighted to receive these books at this time when the need for better understanding is so imperative and when people are turning to the libraries for sane and unbiased information” (CEIP, 1939, p. 28).

The CEIP poised the International Mind Alcoves to support the war effort as soon as the US entered the conflict in 1941 by reprinting quotations from the Director of the Office of War Information’s (OWI) proclamation that librarians:

are combatants from this time on in all countries where free libraries and a free culture still exist . . . Librarians in their professional duty are continually concerned with the problem of directing their readers to the materials which their readers require. In the present war, as never before, this duty of librarians assumes a first and pressing importance. (US Office of War Information, 1942, p. 29)

In response to this OWI directive, the CEIP stated that “International Mind Alcoves, as reported above (by Director of the Office of War Information) may without exaggeration be counted as a direct contribution to the war effort” (CEIP, 1943, p. 19).

These war contributions were also described by librarians.<sup>17</sup> The Hutchinson, Minnesota, Free Public Library witnessed,

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<sup>17</sup> A Mind Alcove collection’s contribution to community was also noted for the collection’s support of national defense by Wiegand in his history of rural public libraries in America. See Wiegand, W. Main

the demand for books about the Allied countries and which describe the theatres of war is great and we are grateful for all of those in our International Mind Alcove. Also, I cannot tell you how helpful the books on the subjects of peace and postwar planning which we have in our Alcove have been to study groups and the reading public in general” and “parents of our boys in service are reading everything on foreign countries they can find and our Alcove gives much satisfaction. (CEIP, 1943, p. 29)

Using the letters and reports of International Mind Alcove libraries, the CEIP positioned the Alcoves as bolstering and supporting a US international policy that now paralleled the Endowment’s mission in many ways. Like the shift observed by US public libraries in World War One, the CEIP successfully realigned the International Mind Alcove collections to support the nation’s entry into international affairs (Wiegand, 1989, p. 193). Unlike the World War One example, the content of the Mind Alcove collections did not change and their overall mission to promote internationalist perspectives continued.

Just as the barbarity of the First World War challenged the pacifying and civilizational missions of internationalism, fascism ran counter to the global order of the internationalist movement. The International Mind Alcoves became more synchronized ironically with US foreign policy when the US became involved in World War Two. Like the previous war, American public libraries became willing tools in the service of national policies and supported the internationalist acceptance of what was considered a just war (Ring, 1987, Wiegand, 1989).

After the war’s end, the CEIP shifted its mission to post-war efforts with priority on bolstering the United Nations. Although the Mind Alcove book list began including

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Street Public Library: Community Places and Reading Spaces in the Rural Heartland, 1876-1956. (Ames: University of Iowa Press, 2011), p. 36.

works such as *UN Primer* by Sigrid Arne, the CEIP reported in 1946 that no new Alcoves had been established since 1944 and all of the Alcove commitments to libraries would be met by 1951. With new opportunities to promote internationalism through the UN, the CEIP allowed the International Mind Alcove program to end. This change corresponded with the resignation and death of Nicholas Murray Butler and brief CEIP presidency of Alger Hiss. When Hiss became the new President of the CEIP, Wilson reported on the status of the program. Less than 4 months after the end of World War Two, the CEIP decided to end the IMA program, a move seemingly in contradiction to the program's beginning in 1918 as a response to the atrocities of the First World War. In a report dated January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1946, Florence Wilson shared the history and scope of the IMA program with colored charts and a US map noting the number of adult and children's collections within each state. Wilson noted that:

there seems to be no doubt that these collections have rendered real service to the cause of international understanding. They have been widely used by all sorts of organizations as well as individuals in the reading public. The money expended on the project has been a good investment. (Wilson, 1946)

According to the report, the IMA program was no longer necessary. Libraries "are now doing for themselves and their patrons what we formerly helped them do" (Memorandum Concerning International Mind Alcoves). Wilson closed by emphasizing that the termination of the IMA project didn't indicate that the CEIP lost interest in partnering with libraries to inform international and public affairs. She encouraged the CEIP to collaborate directly with the American Library Association and with libraries abroad to achieve these aims. This shift also coincided with growing outside criticism of the CEIP and other foundations for their propaganda activities within the US. Although criticism of the CEIP and the International Mind Alcove program in libraries had been present

throughout the program, fears of communism and foreign influences on US foreign and domestic policy were conspiring to exert more political pressure on foundations and their global agendas.<sup>18</sup>

By the early 1950s, anti-communist sentiment in the US once again placed attention on the activities of the CEIP and other foundations. Through House Resolution 561, the 82<sup>nd</sup> US Congress began to investigate whether or not tax-exempt foundations were misusing their funds to support activities that countered national interests. The hearings on Tax-Exempt Foundations took place between 1952 and 1954 under the names of the Cox Committee and Reece Committee after their chairs, Edward E. Cox and B. Carroll Reece. The committees were charged with conducting a:

full and complete investigation and study of educational and philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations which are exempt from Federal income taxation to determine if any foundations and organizations are using their resources for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established, and especially to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities; for political purposes; propaganda or attempts to influence legislation. (US Congress. House. Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations. Tax-exempt Foundations: Hearings before the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations, 1954, p. 1)

The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, which had long been critical of the CEIP, editorialized that “huge foundations in the country have been diverted into propaganda for globalism, including international communism” (Fulton, 1951, p. 1). On the other hand, the *New*

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<sup>18</sup> In 1946, Alger Hiss, who was Secretary General of the United National Conference in San Francisco, became president of the CEIP. Hiss’ tenure at the CEIP was halted when he was accused of being a communist and Soviet spy in 1948. For further reading on the Hiss case see Weinstein, Allen. *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2013). Rosalee McReynolds’ and Louis Robbins’ *Librarian Spies* also places the Hiss case, US cold-war, and anti-communist trials in the context of library history. (Westport: Praeger, 2009).

*York Times*, editorialized on the “dangers to freedom of scholarship, research and thought that lie half-hidden between the lines” of the committee’s investigation (Foundation Inquiry, 1952, p. 57). The hearings were characterized as a conflict between intellectual freedom and a close-minded nationalism.

Although the CEIP had ceased funding new Alcove collections, the project and the books disseminated by the CEIP were a focus of the investigation. Targeting libraries, librarians, and attempts to censor books during this era of American history was not uncommon and occurred for both moral and political reasons throughout the Cold War era.<sup>19</sup> The Congressional committee’s research director, Norman Dodd, read extensive passages from CEIP Annual Reports that described the mission, goals, and impact of the Mind Alcove program. The committee went so far as to have Northwestern University political science Professor Kenneth Colegrove review the listing of books distributed by the CEIP from 1918 to 1947. Colegrove’s annotated list of titles was submitted to the committee along with his conclusions. Books such as Harold J. Laski’s *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* were described as "Opposed to the 'national interest'; inclines toward extreme left" (US Congress. House. Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, p. 926). Pearl Buck’s *The Good Earth* was labeled "Slightly leftist" and other titles were categorized as “globalist” and “Marxist” with some authors and their

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<sup>19</sup> The work of Louise S. Robbins describes in great detail the role of the library profession in responding to and confronting efforts to censor and inhibit intellectual freedom during the Cold War. See Robbins, Louise S. 1995. “After Brave Words, Silence: American Librarianship Responds to Cold War Loyalty Programs, 1947-1957.” *Libraries & Culture* 30 (4): 345–65; 2001. “The Overseas Libraries Controversy and the Freedom to Read: U.S. Librarians and Publishers Confront Joseph McCarthy.” *Libraries & Culture* 36 (1): 27–39; 2007. “Publishing American Values: The Franklin Book Programs as Cold War Cultural Diplomacy.” *Library Trends* 55 (3): 638–50. Other scholars such as Pawley have also addressed the role of public libraries during this era: *Reading Places: Literacy, Democracy, and the Public Library in Cold War America*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010).

books linked to reports from the McCarran committee on Un-American Activities. Colegrove's conclusions were that the books disseminated by the CEIP presented a perspective that did not promote the national interests of the US.

In addition to using reports from the CEIP and titles from the Mind Alcove booklists, the committee heard testimony from both Joseph E. Johnson, President of the CEIP and Charles Dollard, President of the Carnegie Corporation. In both testimonies, Dollard and Johnson countered the committee's categorization of Carnegie activities as un-American yet also distanced the organization from the internationalism of the International Mind Alcove program. When asked about the selection of books and whether or not they were biased toward globalism and in support of "one world," Johnson countered that the program had been discontinued before he became President and noted that the person who selected the books, Amy Heminway Jones, no longer worked for the CEIP. He then placed the Alcove program within the context of broader Carnegie support for libraries and asserted that:

there was a feeling in the endowment that the endowment could usefully help people study international relations by making gifts of books to colleges and universities and other libraries which helped to explain and help people understand international relations. (US Congress. House. Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, p. 595)

Dollard's testimony stressed the collaboration or agency shared by the participating libraries in the program, noting that:

no library received the books except upon request. These collections were given the name International Mind Alcoves. It is also to be noted that the State library commissions or State librarians of 34 States were at their own request placed upon the list of recipients of alcove collections. (US Congress. House. Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, p. 1063)

Dollard further emphasized that the books did not advocate one point of view but were merely small collections on international relations and that “not by the widest stretch of the imagination could such action be called propaganda” (US Congress. House. Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, p. 1063). Combined, the testimonies of Johnson and Dollard attempted to limit the scope and nature of the Mind Alcove collections, seeking to distance the actions of the CEIP in promoting and funding the program. In doing this, Dollard and Johnson highlighted the role of libraries in their support for the project while clearly re-casting the purpose of the Mind Alcoves from one of the primary tools to transform global public opinion to a simple collection of books on international relations.

When the committee reported its findings in 1954, it implicated the foundations in subversive activities, placing heavy emphasis on the role of foundations in manipulating public opinion and impacting foreign policy through influence over educators and vast funds for informational campaigns. In a statement seemingly aimed at programs such as the International Mind Alcoves, the report claimed that overall:

some of the larger foundations have directly supported ‘subversion’ in the true meaning of that term – namely, the process of undermining some of our vitally protective concepts and principles and the result of these combined efforts has been to promote ‘internationalism’ in a particular sense – a forum directed toward ‘world government’ and a degradation of American ‘nationalism’. (US Congress. House. Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations 1954, p. 19)

The report singled-out the CEIP’s information campaign for the “international mind” as particularly dangerous because it was so successful in using publishers, libraries, the press, universities, and other organizations to aid in disseminating information that reached nearly the entire US population. The International Mind Alcove program was

further criticized in the report for the distribution of books that represented “a distinct and forceful slanting to the globalist point of view” and supported works by authors with Communist affiliations (p. 178). Although the report was highly critical of the content that foundations such as the CEIP promoted, the focus of the committee’s concerns were on the potential ability of well-funded organizations to create international networks that advance alternative political agendas and counter prevailing governmental policies. The Committee Report did little to increase regulations or change the manner by which foundations and non-governmental organizations could operate in the United States (Lagemann, 1992). The International Mind Alcoves remained inactive but the spirit of their work continued through organizations such as UNESCO and IFLA (Intrator, 2013).

## CONCLUSION

The forty-year history of the International Mind Alcove program provides insights into the role of libraries and information within the history of internationalism and globalization in the early twentieth century. As noted previously, libraries during this period were often described as closely following national policies and serving as conduits of information aligned to governmental initiatives (Wiegand, 1989). The International Mind Alcove program adds nuance to this point of view since it not only positions many librarians against national policies but places them in the middle of a vast campaign

designed to sway not just the opinions of local populations and national constituencies but to use the book, the library profession, and institution of libraries as tools to change public opinion across the globe. As shown throughout the program, libraries played a central role in the “international mind” campaign, advocating the ability of the profession to promote the cultural internationalism described by Iriye and serving as an important node in the CEIP’s transnational information network as it grew during the early twentieth century.

The global nature of the program and the manner by which it was implemented across the wide spectrum of cultures within the United States and throughout Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, Asia, and South America is also indicative of the developing sense of an emerging world society that was advocated by the CEIP. The CEIP and its partnering librarians operated within a transnational paradigm through which the diagnosis and cure to the problems of the war was the same within the US, Western Europe, and other regions of the world. This globalized paradigm was described by Seyla Benhabib as a hallmark of globalization and the establishment of new cosmopolitan norms that were beginning to compete with state-centered international norms driven by nationalism and domestic policy agendas (Benhabib, 2006). In essence, the library profession and the CEIP were both responding to and creating these new norms through their internationalist activities.

Although politically motivated from a specific faction known for its nationalistic ideology and isolationist policies, the interest taken by the federal government in the power of foundations to impact public opinion is significant. The work of the Cox and Reece committees and their specific concerns regarding the information campaigns of

foundations provided palpable evidence of the increasing power of non-State actors in foreign affairs and the discomfort of some politicians regarding the division of this power. This incident helped to document the globalizing forces spawned by INGOs and the role of cultural internationalism in processes that simultaneously worked to bring the world together while occupying space in international affairs previously monopolized by the State (Gorman, 2017; Iriye 1997).

Just as palpable as the role of foundations and non-State actors in occupying the power of the state, however, is the role of information and the global knowledge networks fostered through this dissemination campaign. The Cox Committee report clearly aligned its fears with the potential impacts that a vast network of information creation and dissemination can make on society. After outlining the combined use of publishers, educators, libraries, the press, and allied foundations in propaganda campaigns, the committee warned of the power such organizations can wield over public opinion.

The International Mind Alcove program is only one of multiple engagements between foundations such as the CEIP and the library profession. The partnership between the CEIP and libraries in the IMA program was one of mutual convenience. The CEIP needed an established organizational structure to disseminate materials and many libraries and libraries were keen to provide access to books on cultural studies and global politics. For the CEIP and Nicholas Murray Butler, the library was also more than a mode of dissemination. Libraries themselves were symbols of the authority of knowledge and the power of rational, civilized, thought over the barbarism of war. Within the new internationalism espoused by Butler and the CEIP, libraries were also viewed as

important pacifying and civilizing symbols to be used to promote the internationalist mission (Weber, 2015).

The strength of the CEIP's network as it related to the IMA and International Relations Club programs, however, was contingent upon a select group of people that engaged the library community. The centrality of CEIP staff as intermediaries to the success and expansion of this network appeared to have limited the network's sustainability. The network members spread across the rural United States, Europe, the Near East, Asia, and South America did not share the full benefits of membership through the extension of the power and activities transferred through its nodes of communication (Castells, 2009). When the CEIP ended its work with the IMA program, the network effectively ended though work to promote internationalism through books and libraries continued within the library profession and through other organizations such as UNESCO and the Rockefeller Foundation (Intrator, 2013).

CHAPTER 5: PUTTING THE NATIONALISM INTO INTERNATIONALISM:  
REBUILDING THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN LIBRARY (1914 –  
1945)

“The library is the only really important university building” - Conference at the Morgan  
Library on Louvain, November 21, 1918

INTRODUCTION

On a warm and sunny July 4<sup>th</sup> in 1928, a plane flew over a crowd gathered to dedicate the newly built University of Louvain library. Below the soaring plane, a delegation of dignitaries that included Prince Leopold of Belgium, former US President Herbert Hoover, and several hundred representatives from leading universities around the world “marched . . . in dignified and colorful procession . . . preceded by gendarmes and soldiery, Thebaean trumpeters, and mace bearers” (Graves, 1928, p.2). Conspicuously absent from the celebration were the architect, Whitney Warren, and his longtime acquaintance, Nicholas Murray Butler of the CEIP. The gathering watched as pamphlets floated down from above. The Archbishop of Malines chanted “Pax Vobiscum,” “peace with you”. The “leaflets bore the inscription, ‘Destroyed by Teutonic Fury; Restored by American Generosity,’ which Warren “had wanted placed on the library, but which the university authorities had succeeded in eliminating” (Arrest Louvain Aviator, 1928). On July 5<sup>th</sup>, the aviator and his accomplice were arrested along with leaders of the Belgian National Youth Association, who interrupted the dedication by shouting “Down with the

Bouches!’ (1928, n.p.)<sup>20</sup>. Rather than becoming a symbol of sympathy, reconciliation, and recovery after the First World War, the rebuilding of the University of Louvain library propagated stories of German atrocity and the victory of an international coalition over barbarism.

On the night of August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1914, eight days after the German military occupied Louvain<sup>21</sup>, fire destroyed the University of Louvain library, burning its collections along with vast swaths of the city of Louvain, Belgium. The sack of Louvain and the burning of the library’s collection of over 300,000 books, many dating from the middle-ages, soon became a rallying cry against Germany and part of the narrative that the United States used to justify entering the war (Koch, 1919). German activity in Louvain and across Belgium was widely categorized in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, and the US as barbarous and outside of the bounds of civilization as revealed in Otlet’s correspondence in Chapter 3.

Partisans to the Allied cause used the symbolic power and loss represented by the burning of the University of Louvain’s library throughout the war. Its symbolic power to invoke the savagery of war fueled an international campaign to restore the library for the University<sup>22</sup>. When the Treaty of Versailles brought the war to an end, Article 247 noted

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<sup>20</sup> According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, *Bouche* is derogatory French slang for a German soldier.

<sup>21</sup> The city of Louvain and Leuven in Belgium are the same; it is referred to as Louvain in French and Leuven in Flemish. Throughout this paper, it is referred to in its French spelling, which was the spelling most often used in primary sources related to the destruction of the library and its aftermath. The University of Louvain is now referred to by its Flemish name, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

<sup>22</sup> For a full history of the University of Louvain library with multiple reproductions of primary source and images of the building see Coppens, C. (2005). *The Leuven University Library*. Leuven, The University Press Leuven.

specifically the manner by which the German government would pay reparations to restore the library of Louvain. As the treaty states, Germany would:

furnish to the University of Louvain, within three months after a request made by it and transmitted through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, manuscripts, incunabula, printed books, maps and objects of collection corresponding in number and value to those destroyed in the burning by Germany of the Library of Louvain. All details regarding such replacement will be determined by the Reparation Commission. (Treaty of Versailles, Article, 247)

The reparations, however, didn't address the lack of a library building. The need for a library and the symbolic power of the former building's destruction inspired the movement to build a new library for the university. In 1918, an international committee to restore the library convened in Paris under the leadership of E. Lamy of the Academie Francaise. Based on the reports of the meeting, much of its energy concentrated on reparations for the destruction of the library. George H. Nettleton of the American University Union in Europe described the library in both anthropomorphic and metaphysical terms to make clear the destruction of the library and its re-building was part of a war of ideas that juxtaposed savagery and civilization:

Great is our sympathy for her unmerited wrongs. Greater still is our respect for her unsullied honor. She stands as one who would not sell the soul to save the body. ... This is essentially a war of ideas and of ideals-ideas which it is the especial duty of educated people to set forth clearly-ideals which it is their peculiar obligation to inherit in the light of national history and traditions. (La Bibliothèque de Louvain, 1919, p. 114-15)

In many ways, the initial plans for the building of the library made the new library a symbol to punish Germany for the manner it executed the war by building a library that could serve as a war memorial, admonition of Germany, and symbol of the rationality of a peaceful global civilization underwritten by an international system of nations. As

Nicolas Murray Butler wrote to the organizing committee in Paris, the “whole civilized world was shocked [by] . . . the brutality and destructiveness [of the German army]”, and the name “Louvain will forever represent the shame of the German Government” (La Bibliothèque de Louvain, 1919, p. 167). Like the war of ideas alluded to by Nettleton, Butler’s words captured the anger of the time. Rebuilding the library represented an act of defiance against Germany and the war. The sense of anger and desire for retribution wasn’t only an American sentiment. Throughout the statements from European leaders and academics included in the international committee’s reports, the burning of the library and its collections is characterized as a “crime by a barbarous people against the civil world” (Le Bibliothèque de Louvain, 1919, p. i).

Seen from a historical perspective focused on geopolitics, the rebuilding of the Louvain library became a story of often contradictory ideas of how to reconstruct Europe after the war, and the role of memory in the process of reconciliation. As Tammy Proctor notes, the University of Louvain Library project as seen through the lens of US – European relations reflected tensions surrounding the US’ role as a cultural protector for Europe, questions over reconciliation in the aftermath of war, and problems related to the role of economic power in relation to war debts (Proctor, 2015). The building project, however, included more than broad State actors as it was made up of multiple religious, governmental, and non-governmental groups. One of the most prominent non-governmental organizations to assert itself in the process was the CEIP, a rising actor in promoting peace through international governance, educational, and economic programs. As chapters 3 and 4 make evident, the CEIP was already engaged in working with and through libraries to promote its vision for peace and economic progress. The organization

also played a central role within the Western European and American internationalist movements, which sought to pacify civilized nations and civilize the rest of the world through internationalism, liberal democracy, and systems of global governance that would eliminate the anarchical warfare system of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition to work that used libraries as vehicles for internationalist literature (Chapter 4) and funds for mobilizing and training librarians to create a public facing library profession (Chapter 6), the CEIP also rebuilt a number of libraries as a means to advance its mission. The library building projects of the CIEP served to promote a vision for peace and internationalism through both the dissemination of knowledge and the symbolic importance of libraries as arbiters of enlightened, rational, thinking. Building libraries amounted to a small piece of the CIEP's early work, but these projects contrasted the more widely known Carnegie Corporation library projects and provide an opportunity to analyze the manner by which intent and historical context impacted the symbolic and structural development of libraries built in the name of internationalism. Concentrating on the post WWI building of the University of Louvain library, this chapter addressed the role played by the CIEP and the network surrounding Nicholas Murray Butler in raising resources for the building, shaping the vision and architecture of the new university library, and ultimately falling prey to nationalistic sentiment that inhibited the library's use as a symbol of peace, reconciliation, and internationalism. Viewing this project from a transnational perspective provides a means to further explore the role of libraries and the library profession in the internationalist movement and the way in which the CEIP choose to engage libraries to serve its goals.

## THE CEIP, LOUVAIN, AND LIBRARY RE-BUILDING PROJECTS

Soon after the war ended, the CEIP turned its attention to helping Europe rebuild. Since the endowment had ceased most of its activities from 1914 – 1918, it had accumulated income that it sought to use for post-war recovery efforts (Butler, 1940, p. 111).

Nicholas Murray Butler, Director of the CEIP Division of Intercourse and Education, worked in consultation with Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, the CEIP's representative in Europe to implement reconstruction work. Their focus included Louvain. Shortly after the destruction of Louvain in 1914, Butler hosted a delegation of high ranking Ministers from the Belgian Government in exile at his Morningside Drive home in New York City. They discussed the destruction of Louvain and plans to rebuild after the war. Through this connection and subsequent meetings with Belgium State Minister, M. Louis de Sadeleer, Butler used his position at Columbia University and within the CEIP to support the rebuilding project as soon as the “psychological situation” changed (1940, p. 112).

Postwar library building projects served the CEIP's mission as “part of its policy to promote international good-will by giving aid in specific acts of reconstruction following the war” (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1919, p. 56). In addition to Louvain, the CIEP supported library construction of a city library in Rheims

France (\$200,000), and the Royal University of Belgrade's library in Serbia (\$100,000). Neither of these projects attracted the public attention or controversy of Louvain.<sup>23</sup>, <sup>24</sup>

Soon after the campaign to rebuild the library and university began, Butler and the CEIP became the principal organizing force for the fundraising and construction projects. On November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1918, a small group met to plan the new library. Bella De Costa Greene, of the Morgan library; Clifford N. Carver, former secretary to US Ambassador in London, wartime Naval Intelligence Officer, and member of the Morgan family; Henry Haskell, Butler's administrative assistant at the CEIP; and M. Louis de Sadeleer, former Minister of State and leader of Belgium's Government Party, met at the Morgan Library in New York to strategize the rebuilding of the Louvain library. This group connected Belgium's political leadership directly to the financial and educational elite of the United States during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Access to capital was a key element to rebuilding Louvain. Noting the receipt of credentials from the Belgian government for the American committee to commence work, the group discussed the manner by which Butler had been selected to lead the committee of twenty American delegates. Butler, it seems, ensured control through a questionnaire sent out by the CEIP in lieu of a meeting with the delegates. The meeting notes explain that "the first question was to appoint President Butler president, to give all power of administration to him, secretary and everything.

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<sup>23</sup> See Nadine Akhund's detailed 2011 account of the CEIPs efforts to rebuilding the University of Belgrade library between 1919-1926.

<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, the architecture for the Belgrade and Rheims adopted a classical form similar to many "Carnegie" libraries with the architecture of Rheims mirroring that of many public libraries in the US and contrasting with the local architecture dramatically. As this essay will be developed into a chapter a piece will be a comparison of these other projects with Louvain and the Carnegie Corps. Library building programs.

They agreed with all the points. President Butler has full power to organize everything” (Conference at the Morgan Library, 1918, p, 1).

The American Committee’s charge was fairly comprehensive. As reported in the meeting, the Belgian Minister of Fine Arts, Mr. Poulet, believed that the American role in the project, “consists of building the library, which has also a series of sort of halls used for public purposes, of completing the collection of books which was destroyed and the restoration and building of the library” (1918, p. 2). The library and books were to be restored by America and other nations would restore the universities dormitories and other buildings destroyed during the war. In this initial meeting, concrete plans were already being discussed.

Starting with replacing the collections, Miss Greene, the librarian, explained that the Louvain librarians may rather have space to build collections than replace title-by-title many books “they would have been glad to throw away.” She posited that they would need to rely upon donations of books and that the collection may require technical and engineering materials to meet postwar needs. She argued to “let them have the money and work out what kind of library they want. Then we can get as many worthwhile books as possible” (1918, p. 2). The group determined to recruit Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, to be a member of the National Committee and lead efforts to solicit donations from university libraries.

To raise funds for the new building, the group discussed potential candidates to lead the finance committee. Greene again steered the group to the use of universities and libraries, asserting that each university in the US should be encouraged to have a subcommittee with the president as the chairman; “that would serve his petty vanity.

(Miss Greene's remark). Then you could include in that subcommittee the librarian of the university and he might also be on the committee with Mr. Putnam" (1918, p. 3). By December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1918, the group had detailed notes ready for the National Committee's first meeting. A Library Committee was to include Putnam as chair and other library leaders from throughout the United States.<sup>25</sup>

Among the discussion points for the first meeting, the National Committee was to discuss questions such as:

What sort of library do they most desire: A philosophical, theological library of the sort which has been the characteristic of the institution for 300 years, or would they like to have a library which is organically built up and satisfactory to a modern body of scholars? (Notes for meeting, December 3, 1918, p. 3)

They were also to discuss questions about the National Committee's relationship to the International Committee and the scope of work, which were considered during the committee's initial meeting. At the meeting, Butler began by recounting his early conversations with the Belgium government and the secrecy of his discussions to lead the project, noting that the decision had been made even prior to the 1918 International Committee meeting in Havre, France. The US Committee then discussed the nature of their authority and credentials to lead the project with concerns about their legitimacy as it related to the larger International Committee and its affiliated National Committees. The group worried about the informal nature of the Belgium government's commitment

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<sup>25</sup> These included Mr. Coolidge, Director Harvard Library; Mr. Keogh, Yale Librarian; Mr. Burton, University of Chicago; Mr. Richardson, Princeton Librarian; Mr. Leupp, University of California; Mr. Bishop, President, ALA; Mr. Anderson, Library N.Y. Public Library; Mr. Beverly Chew, Century Association of New York; Mr. W. N. Carlton, Newbery Library; Miss Belle Green, Morgan Library; Bishop Shahan, Washington, D.C. (written in pencil)

to Butler and feared a lack of credentials would cause troubles in the future, including problems with raising funds for the library.

Putnam, who was selected to lead the committee's work on the collection and selection of books for the library informed the group that a network of librarians from abroad already started this process in 1915. Putnam reported that under the leadership of a British librarian named Dr. H. Guppy from the John Ryland library in Manchester, roughly 7,000 volumes from the library of the House of Lords had been collected. In addition, the Pope instructed the Vatican library to collect books as gifts. Further, Putnam explained that there were movements in Brazil, Uruguay, and other nations to collect books for the library. An international effort led by librarians was already well on its way. Recounting the Louvain University library's previous unique collections of manuscripts and incunabula from the early years of printing, Putnam questioned whether it should be the committee's aim to build an analogous collection. He further problematized Butler's earlier plan to gather books from universities around the United States by expressing his concern:

to know whether we are to be a part of an international committee or simply one of a concourse of committees each working within its own geographical area . . . It seems to me that the first thing would be to get in touch with those who would have the same responsibility in other countries. (Notes for Meeting, 1918, p. 3)

Putnam understood the complexities of building a research collection in a short period of time. Further, he saw the consequences and potential negative impact of a unilateral and non-coordinated approach to rebuilding the Louvain collection.

Seemingly frustrated by Putnam's approach, Butler asserted that his charge and committee "anti-dated the central committee in Paris . . . the National committee is

absolutely independent, working in its own way” (Notes for Meeting, 1918, p. 3). Butler sought to articulate the American contributions to the library project and ensure maximum impact despite Putnam’s concerns for duplication and collection building. Belle Greene, using the same direct style of leadership seen in the previous meeting, broke the impasse, suggesting that “if we took just the library building and as many books as we could furnish. Then we could raise the finances for one particular thing, and point to the building as something America has rebuilt” (Notes for Meeting, 1918, p. 5). Butler soon left the meeting, leaving Putnam to chair the rest of the group’s deliberations. The committee began to organize an international committee concerned with the collection of books (Notes for Meeting, 1918, p. 6-7).

The next day, Putnam wrote a letter to Butler and the Committee asking that the library collections be organized through an international body to be coordinated by American librarians. He wanted to ensure that the university librarian and other stakeholders in Louvain were included in negotiations that would maintain the independence the university had enjoyed since the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He noted that US academic libraries had little to offer in regards to restoring Louvain’s collections and estimated that four-fifths of the books would need to come from outside of America. Putnam suggested that if the American Committee was granted authority over collection building, an American librarian should manage the program from Europe and work in consultation with a centralized international committee (Putnam, 1918).

These early planning meetings exposed Butler’s inclination toward centralizing authority and communications within the management of CEIP projects in an attempt to maximize control and guarantee his association with the impacts. Like the centralization

of communications that made the IMA network reliant upon the CEIP, Butler's management style ironically attempted to eschew the type of international collaboration espoused by Putnam and promoted through internationalism. Butler didn't see the use of transnational affiliations as a mechanism toward accomplishing a goal. Within Butler's control, these networks were a way to consolidate authority and a means to achieve an end. The Americanization of this project continued unabated.

#### FROM INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO BIBLIOTHEQUE AMERICAINE

On December 4<sup>th</sup>, Butler wrote to Mr. de Sadeleer to clarify the committee's questions and asked for addresses within the Belgian Government, the University of Louvain, the International Committee, and each National Committee so that he could communicate directly with each. The US committee soon heard from Belgium regarding their questions about how to conduct the rebuilding project. Ladeuze, Rector of the University of Louvain, responded to the American Committee's questions on December 26<sup>th</sup>. The Rector gave the entire charge of rebuilding the library to the US Committee, telling Butler that "we agree gladly that the edifice be constructed according to plans drawn by an American architect, plans which at the same time should be approved by the "Belgian Commission of Monuments" (Translation of Letter to the National Committee, Louvain, 1918, December 26, p. 2). Ladeuze further informed Butler that they needed "a great modern library, filling all of the needs of higher learning in all of the sciences" (1918, p. 2).

Ladeuze provided more detailed answers to the Committee's questions after conversations with both Clifford Carver and Minister de Sadeleer in February. He expressed his "lively gratitude" that the CEIP would take part in the projected reconstruction. He then provided a brief history of the original library building and its various stages of construction, concluding that the location and footprint of the original building were not sufficiently large enough to accommodate the university's needs for a much expanded and modern library building. They hoped to build the library on another site. The Rector also explained the University's dire financial situation, detailing its inability to provide competitive salaries to faculty and staff amidst increased expenses. He pleaded for the CEIP to provide the University with an endowment that would yield an annual income of 500,000 francs (Translation of Letter, 1918, p. 5). It would seem that the capital accumulation of the CEIP during the war contributed to the University's willingness to make the library an American project.

For restoring the collections, the University sought to acquire materials to support their work in the sciences but felt it important "to possess some quantity of old authentic documents which would permit us to place our students directly into immediate contact with the historic past" (Translation of Letter, 1918, p. 3). The Library Committee was given free rein to coordinate the collection of books with the preference for a coordinating committee in Paris or Louvain. Ladeuze wrote that:

we are most happy to learn that [Putnam] has consented to serve as the chairman of a special committee for the selection and purchase of books . . . I agree with him that a central committee is indispensable in order to prevent the activities of the various national committees from being spent in vain. (Translation of Letter to Dr. Butler, February, 9, 1919, p. 6)

Per Putnam's proposal, Ladeuze wished to ensure the central committee for book collecting would be established in either Paris, near the international committee or in Louvain. Ladeuze closed his long letter to Butler, informing him that he was sending to New York Monseigneur Hebbelnyck, Rector Emeritus of the University of Louvain; and Professor M Nerinex, a Professor of Law.

The Secretary of the International Committee, Imburt de la Tour, acquiesced to this plan. In January of 1919, he reported that each nation will collect funds for specific purposes, book collecting could be coordinated centrally in Paris, and the number of members of the International Committee had grown to 251 with more expected (Report of the National Committee of the United States for the Reconstruction of the University of Louvain, 1919, p.2).

These discussions further consolidated a central role for the US National Committee in rebuilding the University of Louvain library. As pre-determined in the initial Morgan Library meeting, America would have two distinct and identifiable roles: building the library and coordinating the restoration of the library collections. For each, the CEIP and Butler had managed to become central actors in facilitating and supporting the Louvain activities. There were, however, differences. The financing and building of the new library became a distinctly American project with seemingly little input from the international committee and much autonomy placed within the hands of Nicholas Murray Butler. Restoring the books, however, was much less of an American project and more of an international collaboration. Putnam was to coordinate an international effort established and managed in Europe. The development of the new collections would ensure communication and coordination among librarians in various countries.

## THE MEANS OF PROPAGANDA FOR THE FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN

The CEIP pledged an initial \$100,000 toward the building and helped to establish the National Committee for the United States for the Restoration of the University of Louvain. The CEIP's initial donation was to help solicit a further \$400,000 from Americans to support the rebuilding efforts. The National Committee quickly began to organize its fund raising campaign to draw US attention to the rebuilding of the Louvain library and encourage large and small donations to meet their goal. The group created short action items to develop and start the fund raising campaign. These were referred to as "Means of Propaganda", "Means of Encouragement", and "Means of Action" to organize the strategies for promoting financial donations. For propaganda, the committee wanted to recall the disaster of the University of Louvain and sought newspaper clippings, articles, photos, and details regarding the stature of the former library and its means of destruction. For action, they created regional sub-committees throughout the United States and made former President Herbert Hoover honorary chair of fund raising activities. For encouragement, they provided incentives such as inscribing the names of donors in the library and offering large donors honorary degrees and named professorships (Committee Meeting, Louvain University, 1918).

Butler used the CEIP staff and resources to support the campaign for Louvain. CEIP staff and funds were used to manage correspondence, print materials, and ensure the National Committee had the organizational capacity and support necessary to do its

work. CEIP staff were even included in strategic planning meetings. In early 1919, the delegation sent by the University of Louvain arrived and met with Amy Heminway Jones (See Chapter 4), Henry Haskell, and Butler to strategize on the fund raising campaign. Butler expressed his concern for attracting the attention of the American people to the Louvain rebuilding project and suggested that they need to revive the story of Louvain. He told them, they must recall “the character, the destruction, the savagery, the extent of the damage, etc. etc.” (Conference with Dr. Butler, 1919). Butler also suggested that they needed to promote the long history of the University and the prominence of the library in Europe to attract as many people as possible, but emphasized that they must “revive the feelings of dismay, of indignation and of rage at the character and extent of the loss” while providing concrete plans for “rehabilitation.” Butler’s position on the Louvain library was in stark contrast to his rhetoric on the power of the international mind and need for ways to promote reconciliation. In this instance, he used the CEIP to sway public opinion toward sympathy and indignation. Through the Louvain campaign, Butler worked to keep the shock and pain of the war alive to convince the American public to donate to the new library.

The first public announcement from the Committee followed Butler’s plan. In seeking to raise a total of \$500,000 USD, the press release described the University’s destruction as an affront to the “entire civilized world,” yet also managed to invoke the twenty-nine countries that were represented in the International Committee formed for the University’s restoration. The American people were asked to “erect and equip a library building, to be presented as a free gift to the University of Louvain from the people of the United States of America (Louvain University to Receive New Library as

Gift of the American People, 1919). By November of 1919, the American funding campaign was in full-force with the committee working to solicit small and large donations through school children, corporations, and alumni of the University of Louvain (University Heads Plead for Louvain, 1919). Following the committee's lead, news reports focused on fighting barbarism by donating funds in sympathy with people ravaged by war.

## REPLACING THE LOUVAIN LIBRARY COLLECTIONS

As noted above, the library community responded to the destruction of the University of Louvain library almost immediately. Dr. Henry Guppy, librarian of the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England is credited with bringing the destruction and loss of the library and collections to the attention of the international library and scholarly community. In a series of three articles that appeared in the John Ryland Library Bulletin from 1914 – 1918, Guppy described his attempts to rebuild the Louvain collections and the international response to his efforts. In 1915, Guppy reported on the immense response to his plea in 1914. Noting the newfound utility of the *Bulletin* for communicating with an “increasing number of students and scholars in all parts of the world,” Guppy recounted that “one of the immediate results of the barbarous destruction of the University of Louvain with its famous library, was to call forth not only a storm of righteous indignation against the perpetrators of such an unprovoked act of vandalism, but also a widespread and sympathetic interest” (Guppy, 1915, p. 107).

To respond to and maintain interest in the Louvain library, Guppy commissioned Dr. L. Van der Essen, a Louvain professor of history teaching temporarily at the University of Chicago, to write a history and bibliographic description of the collections. In this article, Van der Essen described the treasures of over 950 manuscripts including illuminated codexes and archives of the university dating to 1445. Using language evocative of cultural genocide, Van der Essen accused the German soldiers of brutally annihilating treasures that were not only the heritage of Louvain and Belgium, but of all the civilized universe<sup>26</sup> (Essen, 1915, p. 144). Van der Essen further extolled the vandals that committed this deed as having failed to understand the lesson passed on for centuries and spread in the inscription of the walls of the old library building: wisdom built its own house (*sapientia aedificavit sibi domum*).

Guppy announced to his self-described worldwide audience of readers the efforts of the John Ryland library to restock the Louvain library, proposing that it select duplicates to send from amongst the various collections they have purchased at auction over the year. Guppy encouraged other librarians to “share in this expression of practical sympathy, by taking part in the proposed reconstruction of the devastated library” (1915, p. 146). The library took upon itself to house gifted books, catalog them using the Brussels Extension of the Dewey Decimal Classification, and furnish the Louvain library with a compiled catalog. To avoid duplication, Guppy asked interested donors to send him lists of proposed donations. The *Bulletin* was to act as an official registry of donors,

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<sup>26</sup> “En quelques heures les soldats allemands ont brutalement anéanti ces trésors qui n’étaient pas seulement le patrimoine de Louvain et de la Belgique, mais de tout l’univers civilisé”

publishing quarterly the names of donors and the description of their gifts (p. 146). The first listing contained donations from the John Ryland library and its board of governors. By the opening of the library, Guppy's efforts yielded a British donation of 55,793 volumes "from all parts of the British Empire" (Louvain's New Library. The British Contribution, 1928). These books were accepted by Louvain as a special "English" collection to remain separate from the rest of their holdings. The British efforts to donate books to Louvain marked a monumental effort considering the country's own involvement in the war. Guppy's work was also a clear inspiration to the rest of the world. The description of the library and its destruction became the basis for the US Committee's fundraising attempts and helped to stir interest in Louvain. Guppy's mechanism for collecting books and avoiding duplication was also adopted by the international coordinating committee led by Putnam. As Putnam informed the US National Committee, many other libraries were already heeding Guppy's call to action.

In 1917, Theodore Koch, a librarian from the Library of Congress, who was also active in the ALA War Service Library program, published a slim book titled, *The University of Louvain and its Library*. With the help of van der Essen and librarian Paul Delannoy, Koch described in detail the history, destruction, and some of the efforts underway to restore the library. Unlike other reports, however, his "account of the destruction of the library [was] intentionally . . . made brief as possible, and reference to the mode and motives of the invaders are minimized . . . to direct attention to the opportunity to help" (1917, p. v). Koch, a German American, whose parents had immigrated to the US, choose to place less emphasis on what was being categorized as a German atrocity and more emphasis on the importance of the University and its

collections along with cooperative plans for reconstructing the library. In the preface to the 1917 edition, Koch, like Guppy in England, called upon his nation's librarians to contribute "material aid by giving their riches. Many precious additions can be culled from the stock of duplicates in the older university and college libraries (1917, p. vi). Koch reported that the National Library of Wales, University Academy of Sciences, and the University of Aberdeen all contributed books early on in the campaign. In less than a year and while the war still raged, scholarly societies and the principal libraries throughout the United Kingdom appointed delegates to work with the Institut de France to form an International Committee (Koch, 1917). By December of 1916, "the scheme had led to the accumulation of upwards of 8000 volumes" (Koch, 1917, p. 28). Koch ended both the 1917 and expanded 1919 edition, which was published by the US National Committee, with an appeal to American institutions: "yet if the American universities and institutions do their share a substantial foundation can be laid for a new working collection" (p. 47). There was a clear and palpable international network of librarians communicating and networking towards the restoration of the library from the beginning of efforts to rebuild the collection.

By October of 1919, Putnam of the Library of Congress was well into the American Committee's efforts to collect books for the library. He used special letterhead titled "In the Matter of the Appeal for the Restoration of the Library of Louvain", which used a title that directly echoed the John Ryland Library campaign. Although affixed with the signature of Putnam, these letters were sent out by the office of the Secretary of the CEIP, utilizing the capacity for coordinating similar direct mailing campaigns as used to send copies of the *International Mind* volumes and promote the IMA collections.

Putnam wrote to the American scholarly societies, asking for complete sets of journals, annual reports, proceedings and transactions. He went so far as to ask the societies to appeal to their members to send back copies if their stocks were already depleted. Putnam asked that donors send a list of materials to the Library of Congress so that they could catalog and provide a list of contributions. The Smithsonian Institution planned to ship materials to Belgium through the International Exchange Service.<sup>27</sup> Although sent by the CEIP, these letters were muted in comparison to the visceral pleas for support sent out for the financial campaign. Putnam explained, almost apologetically in each letter's closing:

If I do not add any explanation as to the project itself, this is because to you or to your membership such an explanation would be superfluous. You know what Louvain was; you know of the destruction of its Library; and you need not be urged to sympathy with the task of our Committee in undertaking to restore it. (Putnam, October 25, 1919)

On the part of many prominent American librarians involved in restoring Louvain, there was a trend toward preserving the memory and symbol of the great library and its collections rather than keeping the wounds of war fresh through stories of the shocking destruction of a cultural treasure. The CEIP's own postwar efforts to contribute books to the library campaign contrasted the symbolism and spirit of the financial campaign and the book campaign, which appeared more geared toward rapprochement.

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<sup>27</sup> The International Exchange Service was an early mechanism for the international distribution of scholarly materials among nations and helped to establish and maintain relationships among foreign scientific societies and libraries. It also constituted an early exchange of government documents among nations.

In December of 1919, when the CEIP was actively sending Putnam's muted letters to American libraries, the acting Secretary of the CEIP, S. North, wrote to the University of Louvain's librarian, offering to include the University among its 372 US and 310 depository libraries in Europe, South and Central America. Depository libraries received copies of all of the CEIP publications and books on peace, reconciliation, and international law, which included IMA titles. Drawing upon the bellicose language of the financial campaign, North informed the librarian that the CEIP was:

cognizant of the fact that during the German occupation of Belgium, the University of Louvain was wantonly and completely destroyed, but we are advised by the Librarian of our Congressional Library that prior to the reconstruction of your library building, you are prepared and grateful to receive contributions to the library itself. (North to Librarian, December 10, 1919)

The Louvain office of the Restoration de la Bibliothèque de L'Université de Louvain responded with appreciation for the donation, noting that "nowhere will the publication of the Endowment be so fully appreciated as in this City and especially by the University who [sic] was so wantonly destroyed by the Germans" (Delannoy, 1920). Clearly, the memory of war was too fresh for thoughts of reconciliation in Louvain.

The progress of the building was followed closely by the library community. In 1922, Koch visited Louvain to see the rebuilding project. His travel narrative suggests the extent to which the building became associated with America. For example, when asking for directions to the new library, the locals referred to it as the "American Library" (1923, p. 55). The rebuilding of the collection, however, represented a well-coordinated transnational collaboration encouraged by librarians such as Guppy. In addition, the faculty and librarians at Louvain opted for the collection methods as predicted by Putnam and Greene in the US National Committee. When presented with the option of selecting

volumes from German libraries, the faculty at Louvain determined that taking from German libraries would be “unscientific” and rather opted to work with a purchasing committee in Leipzig to acquire books to replace what was lost (Koch, 1923, p. 58). Although the books were funded through German contributions, this was an early example of attempts at rapprochement between scholars in Belgium and Germany. As Koch described, these books rolled into Louvain daily in rail cars and were housed temporarily as the building was erected. Louvain also became the destination for repatriated books that had been looted during the war with a reported 371,206 volumes recovered in Germany (Louvain Books Replaced, 1926). As the architect, Warren reported to Butler in 1922, the new books from Germany were accumulating so rapidly that the architect needed to change the building schedule to first construct the book stacks to provide a place to store and circulate the collection (Warren, 1922b).

The books within the library appeared to have had less symbolic importance to both architect, donors and the local community in Louvain than the rising monument of a library, which continued to channel to power of the war’s destruction.

## ARCHITECTURE AND SYMBOLISM – RECONCILIATION VS REPARATIONS

The rebuilding of the Louvain library began as an effort of reparation to rebuild the university and reconstitute the library. The public campaign to raise funds relied heavily on keeping alive the image of German soldiers burning the library and destroying an important cultural institution. Wartime anger resonated throughout the process of building the library and continued beyond its construction. If one wished to select an

architect with the temperament and disposition to infuse the building of the Louvain Library with the memories of the war and animosity toward Germany, Whitney Warren couldn't have been a better choice. Warren, a New York based architect with the firm Warren and Wetmore, was known for his Beaux Arts buildings across New York City that included New York's Grand Central Station. Although Warren was a renowned architect, his involvement in the project cast a dark shadow on the building, and interwar Belgian-German relations. The library became a point of conflict internally within Belgium and internationally as people and nations grappled with the aftermath of the war.

Butler and Warren had a personal relationship that predated the Louvain Library building, but Warren was not partisan to the CEIP's international mind and peace efforts. While Butler was in the midst of promoting his book *The International Mind* and leading CEIP efforts to forestall conflict in Europe through letter writing, speaking, and support for organizations such as La Fontaine's, Warren wrote a candid letter to Butler criticizing his work with the CEIP and told Butler that "unfortunately for me International Peace is beyond my powers of imagination" (Warren, 1913). By September of 1914, Warren was in Paris to support the French war effort through the Comité des Étudiants Américains de l'École des Beaux-Arts Paris. He again wrote Butler an intimately casual and pointed letter, wishing Mrs. Butler well while asking whether or not Butler was for the Allies. Warren again brought up the question of peace, telling Butler that "Peace is all very well when one is working with gentlemen but I fear the Germans are of another ilk!" (Warren, 1914). Despite Warren's prewar skepticism regarding the CEIP's efforts and Butler's apparent authority over all aspects of the Louvain building project, Warren became the

architect for the new library. Whether or not Warren was “internationally minded” or partisan to the CEIP mission had no bearing on the selection of an architect.

At first, the project went smoothly. Warren’s work was hailed widely for its accommodation of Flemish architectural style and adoption of modern library design practices. As noted by Frank Pierrepont Graves, President of the University of the State of New York and State Commissioner of Education and Visiting Carnegie Professor of International Relations at the University of Louvain, in his report from the opening of the library,

Its talented American architect, Whitney Warren, has been most happy in his creation. He has conceived an edifice that corresponds completely with the epoch in which the University of Louvain attained its greatest repute. He has laid aside American ideals and likewise avoided the temptation to indulge in columns and Classic orders. ... Instead has produced a temple of learning the preserves the best traditions of the Renaissance and of Flemish and Brabançonne architecture. (Graves, 1928, p. 8)

The interior structure of the building followed the desired modern library construction, a trend seen in many American university libraries that were built during that period, including the University of Illinois and University of Michigan. This library design, featured a large renaissance styled reading room that fit 300 people and 20,000 general and reference works, a monumental stairway, large, multi-storied book stack structure to accommodate volumes in the millions, offices for staff and management on the ground floor, and multiple rooms for disciplinary collections and activities (Graves, 1928).

Controversy, however, seemed to haunt the project throughout. Even the selection of a book stacks system proved contentious. As observed by Koch:

As an American librarian interested in the results of our half century of study and use of metallic book stacks, I was disappointed to see that a make-shift was being used, under the guise of necessary economy.... If use had been made of any one of the several recognized American book stack systems, or even the Lippmann stack (said to be objectionable because 'made in Germany,' but actually manufactured in Strasburg). ... I can only hope that the response to the appeal for funds to complete the library will be so generous as to enable those in charge of the work to import a real Yankee book stack equipment and so justify, from the inside as well as the outside, the appellation so fondly given to the building by the grateful Belgian: la Bibliothèque Americaine. (Koch, 1923, p. 67-68)

Ultimately, US funding enabled installation of a steel American book stack system that could hold up to 2,000,000 volumes. The prohibition from using what would have been a less expensive German design, however, exposed the tensions undermining the structure of the project.

By 1923, the first completed wing of the library was ready to begin housing some of the collections that had accumulated through the German purchases and international gifts. This wing was subsequently dedicated in a ceremony featuring the CEIP's Butler and the Crown Prince of Belgium. The Prince deposited the first book, which was a volume containing the names of the Louvain students of 1914 that gave their lives in the war. Butler placed the second volume beside the first. It contained the names of school children and teachers of New York City who had given a total of \$45,000 toward the building fund.

These first books continued the dual symbolism of the library as memorial for the war and opportunity to engage the public in internationalism – in this case the opportunity to highlight the solidarity of American school children with victims of the war (Graves, 1928 p. 23). By juxtaposing a book with the names of students that died in the war with one that contained the names of American students that sympathized with

the destruction of Louvain, the choice of the first volumes asserted both the irrational tragedy of the war and the power of intercultural relations toward reasserting the civilizational role of the library. As the building progressed, the extent to which the symbolic nature of the library and its role as both a memorial and emblem for the coalition of nations that fought against Germany manifested itself. The building featured a large, 275 foot tower topped with a Belgium Lion and housed a carillon of 48 bells for each state in the US. Carvings on the outside featured an armed Virgin Mary with Crusaders sword; St. George and St. Michael crushing evil spirits; a bass relief depicting the destruction of the original library; busts of heroes of the “great war”; the heraldic animals of the Allies. Every hour the carillons were to play the bars from “star spangled banner”, “La Brabançonne”, “La Marselillaise” and other national anthems of the Allies. Everywhere on the exterior and interior were inscriptions of names of 400 institutions and individuals that donated to the building project (Coppens, 2005). In descriptions of the building, little attention was paid to the new collections or the library’s historic and important role within the university. Instead, the narrative highlighted the strong symbolism of the building design and the implied purpose of the building as the physical embodiment of new internationalism. The emphasis upon a community of nations underwritten by a robust transnational civil society and enabled by internationally minded individuals from young students to political and economic elites served to elide both the collection itself, and the long history of the library.

By the mid 1920’s, reconciliation among the European states was taking hold (Coppens, 2005). The US had alleviated German reparation payments and a peace conference in 1925 resulted in the Treaty of Locarno, helping to ease continued tensions.

The CEIP engaged heavily with multiple nations to lobbying for both of these rapprochement activities. In 1926, the library's heavy handed symbolism engulfed the project through controversy over whether the library would serve as a symbol of reconciliation or to maintain the memory of the German assault on cultural heritage. Warren's original plans, which called for the balustrade to have an inscription reading: *furore teutonico diruta, dono Americano restitute* – "destroyed by German fury, restored by American generosity," were not controversial when plans were drawn-up in the early 1920s.

By 1926, however, this inscription was viewed by some as keeping the "war spirit" and hostility alive at a time when the universities and countries were trying to normalize relations with Germany. Although once a proponent of keeping the spirit of Louvain's destruction alive to raise funds for the building project, Butler now attempted to change course. He wrote to Warren in May of 1926, stating that it would be "unwise, and perhaps even ungenerous, to point out old grievances in a way that might interfere with the harmony of present and future relations" (Butler, 1926). The situation with the library became more than an issue of public opinion, it became a diplomatic impediment to reconciliation. William Philips, US Ambassador to Belgium, wrote a personal letter to Butler on the topic of the "Latin inscription for the Louvain library." The Ambassador confided to Butler that his German counterpart had spoken to him on the topic and that he agreed that the inscription must change (Phillips, 1926). Butler suggested that the wording change to *In Bello Diruta In Pace Restituta* "Destroyed in War Restored in Peace" (Butler, 1927b). After consulting with the University of Louvain Rector, Ladeuze, Ambassador Phillips informed Butler that:

I am now in a position to say rather definitely that the inscription on the Library at Louvain, to which you referred, is to be omitted altogether...the necessary steps will be taken to remove the inscription from the completed structure. (Phillips, 1926)

Attempts to remove the inscription and move the project toward reconciliation were not welcomed by the architect. Two years later Whitney told the press that he had “the right to insist that the building shall be constructed as planned, and even after the completion of the building I have the right to insist that the structure be maintained as I built it” (Graves, 1928, p. 30). He attempted to treat the library as his intellectual property and threatened to take the case to the Belgium courts, stating that the “Belgium people would be yielding to the Germans” if the inscriptions were changed.

The controversy persisted. On June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1928, a mob of mostly students and women demolished several of the pillars of an inscriptionless balustrade as it was being raised into place. The pillars were then protected by armed guard until the July 4<sup>th</sup> opening ceremonies. On July 6<sup>th</sup>, the nationalist organization, *Souvenir Belge* elected Warren to honorary membership. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of July, the remaining pillars were smashed. The vandal, a former workman stated “I have executed my orders” and Warren telegraphed: “I can-not help crying out ‘long live Belgium, Liberty, and Truth’” (Graves, 1928, p. 25-8).

For the citizens of Louvain, the University’s faculty, and the countless people that donated resources and time to the rebuilding of the Library, the story of Warren’s library and inscription continued. In May of 1940, the German army occupied Louvain, and the “ill-starred Louvain library was once again burned and gutted, its 700,000 new volumes reduced to smoldering ashes” (Destroyed by German Fury, 1946). As reporting on the

Nuremberg trials revealed, Dr. Leon van de Essen, who had described the original library's destruction in Guppy's newsletter, now headed the official Belgian investigation. According to a Newsweek article, a German artillery battery officer "asked a Belgian civilian to identify the library's spire. One German officer muttered: 'these Belgian pigs have placed an insulting inscription about us in the library.' The shells began to fall" (Destroyed by German Fury, 1946). The powerful story of the Louvain library's destruction once again became a postwar rallying cry.

In October of 1940, the librarian of the University of Louvain wrote to Butler with a note of thanks. The very first book that the library received after the second burning of the library was Butler's *Why War*. The librarian, E. Van Cauwenbergh, asked Butler if he would once again help restore their library and sought the further donations of books, noting that Butler's recently published autobiography, *Across the Busy Years*, was "gone with all of the others we had so patiently collected" (Cauwenbergh, 1940). Once again, Butler was called upon by the University of Louvain to help with the rebuilding of the library. This time his response was one of sorrow. He informed Bishop Strycker of New York that "he didn't have the courage to engage once more in the task of reconstruction" (Butler, 1943). The scholarly and library community, however, joined together to rebuild the University of Louvain's collections again.

## CONCLUSION

The saga of the Louvain University Library provides an example of the contested symbolism of the library building that resided far from either the utilitarian or grandiose

notions of an academic library as a center for research and heart of a university. As described in the fateful meeting in the Morgan Library, the library became the most important building on the university campus – and perhaps the most important library of its day. In this instance, the Library of Louvain served simultaneously as symbol of the destruction of civilization and cultural heritage, the potential for reconciliation after a brutally destructive war, and a memorial to the sacrifices of war. It was also the physical embodiment of new internationalism. Viewing this episode through a transnational lens and in the context of the new internationalism espoused by the CEIP, the reconstruction of the Louvain Library demonstrated the internationalist movement's attempts to both pacify and civilize. Although the story of Louvain can be seen as an expression of the US' increasing role in Europe and an early expression of its developing foreign policy (Proctor, 2015), Louvain also exposed the difficulties faced by the internationalist community as it worked in a transnational context to overcome the power of nationalism as an animating force among states, citizens, and even the proponents of peace and reconciliation.

From the very beginning of the war, the actions of the German army toward Belgium were discussed within the correspondence of the CEIP as outside the bounds of civilization, and those with the worldview of internationalism united against them. As described in Chapter 1, Paul Otlet's pleading letter to the CEIP categorized the behavior of the Germans as "mad barbary." From the perceptions of the "international mind", Germany and its allies had abandoned the ideals of civilization, and their actions stood as an example of the dangers of a nationalism that did not consider the common interests of

humanity and human civilization within a nation's self-interest (Mazower, 2012; Sluga, 2013; Weber, 2015).

These internationalist views that the war was a civilizational conflict also proliferated within the American library community. George Bowerman, who was mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, described vividly the accounts of German atrocities in the Louvain library's destruction in his 1918 ALA presentation that also described some of the over 15,000 books and pamphlets that had already been published about the war (Bowerman, 1918). As documented by Wayne Wiegand, many American librarians, including peace activists such as Bowerman, who also advocated against censorship, actively suppressed German publications during the war. Wiegand described how Bowerman removed German works from the shelves of the Washington D.C. public library and forced patrons to ask for these titles by name, invoking the image of the New York Public library as a site of surveillance of immigrants during the early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Wiegand, 1989; Witt, 2017).

For an internationalist like Butler, invoking the Louvain Library's burning served the purpose of reminding people of the destruction of war and urging them into restorative action. Just as Butler sought to influence public opinion through the IMA program, there was a clear effort to mold people's thoughts about the cultural value of the Library and the crime against civilization behind the destruction. Unfortunately, the latent nationalism within the internationalist efforts to rebuild the Library served to forestall reconciliation and may have caused the second burning of the library. Warren's proposed inscription for the library in no way inspired reconciliation between Belgium and Germany; it served the opposite purpose. The inscription inspired the very form of

nationalism that internationalists fought against and helped to keep Germany from rejoining the civilized society by serving as a reminder of what were categorized as the actions of Germans in their generalized form.

The restocking of the Louvain Library with books and the library community's approach provided a counter view to the CEIP's inflammatory efforts. Although enabled by the CEIP's resources and logistical prowess to manage communications and promote large international projects, the efforts of librarians in Europe, the US, South America and other parts of the world exemplified the power of the transnational network of librarians to coordinate activities across vast geographical distance, work within an established international system of standardization, and work within a context described as cultural internationalism. The Louvain Library reconstruction suggests that the network of librarians that had been established through meetings and collaborative efforts during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century (described in Chapters 1 and 3) yielded far more than the shared cataloging standards that would allow English librarians to catalog books for a Belgian library. Efforts to replace the Louvain collections and the manner by which librarians collaborated through well-established practices and relationships built upon professional exchange foretold the further development of the field on a sustained transnational basis. As seen in the vision of La Fontaine for the power of networking professional associations and organizations, the efforts of these librarians placed the emergent global library profession on the cusp of international consciousness.

## CHAPTER 6: THE PARIS LIBRARY SCHOOL<sup>28</sup>

“We have less interest in the present performance of that library school in the present and the past than we have in its activities and its important and obvious possibilities as an instrument for international, or for the promotion of international culture, if not international relations” Carl Roden, Conference on the Paris Library School, 1927

### INTRODUCTION

In the winter of 1927, the American Library Association convened a small meeting of seven leaders in American librarianship in the parlor of Chicago’s Drake Hotel to decide what would become of the Paris Library School. The meeting marked a march toward the end of the school, which the ALA had opened in 1923 to help train French women in American Library practices. The meeting also established a shift in the perceived impact and mission of the Paris Library School. As Dean W. F. Russell of Columbia University’s Teachers College noted during the conference, the school’s work had become akin to that of “merchants of light,” dealing primarily in the promotion of international exchanges of knowledge and understanding (Conference on the Paris Library School, December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1927, p. 44-45). This chapter presents the evolution of the Paris Library School from a program concentrated on the specific goals of training

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<sup>28</sup> Material in this chapter was published previously by the author and is included in this chapter with permission from the rights holder. Witt, S. (2013). Merchants of Light: The Paris Library School, Internationalism, and the Globalization of a Profession. *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, 83(2), 131–151. Witt, S. (2014). Agents of Change: The Rise of International Librarianship and the Age of Globalization. *Library Trends*, 62(3), 504–518.

French librarians and exporting American practices to an important center for international librarianship reliant upon new forms of internationalism.

With the conclusion of the First World War it would have seemed logical that the ALA follow the isolationist mood in the United States and develop a national library profession at home. After the War, however, the ALA chose to concentrate substantial efforts toward exporting American library practices and building an international professional network, continuing its prewar efforts to promote transnational collaboration within the profession.

During the war, the ALA organized and implemented what it considered a widely successful program to support soldiers through the distribution of books to troops stationed across the US and in Europe. As noted by Young, WWI briefly turned the ALA “from a small professional body into a welfare organization serving the library needs of several million soldiers” (Young, 1981, p. 93). After the war, the ALA continued its welfare work in Europe, moving its mission from direct support for troops toward efforts to promote librarianship and rebuild libraries destroyed during the conflict. Part of this international development work presented itself as an opportunity to train librarians. Working in collaboration with American philanthropists and members of the French library community, ALA established a permanent library school in Paris. *L'École de la rue de l'Elysée* was housed in the American Library of Paris, managed by the ALA, and fully sanctioned by the French Ministry of Education. The ALA ran the Paris Library School from 1924 to 1929 through the support of foundations such as the American Committee for a Devastated France (ACDF), the CEIP, and the Rockefeller foundation, plus help from regional US library associations and private gifts. Beginning as a project

to train French librarians and help build key social structures that were disrupted during the war, the project soon transformed into an internationally focused program aimed at creating a global professional structure to train librarians and promote international understanding. In pursuing these global ambitions, the ALA's aims for the school changed from a mission geared toward exporting the American model of librarianship to viewing the Paris Library School as a key piece in the development of international librarianship. The resulting collaboration with the ALA and its French colleagues placed the library profession at the forefront of the wider, non-State, internationalist movement that developed in this period.

In addition to programs such as the IMA and rebuilding of large academic libraries in Europe (Chapters 4 and 5), the interwar period marked an extensive growth period in professional library education around the world. As noted by Maack, the founding of the Paris Library School coincided with an “era of expansion and experimentation” in the development of formal library training programs, which are categorized as a “missionary phase” in library education (1986b). This phase included a great expansion of library training across the globe. From 1916-1926 at least thirteen new library schools were established with programs in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, India, China, Japan, Brazil, Mexico, and Turkey (Parsons, 1926).

In addition to describing the major shifts in library education and the contributions of female librarians during this period, Maack also established the significance of the Paris Library School in international exchanges that fostered the diffusion of public libraries in France (1986a). These exchanges also influenced the school's role as an innovator in cultivating international collaboration. By analyzing the

evolution of the school from the perspective of transnational history, the Paris Library School establishes the ALA and the rising library profession as active agents participating in the development of what are currently recognized as central elements of a globalized world society.

### THE ALA'S RATIONALE FOR TRAINING LIBRARIANS ABROAD

Responding to the horrible toll that the war took on the French population, Anne Morgan, daughter of American financier J.P. Morgan, established the American Committee for a Devastated France (ACDF) in 1918. The ACDF quickly began to aid in rebuilding civic and cultural institutions that supported women, children, and war refugees (Poulain, 1969). Among the many needs that the ACDF identified was a lack of reading material. As noted in a report on the ACDF's work, "there were practically no books left in Ainsé. The intellectual life of both adults and children had been starved. Libraries were organized" (Summarized Statement of the Work of the American Committee for Devastated France, Inc. April 1, 1918 – March 31, 1924). In addition to activities such as training doctors and providing the immediate needs of the French people, the ACDF organized and built six libraries in France between 1919 and 1923.

In 1922, the work of the ACDF was coming to an end, so Jesse Carson, who directed the ACDF's library programs, wanted to finalize the development of libraries through what she envisioned as a "six weeks' course, which would train French men and women to carry on the libraries when they were taken over by the French communes"

(Carson, 1923). Carson, a librarian from New York, had worked with the ACDF since 1918<sup>29</sup>. Prior to organizing this summer program, the CEIP had appropriated \$7,000 to the ACDF for transportation, lodging, meals for six French women to study in American Library Schools. The French Committee took on four students who studied at the New York Public Library School and the Library School of the Western Reserve University. The ACDF, however, recognized that “all French librarians cannot be trained in America,” so a summer program was conceived in partnership with the American Library in Paris at 10, rue de L’Elysee (American Committee for Devastated France, 1923). To carry-out the summer program, Carson turned to the ALA for help. In late 1922 and early 1923, Miss Carson worked to establish support from within the ALA to allocate “war funds” to establish the training program that would become the Paris Library School (Poulain, 1996). Beginning as a summer training program aimed at providing a limited number of French women with the skills needed to manage American styled public libraries built in France by the ACDF, the program was a quick success, training 29 students in “modern librarianship” its first summer.

Initial demand for the program led Carson and other ALA leaders, who had worked to support the war effort in France, to pursue a permanent American library school in Paris. Gaining support from her American colleagues was by no means a simple task. She lobbied the ALA membership during the Mid-Winter meeting of 1922. In a letter to William Warner Bishop, who had been active in the ALA War Service Office, Carson reported that she had considerable trouble selling the idea of a training

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<sup>29</sup> See Maack’s *American Bookwomen in Paris* for a full description of the significant achievements of librarians such as Carson and Bogle during this period.

program to people at the meeting. She noted that it was “difficult to get over to them not only the fact that they have a certain responsibility toward this work over here [France], but also that they have an opportunity to help push along the Public Library idea” (Carson, 1923).<sup>30</sup> This lack of enthusiasm for an international development project is in stark contrast to the animated efforts of the public library community to support the war effort and speaks to the general isolationist mood that prevailed in the U.S.

Some of this opposition may have stemmed from a lack of support for the American Library in Paris in which the summer programs and future Paris Library School were to be located. Carson noted that many ALA members were “down on the Paris Library” and felt that it was a failure. This sentiment was also expressed by Edwin H. Anderson, Director of the New York Public Library and a prominent member of the ALA War Services Committee<sup>31</sup>.

Most opposition, however, seemed to be about whether the ALA should be allocating resources and sending its members to France for the purpose of training librarians abroad and exporting American librarianship. This is clear in the reservations shown by Anderson over sending ALA Assistant Secretary Sarah Bogle and professional librarians to Paris for extended terms to support the fledgling library school. At the time, Bogle was not by any means an “internationalist” within the library field, but she was

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<sup>30</sup> See Wormann (1968) for a description of the ALA efforts throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century to export the idea of the American Public Library.

<sup>31</sup> In a letter to Milam in October of 1923, Anderson refers to the Paris Library as an “Anglo-American Super Library” and reports tensions between the Paris Library and Paris Library School. These tensions existed throughout the tenure of the Paris Library School (Anderson, 1923).

known for her role in education for children's librarians and strong leadership within the Association of American Library Schools and the ALA<sup>32</sup> (Johnson, 1992). Anderson had major reservations about sending this sort of "talent" to Paris, which he claimed would take away ALA's ability to concentrate on major new initiatives such as a new Association headquarters building in Chicago and the development of an endowment fund. Anderson told Charles Milam, ALA Secretary, that "I am afraid I am irrevocably committed to supering [sic] American libraries" and that his "interest, as far as the French library movement in Paris is concerned, is in French libraries for French people along the lines of the American public library" (Anderson, October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1923). This sentiment captures the mood of American librarians toward developing a school in Paris. On the other hand, it contrasts the view of the CEIP and Butler, when they later attempted to recruit Florence Wilson to manage the IMA program, suggesting a clear hierarchy within the CEIP which placed the library profession in service of its internationalist mission (Chapter 4).

Carson finally overcame a lack of enthusiasm from within the ALA membership. Initial plans and advocacy efforts focused on developing within Europe a library profession that serves the local population while instilling within the program the ethos of American public libraries to provide open access to books to the public as a whole. The prospect of furthering the American model of librarianship in Europe won the day and the

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<sup>32</sup> Nancy Louise Becker Johnson's dissertation on Bogle provides a comprehensive analysis of Bogle's life and contributions to the library profession both in the U.S. and internationally. Johnson, Nancy Louise Becker. Sarah C.N. Bogle, Librarian at Large: A Dissertation. University Microfilms, 1992.

ALA Executive Committee unanimously moved to transfer “war funds” to the establishment of the Paris Library School in February of 1923. The resolution stated:

That the Executive Board of the American Library Association accept responsibility of administering a fund of \$50,000, contributed by the American Committee for Work in Devastated France for the support of a library school in Paris for a period of two years beginning in the spring or summer of 1924; with the understanding that the Assistant Secretary of the A.L.A. is to be responsible for directing the school and is to be free to make one or two short visits to Paris each year at the expense of the fund. (American Library Association, 1923)

By the time of the ALA resolution, the plans for the school had already evolved from simply completing the library work of the ACDF toward a much more ambitious training program with a broader impact. In a letter that accompanied the ALA resolution to the Executive Committee, Charles Milam, Secretary of ALA, placed the school in the context of the establishment of the American Library in Paris, the six ACDF libraries, the newly established League of Nations Library in Geneva, and other libraries in Belgium and France being built through Carnegie support on the “American Plan.” In this letter, he notes that the ALA is “naturally interested in making certain that library training which represents America shall really represent the best American library practices.” In the same letter, Milam also established that the “proposed connection with the library school will result in personal contacts which should help American librarians to profit from the experiences of their European colleagues” (Milam, 1923, p. 2). Through this, Milam simultaneously placed the ALA at the center of promoting the American model of librarianship to the world while promoting the ALA’s traditional reciprocal learning and exchange through work with colleagues in other countries. This followed closely the internationalist model espoused by Butler and the CEIP. Initially, these aims were at the core of the school and they expressed themselves in a dual desire to “raise the technique

of librarianship in Europe” and promote international cooperation within the profession for the purpose of building peace and understanding.

## RAISING THE TECHNIQUE OF LIBRARIANSHIP IN EUROPE

The first summer training program in 1923 focused on the needs of librarians of the ACDF libraries. The course attracted, however, a much broader audience, with ninety seven applicants, an initial enrollment of fifty students, and a total of twenty nine graduates. In addition to students from France, the program included students from Belgium, Switzerland, England, and Russia. The ALA hoped to build upon this initial success through a permanent school.

While developing plans for the Paris Library School, the American library community had a clear objective to export to Europe the methods of librarianship endorsed by the ALA with missionary zeal. Florence Wilson, Librarian of the League of Nations Library in Geneva and future director of CEIP library projects in Europe captures this sentiment well in correspondence with Anne Morgan in July of 1923. Wilson explains the importance of the project and emphasizes it as an opportunity to introduce techniques unknown in Europe that will “raise the standard of library techniques” on the Continent. She goes on to state that “America has developed something entirely new in this line and has, I feel sure, something worthwhile to give to the world” (Wilson, July 31, 1923). The notion of imparting modern American library techniques to Europe and the world was common rhetoric within the ALA group charged with establishing the

school and promoting it both inside and outside of the profession. This position took on both a patronizing and reverent attitude towards Europe asserting that France (and Europe) had excellent libraries for scholars but that they did not cater to the needs of people outside of the academic realm in the manner of the American public library. One ALA Press Release stated that Europe is awakening to the possibilities of library service according to the American plan, which makes books available not merely to scholars and privileged groups, but to men, women and children of all classes (American Library Association, 1923). In an article about the Paris Library School, the *Christian Science Monitor* summed up the position by stating that, “while Europe probably leads us in culture, [Americans] lead in system and method” (French libraries use American Plan, 1923).

Sarah Bogle, Director of the School and Assistant Secretary of ALA, became the primary spokesperson, promoting the school in press releases, publications, and speeches throughout North America and Europe. While in Milwaukee for an ALA sponsored training event for public library staff, she informed the *Milwaukee Sentinel* that “American enterprise has cleared the dust off books in French libraries and taught that country what library service means” (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1924). As described in Chapter 4, the CEIP also held concerns regarding access to libraries by the general public in Europe. In the case of the CEIP, limited access to libraries meant challenges to making its IMA books available to the public.

As the representative of the ALA office in Chicago, Sarah Bogle represented American library methods within the school and through its promotion in France and Europe. As the Director of the school, Bogle spent much time travelling across Europe,

visiting, for example, library schools in Prague and Leipzig, which she reported as being “two of the outstanding library schools on the Continent” (Bogle, October 17, 1924).

Like Amy Heminway Jones, Sarah Bogle soon operated within a hypermobile and transnational sphere through which international communications and transoceanic travel were both common and necessary to oversee geographically dislocated projects.

Between 1923 and 1926, Bogle, who worked out of the Chicago offices of the ALA, traveled by boat from New York to France six times to administer the school (Ancestry.com, , 2018). Bogle appears to have been operating under the American brand of internationalism espoused by many of the leaders of the CEIP. This distinctly American version of internationalism viewed the U.S. as an important leader in the advancement of civilization and peace. As the project progressed, Bogle maintained this U.S. centered approach to internationalism throughout her work with the Paris Library School, coloring every international advance of the program through the lens of America’s role as a leader. When commenting on the praise given to the school during the International Congress in Prague, Bogle noted to Milam that “America leads in library development and the countries of Europe welcome the opportunity to send their library assistants and prospective librarians to a school in Paris where teaching is based on American experience and adapted for European conditions” (Bogle, 1927).

Although Poulain aptly notes Bogle’s perceptions of American superiority in library methods, plans for the school included some notions of reciprocity in learning and use of French expertise (1996). As the Plans for the school stated,

an organized plan for the systematic interchange between the library schools of Paris and America of those students desiring to pursue special subject is also part of the scheme. It is expected that this will help further library development in the

two countries and promote the desired fellowship. (Plan for a Library School in Paris, 1924, p. 1)

This fellowship followed the pattern of internationalist activities toward creating transnational and transcultural bonds to further the aims of facilitating cosmopolitan perspectives and tolerance amidst the threat of nationalism. Additionally, plans provided that “the registrar and one or two instructors will probably be French, as will also be most of the special lecturers” (Plan for a Library School in Paris, 1924, p. 2). As the school’s organization evolved, the French influence and level of administration grew.

## THE FRENCH RECEPTION OF THE PARIS LIBRARY SCHOOL

As noted previously, the Paris Library School was initially conceived as necessary to support the public libraries in France being developed by the ACFD. These libraries, which adopted the American model of free and open public libraries, represented a break in the French popular library tradition by responding to the “needs of all readers without legitimating or privileging one segment of the public to the detriment of another, one subject over another, one type of document more than another” (Poulain, 1996, p. 455). At the time, France had a well-established tradition for training librarians, which was quite sophisticated and focused on archival work, paleography, and bibliography (Gardner, 1968). This system, however, didn’t emphasize provision of broad access to knowledge for the general public, and it was this difference in practice that justified the need for a new program of library education. As the ALA Assistant Secretary, Bogle, noted,

France is becoming very wide awake to the necessity for modern library service, and on all sides there are forces which merely need direction. Before the American Committee (ACFD) withdraws in January there should be some strong plan for cooperation between America and Europe for library development. (Bogle, June 29, 1923)

Training standards for librarians in France were well established by 1923. Since 1879, all aspiring librarians had to first pass a state examination to enter a library position, and the *École des Chartes'* *Diplôme d'archiviste paléographe* had a virtual monopoly in training librarians for high level posts in the national library. There was, however, a movement to reform the examination system and the multiple exceptions that it afforded graduates of *École des Chartes*. According to Gardner, by 1920, the L'Association des Bibliothécaires de France (ABF) was advocating for reform in the examination system and to establish a unique curriculum and diploma for aspiring librarians. This reform, which was not implemented by the ABF until 1932, was led by the ABF President and Ernest Coyecque, future consulting director of the Paris Library School (Gardner, 1968).

Although labeled by French detractors the “Chartist School of the Far West,” the Paris Library School, through connections with the ACDF, was quickly able to assemble a cohort of French collaborators, who were keen to fill the need for trained library staff in libraries across the country (Poulain, 1996). In addition, the willingness to collaborate might have been influenced by factions that had developed between support for reform of the French system and a desire to maintain the examination system that gave preference to elites from the *École des Chartes*. These dynamics provided fertile ground for establishing strong local support for the Paris Library School.

Two early advocates of the school were Eugene Morel, a librarian at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (BNF) and former President of the ABF, and Ernest

Coyecque, ABF President and *Inspecteur des bibliothèques de la ville de Paris et de la Préfecture de la Seine*. Both men provided essential support and advice on successfully establishing the school and gaining government support toward accreditation. Morel, for example, warned the school's resident director, Parsons, of opposition from the *École des Chartes* "because the school has had the monopoly in placing its graduates in government library posts" and advised that if the Paris Library School focused its curriculum on technical training for subordinate posts within libraries, opposition would disappear (Parsons, December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1923).

It is clear that French collaboration was essential to the early success of the program and played a critical role in the evolution of the Paris Library School. Mary Parsons, Resident Director of the school, relied heavily on the advice and connections provided by her French colleagues. Parsons, who provided detailed descriptions of her interactions to Sarah Bogle in Chicago, often recounted the help of French colleagues in providing introductions and facilitating meetings amongst influential people in the *École des Chartes*, BNF, and other organizations. These interactions exposed both a willingness to support the School and clear differences in vision for the school than what was expressed by the ALA (Bogle, June 18, 1925).

Early on in the establishment of the School, it is clear that Coyecque viewed the Paris Library School as principally for French students, and he used his post with the Prefecture of Seine to finance the printing and mailing of materials promoting the school throughout France. Paul Perrier, author of *L'Unite Humaine* and an archivist at the BNF referred to the Paris Library School as "our school" and led efforts to send out the school's prospectus to select members of the *Societe des Amis de la Bibliothèque*

Nationale [45].<sup>33</sup> Firmin Roz, Assistant Director of French Universities and Schools, played an important role in acting as an intermediary with the École des Chartes and helping to establish cooperation amidst strong reservations about the strength of the School's curriculum and competition for students.

One French colleague who stood out within this group was Gabriel Henriot. When the Paris Library School was being established, Henriot served as the director of the Forney Library, which specialized in collections in industrial design, arts, and crafts. Parson noted that Henriot emphasized that the library gave “practical service to artists and artisans in a small and poor quarter in Paris” (Parsons, 1924). Henriot provided initial support to the formation of the school by working with the École des Chartes' alumni association to advocate for the school and its curriculum with their alma mater.

From the beginning, Henriot's ambitions for the Paris Library School were much broader than Coyecque's focus on France and the ALA's emphasis on exporting American techniques and models. During their meeting in May 1924, Henriot informed Parsons that he hoped the school would become “International” and related the school to his interest in Henry La Fontaine's International Institute of Bibliography in Brussels. Henriot left an impression on Parsons. After the meeting, Parsons noted that she had never “talked with anyone of any nationality who showed more vision than Mr. Henriot, did until this afternoon, both about the work of his own library and about international

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<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, Paul Perrier's work, *L'Unite Humaine* is quoted several times by Suzanne Briet to demonstrate the global interconnections between societies and the role of information and culture in promoting peace in her work *Qu'est-ce que la documentation?*. (1951). Briet was an early applicant to the Paris Library School and was offered through the program a position at the Brooklyn public library. There is little archival evidence, however, of any travels to the US during this period.

library ideas” (Parsons, May 8<sup>th</sup> 1924). Henriot would soon join the faculty of the Paris Library School and become the President of the ABF, using these posts to further his ambitions for international librarianship.

By the time of the school’s official opening in 1924, the Paris Library School had responded to many of the French concerns and established Coyecque as Consulting Director; nearly thirty French academics, politicians, and librarians serving on the school’s affiliated Comité français de la bibliothèque moderne; and over ten prominent French librarians providing lectures and directing courses in topics ranging from bibliography to reference work. In addition, many curricular changes were implemented to serve French needs.

When the Paris Library School opened in 1924 it was neither an American project to export its version of the library profession nor a French training school. It had become a hybridization that provided for both American and French needs within an internationalist milieu. The subtle shifting from American model to hybridized French and American school is explained by Arjun Appadurai in *Modernity at Large*. Appadurai argues against the notion of globalization as leading to “Americanization” or cultural homogenization. Instead, Appadurai argues, these homogenizing forces of globalization are “absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated” to create new and unpredictable landscapes (1996, p. 42).

As the school continued to develop, its hybridity fostered an internationalism that grew in importance. In time, this new form of internationalism became a central feature in the school’s mission through the promotion of international activities for the purpose of aiding scholarly cooperation and furthering cultural understanding. Much of this

internationalism came about through the merging of French and American perspectives. Many French internationalists from within the library community embraced the Paris Library School. At the school's opening in June of 1924, Paul Perrier, who helped to promote the program among colleagues, was seated at the head table with representatives of the French library community, ALA, and Morgan's ACDF (Parsons, June 4, 1924). Seated with Pereira was Gabriel Henriot and Mary Parsons, the school's Resident Director. Parsons, a librarian from New Jersey, was to become a key interlocutor between the French internationalists and the American administrators of the program in the ALA Chicago office.

The school's inauguration included prominent members of the Paris academic community. Marguerite Gruny, who participated in the inauguration, later recalled the general enthusiasm for the opening of the school and noted that the school was infused with many avant-garde notions. Quoting from Coyecque's speech, she noted that he placed the opening as an important day in the history of libraries and highlighted the illuminating impact of access to books to a culture by noting that "*une ville sans livres est une ville sans lumière*" (a town without books is a town without light) (Lemaitre, 1980, p. 13).

Although the ALA included multiple French experts in the school, Poulain noted that the Paris Library School was clearly directed with American library methods presented as superior (1996). Ironically, it was the American philanthropist, Anne Morgan, who was most upset with this America centered approach to directing the school when she shared her displeasure for Coyecque's title of Consulting Director, which she believed "put him on the outside of things rather than on the inside" (Parsons, April 6<sup>th</sup>,

1924). The French faculty, however, continued to influence the school's development and managed to repatriate the American ideals into a new focus. As noted in a letter from Henriot, American and French colleagues worked in close collaboration, creating a close family "whose members are animated by the same zeal for a cause equally dear to all" (Henriot, May 25th, 1925.). This close collaboration not only supported the exchange of influence between the American public library, Western European documentation, and French models but also provided space to support the development of new forms of internationalization within the profession<sup>34</sup>.

#### FROM FRENCH SCHOOL TO INTERNATIONAL CENTER

Although the goals of supporting librarianship in France by promoting the American model of professional technique and public libraries received top billing, the school served as a prominent hub for international exchange and cross-cultural understanding. Clearly, one of the school's aims from the beginning was "for the purposes of international understanding," a clear invocation internationalism (Plan for a Library School in Paris, 1924). With the inclusion of French collaborators such as

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<sup>34</sup> Sylvie Fayet-Scribe documents the impact of this collaborative work in an article titled "The Cross-fertilization of the U.S. Public Library Model and the French Documentation Model (IIB, French Correspondent of FID) Through the French Professional Associations Between World War I and World War II." In *Historical Studies in Information Science*, edited by Trudi Bellardo Hahn and Michael Keeble Buckland, 181–192. Information Today, Inc., 1998.

Henriot and funding from American internationalists such as Morgan and the CEIP, the role of the school as a center for international activities continued to grow.

As early as 1923, when the school was still in the conceptual stages, ALA's Bogle enthusiastically described interest in the program from her CEIP funded travels across Europe. She stated: "France is ready; Belgium is ready, and before I come home I shall know about Holland and Spain. There is also demand coming from Switzerland" (Bogle, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1923). In a later letter, she reports,

Belgium and France are both ready for everything that America can do to promote the library movement, and nothing could help toward international understanding more than the American public library and the distribution of American and English books in the two countries. (Bogle, June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1923)

Even for some of the most strident supporters of the promotion of the "American model" abroad such as Bogle, the international exchanges afforded by the school became central to promoting its continued existence.<sup>35</sup> Bogle claimed in a discussion of the initial impact of the school that "there is no question but that the school is at present the leading factor in international library development" (Bogle, October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1924).

As the program developed, this internationalization was attributed to the harmonious work of the students. Parsons reported to Bogle that

perhaps one of the reasons why this year's students work well together is that no one nationality predominates. The number of students of each passport nationality is as follows: French 4, Norwegian 3, American 2, Polish 2, Austrian 1, Belgian 1, Danish 1, Greek 1, Hungarian 1, Palestinian 1, Turk 1. (Parsons, December 11, 1928)

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<sup>35</sup> For a biography of Bogle, see Johnson (1992).

Through help of the CEIP, students from Greece, Turkey, Hungary, and Palestine received scholarships to study in Paris, increasing the international population and impact of the school.

Overall, the international character increased annually with a total of twenty-five nations represented among the alumni by the time of the school's closure (Henriot, 1943). The increase in international students and the international nature of the school was to a large degree credited to the efforts of French faculty, such as Henriot, who requested that the original quotas limiting the number of non-French and non-American students be eliminated (Henriot, 1925, May 25). It is during this development and through the necessary collaboration with French librarians to make the school a success that the homogenizing forces of American librarianship were repatriated to France, transforming the school in the manner described by Appadurai (1996).

The school soon began to serve as a clearing house for international exchange, providing information on library techniques and receiving numerous requests for advice on organizing libraries, especially special libraries serving industry, from across Europe. What developed out of Paris and the school can be described in the language of Castells as a hub in the growing network of international librarianship. Castells describes the networked social structure as the "interaction between the revolution in information technology, the process of globalization, and the emergence of networking as the predominant social form of organization" (2009, p. 548). Within Castells' conception of a global society, cultural life, policy making, technical standards, and economic exchange are increasingly organized in a network structure. Castells states that within this network, "society is constructed around flows, the expression of processes dominating our

economic, political and symbolic life” (2009, p. 124). These flows are amplified by technology; principal geographic nodes like universities, global cities, and financial centers or universities; and highly mobile, social groups. The network surrounding knowledge production that Castells describes is particularly relevant to the development of international librarianship. These networks are primarily located in universities and the public research system, and this “system is global, depending on continuous communication in the form of publications, conferences, journals, seminars, academic associations” (2009, p. 20). The Paris Library School had in a short time become a geographic node for a growing network of internationalism within the profession.

In addition to Castell’s theories on the network society, Appadurai focuses on the notion of being connected to a wider network and flow of power through globalization. Appadurai describes structures of global flows that include rapidly changing technology, mobility of people, increased trade, the ability to produce and disseminate information, and the movement of ideas (1996). For Appadurai, this creates scapes of globalization that do not constitute a single, homogenizing process. Alternatively, Appadurai asserts that these scapes create opportunities for diversification when ideas, people, and technologies are shared. According to Appadurai homogenization is weakened, and even the State is powerless in controlling the impacts of a free flow of “people, machinery, money, images and ideas” (1996, p. 33). Appadurai’s observations are also visible in the actions of internationalists such as Henriot, La Fontaine, and Briet, who aimed to develop information networks and systems that would create opportunities for organizing and sharing knowledge across national, cultural, and disciplinary domains.

The desire to be attached to this growing network was soon infused throughout the Paris Library School. This is evident in a guest lecture to students given by a Mr. Varran, an alumnus who managed an industrial library in Oslo. Varran remarked that the chance to earn a professional diploma has been helpful, but “but also it gives a feeling of solidarity among librarians in different parts of the world...next year I shall be writing for instance to Jerusalem and to other class mates in other countries” (Parsons, 1926). As the program evolved, so did the emphasis on its role in promoting this new form of internationalism that was gaining momentum.

This rising spirit of transnationalism began to impact the larger international library community, influencing directly the trajectory of international librarianship. At the 1926 International Congress of Librarians in Prague, Parsons, Resident Director of the Paris Library School, delivered a long address on that focused primarily on the international development of the profession, casting the work of libraries and scientific research in a broad global lens.

The work of the International Institute of Bibliography in Brussels, of the Concilium bibliographicum at Zurich, of the Library of the League of Nations, of the Section on International Relations of the American Library in Paris and of the recently created International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation all point the way toward international cooperation, in research work. We are realizing that research work in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century can rarely be done satisfactorily without the use of publications and often the libraries in a number of difference countries.  
(Parsons, 1926, p. 1)

By placing the need for international collaboration and networking within the context of the rise of international organizations dedicated to information dissemination and

exchange, Parsons showed the manner by which the library profession was growing internationally and developing a global consciousness in its activities and exchanges.

This growing consciousness of the proliferation of international exchanges and collaboration that were taking place at the Paris Library School helped to pave the way for the founding of the International Federation of Library Associations in 1927. Inspired by their close work French colleagues such as Monsiour Firmin Roz and exchanges with colleagues in Berlin facilitated by Gabriel Henriot, Parsons and Bogle asked the ALA President to introduce the following resolution at the 1926 International Conference of Librarians and Friends of the Book in Prague:

Be it resolved that the International Congress of Librarians and Booklovers assembled in Prague from June 28<sup>th</sup> – Jul 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1926, considering the question of exchange between countries of librarians, library school professors and students worthy of study as a step toward better correlation of library training, request the President of the Congress to refer the matter to some permanent committee organized in the interest of international library development. (Memorandum of a Conference, 1925, p. 1)

This resolution, which was ultimately introduced by Henriot on behalf of the Association des Bibliothecaires Francais, is attributed to the subsequent founding of IFLA in 1927.

Following the Prague meeting, conversations regarding an international library organization continued. In October of 1926, during the ALA's 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Meeting, which featured the attendance of librarians from around the world through support of the CEIP, the Chairman of the ALA Committee on International Relations hosted an informal off-site session to discuss International Cooperation. During the meeting, the group discussed Henriot's Prague resolution with much enthusiasm. Among the many participants in the discussion were Mary Parsons of the Paris Library School and

Elizabeth Wood, who founded Wuhan China's Boone University Library, an early adopter of IMA collections (Chapter 3). In October of 1926, Carl Milam hosted private a follow-up lunch in Washington, DC, with a smaller group of librarians from England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Sweden, and the US. At this meeting, Hugo Kruss, Director general of the State Library in Berlin, proposed that the ALA begin working to advance Henriot's idea to form an "International Library Committee with the prospect that such discussion may be so far advanced at the time of the Edinburgh meeting of next year that definite action may be taken" (American Library Association, 1926, p. 21). Henry Guppy from the John Rylands library (See Chapter 5) seconded the resolution, and the group unanimously adopted the idea. Ultimately, this Committee became IFLA, sustained the profession's internationalism throughout World War Two, and ensured the continuance of programs similar to the Paris Library School and IMA within UNESCO after the war. The international library community took full advantage of the support provided by the CEIP, while achieving its own library focused internationalist objectives. Clearly, the Paris Library School and its faculty had grown to a level of considerable influence in international library activities and represented a growing ideal of internationalism within the profession.

## THE ENDURING STRENGTH OF A TRANSNATIONAL NETWORK

By 1927, the Paris Library School was a success. It attracted more applicants than the program could accommodate and placed graduates in positions throughout France and Europe (Conference on the Paris Library School, 1927). In 1925, the school fielded 300

applicants from twelve nations for an advertised 30 seats in the program (Olds, 1925). The school had an active alumni organization, faculty were productive in the field, and the ALA remained resolute in aiding the school as strived to transition toward a permanent organizational sponsor and sustainable economic model (Conference on the Paris Library School, 1927). At this point, it is clear that the school quickly transitioned from an small summer workshop to train a few French librarians to an international center for librarianship that existed simultaneously as an agent of both French and American librarianship, a development program for aspiring French librarians, and an international center that fostered a novel organizational structure that existed outside of State power structures and represented the internationalization of the library profession.

The Paris Library School also inspired sentiments of internationalism in the US. In a scene far removed from the lights of Paris, Charles Belden, ALA President during the formative years of the Paris Library School, gave a speech inspired by ALA's international activities at the 1928 ALA Annual Conference in rural hot springs resort of West Baden, Indiana. Belden outlined the evolution of international library cooperation from the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century, charting its course toward permanent institutional structures to support international cooperation among libraries. Within this history, Belden ranked the Paris Library school as "one of the most effective contributions of American librarianship toward international co-operation" (Belden, 1928, p. 350). The movement of cultural internationalism within the library profession and advanced through the activities of the Paris Library School had begun to coalesce into an INGO and further extend the network of international library cooperation and

exchange. The overarching message of Belden's address, however, was that funding was needed to support these international activities.

1927 had marked a critical juncture in the future of the school, since it is a time that the ALA was most active in seeking a permanent home and sponsor for the Paris based school. Despite the school's success and continuing internationalist trajectory, the ALA operated under the shadow of fierce isolationist tendencies in the United States. Carl Roden, ALA President in 1927, experienced these pressures firsthand as Director of the Chicago Public Library. In the fall of 1927, Mayor Thompson of Chicago threatened to remove and burn "anti-American" and "pro-Britain" library books in Grant Park. In these attacks, both Roden and the ALA are accused of scattering "anti-American, pro-British propaganda throughout public libraries of the United States" (Big Bill to 'Purge' Library, 1927). The same criticism of books that undermined Americanism that was waged against the IMA program was heaped on the ALA and other American public libraries in a culture war that pitted nationalism vs. all forms of internationalism. Like the pressures felt by libraries during World War One to aid in wartime propaganda and limit access to materials that could be perceived as sympathetic enemies of the State, the Chicago Public Library was pressured to limit access to books perceived as politically sensitive to isolationists. Roden avoided the book burnings only by placing such books in what the Chicago Public library referred to as the "inferno" where were "locked obscene volumes and others considered unfit for general circulation" (Gen. Herrmann Storms Library; Seizes 4 Books, 1927). Ironically, at the very time that the ALA was considering whether and how to continue its ambitions for international library programs that would export a vision for a free and open model of Public Libraries to the world, one of the

largest American Public Library systems was unable to “make books available to men, women, and children of all classes”.

At the very time that American Public Libraries were being accused of anti-Americanism and drawn into nationalistic battles in the U.S., the Paris Library School accelerated its course towards internationalism. Providing the ALA with a safe harbor from which to conduct its international affairs, the school had become an international hub for librarians. During two weeks in October of 1927, when the Chicago controversy was at its height, Parsons reported that the school counted among its visitors:

the librarian of the Peace Palace of the Hague, the director of the University Library of Budapest, the director of the Royal Library of Sweden, the director of the Champre Centrale du Libre d'état of Moscow, the law librarian of the Library of Congress, the librarian of the Central Public Library of Copenhagen, and the librarian of the League of Nations. (Memorandum on the Paris Library School, 1928)

The director of the Royal Library of Sweden was Dr. Collijn, who had only recently been elected as the first President of the International Committee of Librarians and Bibliographers (later renamed IFLA). As part of his visit, Mary Parsons arranged for Collijn to meet for tea with Earle Babcock, President of the CEIP European Bureau. This was an indication of the close collaboration with the CEIP's European Bureau despite the organizational difficulties noted in Chapter 4 (Parsons to Babcock, October 13, 1927 – CEIP Archives). The CEIP was a part of other internationalizing efforts associated with the Paris Library School funding faculty to attend the American Library Association meetings in 1926 and including the Paris Library School on a European tour it funded for 30 editors of leading US newspapers.

It is also at this very time that the CEIP invited Florence Wilson, a member of the school's faculty and founding librarian for the League of Nations Library in Geneva, to travel to Central Europe, Asia, and Africa to investigate the potential for IMA collections, increase the knowledge of library resources and practices in these regions, and to attract students from these areas to the Paris Library School. Wilson considered "the existence of the School as essential to the success of her mission" for the CEIP (Parsons, 1927).

These international activities were in stark contrast to the drama occurring in Chicago, home of the ALA and the office of the Paris Library School's Director, Sara Bogle. It also provided contrast to the controversy in Louvain. The Paris Library School operated to a certain degree in isolation from these nationalistic and political pressures, managing to avert being tangled-up in the domestic issues of the ALA and the political turmoil created by Butler's management of the Louvain library project.

While negotiating the thicket of isolationist controversy that had attracted national attention, Roden convened a special conference at Chicago's Drake Hotel, inviting prominent academics and librarians to consider the fate of the Paris Library School and whether or how it might continue. Roden opened the meeting with statements that clearly placed the Paris Library School in the context of its benefits to America and American Librarianship, noting that "it has been my first thought always in thinking of it whether the Paris Library School has actually been useful to librarianship in America" (Conference on the Paris Library School, 1927, p.2).

As discussions of the school evolved, however, the conversation turned to the benefits provided by the international exchange afforded by the school than on the value of promoting Public Libraries or ALA's notion of modern library techniques. In his

opening remarks to the ALA conference regarding the fate of the school, Russell, Dean at Columbia University's Teacher's College, noted that:

the Paris Library School, in the long run, is going to be a flat failure if its primary purpose is to give to France, or to Norway, or any other country, something that we (American's) know. In the same way, I think, it is going to be a flat failure as far as international relations are concerned if it is primarily an institution to give America something that they [Europeans] have. (Conference on the Paris Library School, 1927, p. 23)

Later in the conference, Roden summed up the tenor of the group's position on the school and moved away from the America-centric position from which he began the proceedings:

We have, if I state the position of the conference correctly, arrived at a point where we have less interest in the present performance of that library school in the present and the past than we have in its activities and its important and obvious possibilities as an instrument for international, or for the promotion of international culture, if not international relations. (Conference on the Paris Library School, 1927 p. 48)

After only three years of operating the Paris Library School and amidst fierce isolationist pressures on libraries at home, the ALA had recalibrated the role an international institution like the Paris Library School might play for a national organization like the ALA. The focus was toward cultural internationalism: collaboration, exchange, and working on a global scale towards goals shared with librarians around the world.

Although this was not new among American librarians (Chapter 3), a clear vision of an independent international organization emerged. As Roden described, "it is a very distinct place as an international agency which perhaps eliminated the American Library Association as its sole sponsor" (Conference on the Paris Library School, 1927, p. 48-9).

This shift moves the center of focus away from promoting American librarianship or

developing librarianship in a given region to an emerging emphasis on transnational cooperation and exchange. The goal became building a global library profession. At the end of the Chicago conference, the group resolved to seek an American university with a prominent library school to take over the Paris Library School and to continue to canvas American philanthropists for donations to support the program.

The French participants of the program showed unanimous support for the continuation of the school with an emphasis on its international character. There was, however, less enthusiasm among the French faculty for the school to be managed by an American entity. They hoped to establish a truly international school free from the control of any one nation. Parsons, who seemed to share the perspectives of her French colleagues, reported to Bogle that running the school under the organizational structure of an American university “would change the character of the school and prevent it from making its unique contribution to librarianship through its international work” (Parsons, December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1927). By this time, the ALA’s library school in Paris had already been repatriated and recast in an image of cultural internationalism.

Parsons further voiced objections about support from the CEIP, noting that “Europeans consider it a propaganda agency” (Parsons, December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1927). This resistance to the CEIP may have had its roots in its broad dissemination of books and materials through libraries, the controversy over the Louvain University Library, and the organization’s leadership, which represented clear ties to a US centered internationalism geared toward furthering US ideals and objectives.

These tensions also suggest that the Paris Library School was moving further into new realms of internationalism, occupying what contemporary social scientists and

historians such as Iriye would consider “transnational space.” In essence, the Paris Library School was becoming de-centered from the traditional State-centered perspectives held by both isolationists and mainstream internationalists toward a new idealized transnational space that focused on developing the universal and global dimensions of the library profession toward serving a common humanity.

This transnational trajectory for the school was also alluded to in the Chicago conference for the Paris Library School by Columbia University’s Russell, who describes the school’s mission as the work of “merchants of light” who “trade not in gold nor silk nor precious stones and all the rest, nor do they engage in international intercourse, they deal in . . . light” (Conference on the Paris Library School, 1927, p. 44). Although dramatic, Russell’s invocation of *Merchants of Light* alluded to Francis Bacon’s utopian world that is guided by the ideal of knowledge and discovery. The promotion of this ideal in a transnational space and operating through libraries placed the Paris Library School at the center of the cultural internationalism that fostered new forms of international engagement and collaboration that persist today and dominate discourse in contemporary globalization.

From as early as 1926, ALA leaders such as Belden, Milam, and Bogle attempted to find a funding model that would support the teaching functions and exchanges necessary for an international library school. Riding on the momentum of the Prague International Conference and Chicago meeting, Bogle made the rounds to foundations and philanthropists throughout North America, speaking to representatives from organizations such as Carnegie, Eastman, Kresge, Morgan, and Rockefeller. A frustrated Bogle noted in correspondence that William Wrigley, of chewing gum fame, “didn’t care

about libraries” and another prominent Chicago philanthropist, MacAvinche, had “no interest in foreigners” (Bogle, April 25, 1928).

With the school’s ability to operate through its fifth year now in doubt Carl Milam telegraphed a desperate plea to invoke Nicholas Murray Butler’s interest in the Paris Library School, telling him that the school would close without receiving roughly \$37,500 (Milam, April 7, 1928). Somehow the ALA was able to raise the funds, and in June of 1928, the CEIP Bureau in Paris provided a final grant to the Paris Library School, giving an additional \$3,000 to the school to fund lectureships for the next academic year. As Milam noted in a letter of thanks to Babcock, “the School’s continuance for the final year of the demonstration period is now assured and I hope it will not be many months before we can announce that the School is permanently established” (Milam, June 15, 1928). Permanent support for the school did not arrive. By May of 1929 economic pressures from the looming market crash were already weighing on the minds of the ALA. Carl Milam informed Mary Parsons that “we shall probably have to find some way to wind up our affairs without expense” (Milam, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1929). Milam explained further that the ALA war funds had been exhausted. The market adjustment of March, which preceded the October crash, also brought further bad news. Milam further reported that the Paris Library School’ “contingent fund in this year’s budget has been wiped out by information from the Trustee of the [ALA] Endowment Fund saying in effect that more than the amount of the contingent funds will be needed to take care of the decrease from our securities” (Milam, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1929). Milam closed by offering the hope that a university may take over the school, noting that McGill in Canada was “giving the matter serious thought” (Milam, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1929).

In June of 1929, the Paris Library School drafted a memorandum of agreement with the ALA and the Association des Anciens Eleves de l'Ecole de Bibliothecaires, the PLA alumni association, granting the association access to the school's property while the school was closed for the summer. The l'Association des Anciens Eleves de l'Ecole de Bibliothecaires attempted to save their school and sought funds to maintain and run the Paris Library School. They reached out to Columbia University and the University of Michigan through William Bishop, the University Librarian, with little luck in gaining a commitment or raising funds. In July of 1929, they reached out to Babcock in the CEIP European Bureau. Writing on behalf of the program's 180 graduates from 25 countries, the association sought help in obtaining 52,000 francs for rent and capital to place the school on a firm financial footing (Association des Anciens Eleves de L'Ecole de Bibliothecaires, July 30, 1929).

Despite clear support from within the profession for the aims of the Paris Library School and other internationalist activities such as IFLA, the ALA was unable to attract either an American university partner or funding agency that fully embraced the hybridized professional and internationalist missions of the school. The Paris Library School was forced to close by 1929. Although the ending of the school may have seemed to be a failure, its role in facilitating the creation of IFLA<sup>36</sup> and setting a new trajectory for international organization within the library and information sector persisted. The library school as transnational venture, was clearly a notion well ahead of its time and was impeded by rising nationalism in the world. In 1928, a German colleague informed

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<sup>36</sup> The International Library and Bibliography Committee ratified the creation of IFLA in Rome 31<sup>st</sup> of March, 1928. The signatories included fifteen library associations and fifteen countries.

Parsons that “the idea of having this school international . . . was excellent but that he personally did not think control by an international group would be workable at present, although . . . in twenty years it might be” (Parsons, March 20th, 1928).

## CONCLUSION

Although the Paris Library School closed in 1929, the spirit of cultural internationalism it engendered and the global network it influenced continued to flow throughout international librarianship. The evolving cultural internationalism of the school, its expanding transnational network, and the new organizational form that it took when “repatriated” in France were essential to the founding of IFLA. It was the vision of Henriot and his colleagues from within the Paris Library School that propelled the founding of a permanent INGO that would “take care of the international relations among libraries and create the necessary conditions for the mutual international co-operation of librarians” (Malek, 1970, p. 223). Unlike the loss of an important network that ended with the closure of the IMA program, the Paris Library School’s network continued to support the growth of the profession through the professional associations that ran it.

In August of 1930, the International Library Committee, which was the executive and directing body of IFLA, met in Stockholm. During this meeting, Henriot made another proposal. This time, he called for the creation of an “International Library School, based on the foundation of the Paris Library School” (American Library Association, 1930a, p. 686). The proposal was accepted by IFLA. Sarah Bogle was also

in attendance as the representative of the ALA. She gave an address on library activities in the United States and Canada. As noted in Chapter 1, her opening remarks captured fully the globalized profession that had emerged. Bogle opened her talk by stating that “a universal library consciousness has made itself felt as never before” (American Library Association, 1930a, p. 834). Throughout this ALA report, the focus was on the vast international activities within the profession and the growing interchange of library organizations with various INGOs.

Although the Paris Library School closed in 1929, the spirit of cultural internationalism it engendered and the global network it influenced continued to flow throughout international librarianship. The evolving cultural internationalism of the school, its expanding transnational network, and the new organizational form that it took when “repatriated” in France were essential to the founding of IFLA. It was the vision of Henriot and his colleagues from within the Paris Library School that propelled the founding of a permanent INGO that would “take care of the international relations among libraries and create the necessary conditions for the mutual international co-operation of librarians” (Malek, 1970, p. 223). Unlike the loss of an important network that ended with the closure of the IMA program, the Paris Library School’s network continued to support the growth of the profession through the professional associations that ran it.

In 1948, IFLA partnered with the newly formed United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to organize an international summer school for librarians. The school aspired to continue the work of the internationalist movement by promoting public libraries, supporting reconstruction of libraries in war ravaged countries, and “increase[ing] awareness among participants of the aims of

UNESCO especially in relation to public libraries as centers for education in international understanding” (UNESCO, 1948, p. 1). The idea of an international school for librarianship and the role of public libraries in creating international minds influenced directly the mission of UNESCO through both the transnational library profession and support of foundations such as the CEIP and Rockefeller (Intrator, 2016)<sup>37</sup>. The Libraries Division of UNESCO reported on the success of the International Summer School for Librarians, which was run by Leon Carnovsky, S. R. Ranganathan, and Charles Depasse for 48 participants from twenty countries in Western and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa, East and South Asia, and North and South America. Through UNESCO, work to train librarians with international perspectives and to rebuild the war-torn library infrastructure continued in a manner that emphasized internationalism via public access to knowledge, carrying-on the internationalist goals of librarians that had evolved over the past 40 years.

Building from the early international activities of the library profession to promote the idea of the public library as a source of social change (Chapter 3) and gaining strength through the programs and network that established an internationally minded transnational profession (Chapters 4-6), the international consciousness of the library community not only survived World War Two but quickly continued work toward its internationalist vision.

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<sup>37</sup> Correspondence in the UNESCO archives documents the active role of the CEIP’s European Bureau in funding meetings and providing logistical support for the creation of UNESCO. A full analysis of this evolution, however, falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

“Public libraries with particular emphasis on their service to popular education and the promotion of international understanding” – UNESCO, 1948

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This dissertation contributes to understanding the extent and impact of the library profession’s participation in new internationalism. By focusing on cases that revolved around partnerships between the expanding library profession and the CEIP, the dissertation takes a transnational view of library history. The cases include the International Mind Alcove program (Chapter 4), managed centrally by the CEIP; the rebuilding of the University of Louvain Library (Chapter 5), a complex partnership largely managed by the CEIP yet including multiple national and non-state actors; and the Paris Library School (Chapter 6), a program managed by the ALA that relied heavily on support from the CEIP, French collaborators, and other US funding organizations.

The three cases were selected purposefully to explore the role of libraries and the library profession in the transnational internationalism movement. More specifically, careful reading of primary source materials related to these projects uncovers the manner by which the library profession and organizations such as the CEIP collaborated to impact global public opinion and enact an internationalist world vision for global governance and international affairs. Through the analysis of these cases, this dissertation fills gaps in the history of internationalism and more specifically to re-interpret the social impacts of this transnational movement through the lens of library history.

To answer the research questions, I engaged in close reading and analysis of archival resources from the CEIP's archives and the Nicholas Murray Butler Papers at Columbia University and the ALA archives at the University of Illinois. In addition, I examined closely other primary source materials - newspapers, professional literature, and books published during this era to reveal insights into the implementation, management, and impact of these programs and how they contributed to internationalist narratives. To better contextualize and understand the impact of the three cases, I analyzed events, activities, and social developments from 1911 – 1951, a time period that encapsulates the CEIP's international mind campaign rather than a geopolitical frame within the interwar, pre-war, or post-war eras (Iriye, 2013). Secondary literature on the history of early 20<sup>th</sup> century internationalism, social theories of globalization, and the history of librarianship informs this analysis to place this history in a context that aligns with the work of both transnational and library historians such as Akira Iriye (1989; 2002; 2013), Alistair Black (1995; 2001; 2016), and Wayne Wiegand (1989; 1999; 2011).

Close and critical reading of the primary source materials shows not only the extent of participation of the library community in internationalism but also the manner by which both the library profession and the CEIP expressed agency and used the structure and ideals of the library movement to implement their respective and complimentary internationalist missions. Together both the CEIP and the library profession attempted to use the library as both a symbolic and practical mechanism to promote what is described in Chapter 1 as new internationalism by influencing public

opinion on a transnational scale and creating a sustainable organizational structure for the library profession that could continue to advance internationalism on a global scale.

## REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

*[RQ1] How and to what extent were the activities of the library profession and the societal role of the library significant to the development of new internationalism?*

This dissertation makes evident that the library profession played a contributing role to the internationalist movement during the early to mid-twentieth century. Both the library profession and non-library leaders within the internationalist movement shared a vision for the societal role of libraries, and the public library in particular, as a means to reach a vast and diverse global public. This role of the library and profession aligned with Iriye's description of cultural internationalism through the aim to use the library as a way to "link countries and people through the exchange of ideas and persons, through scholarly cooperation, or through efforts at facilitating cross-national understanding" (Iriye, 1997, p. 3). The societal role of the library and the library profession were significant to the development of internationalism by contributing to the access of information through the public library (Chapters 3, 4, and 6), by organizing the profession globally to further develop shared ideals for information organization and access that facilitated cultural exchange (Chapters 5 and 6), and by serving as a symbol of the civilizational aspirations embedded in new internationalism (Chapter 5).

Through the library profession's efforts to establish public libraries and public education through books, the public services of libraries became an important new international institution within the political and social modernity of the early twentieth

century. This allowed the role of libraries to become a vehicle to develop “human beings with the right outlook” (Sluga, 2013, p. 2).

*[RQ2] In what manner did the library profession express agency in support of these activities and how did organizations, specifically the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, utilize and support libraries and the library profession in achieving an internationalist mission?*

From the time of The Hague Peace conferences in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when Carnegie established the Endowment for International Peace, the library profession moved in a direction toward internationalism and cultural internationalism specifically. While legal scholars and academics were making plans for creating a global legal framework to bring peace among nations, and peace activists promoted the international mind through meetings such as the Mohonk conferences (Chapter 1 and 3), library professionals also met to discuss its role in these activities through the international development of libraries and the profession of librarianship. Through multiple international meetings, librarians were already working to establish libraries internationally as a “vehicle for human progress” (Rudomino, 1977, p.3). As described in Chapter 3, these early meetings articulated an internationalist vision within the growing library profession. Librarians, like their peers in legal and academic professions, were responding to global change that resulted in unprecedented levels of trade, migration, and conflict (Chapter 1). As John Winter Jones put it in 1877, librarians were working in an era “when the advantages of interchange of thoughts, ideas, and experiences are fully appreciated, and the benefits to be derived from unity of action in the affairs of life are recognized” (Rudomino, 1977, p. 67). By the interwar era, librarians were already working within a framework of cultural internationalism (Chapter 3).

From the first letters from George Bowerman advocating for the role of libraries in promoting peace (Chapters 3 and 4) to the organization of IFLA after years of international meetings and collaboration among a growing library profession (Chapter 3 and Chapter 6), librarians pursued an internationalist trajectory that existed independently from the work of the CEIP and other external organizations. As Bowerman advanced to his ALA colleagues in 1915, libraries could bring peace because they were dedicated to the:

spread of democracy and the promotion of enlightenment, as an institution with books in many languages, containing information about all peoples of the world, and as an institution with many international friendships with librarians and other scholars throughout the world. (p. 131)

Librarians served as both active participants and instigators of international projects and networks that advanced their professional interest of promoting libraries and access to information.

In each of the three cases examined, the library profession acted within the internationalist framework it had adopted prior to the interwar era, expressing both agency and leadership in CEIP efforts and programs. Although the CEIP clearly relied upon and used the social role of libraries to help achieve its aims, librarians were already working within the internationalist movement and building a transnational profession when the CEIP began supporting their international work. Librarians conceived and initiated the IMA program (Chapter 4). Within the University of Louvain library project (Chapter 5), librarians played an important and central role in initiating, guiding, and

completing the restocking of the library. Despite the fact that Nicholas Murray Butler exerted nearly complete control over the rebuilding project, librarians intervened through their professional practices and well established international networks to act in strategic and important ways that created space for librarians to rebuild the collections and shape the project. Librarians also expressed a great deal of agency regarding the development of the Paris Library School project, which began as a school meant to fill a regional demand for teachers and quickly served a larger international mission (Chapter 6). The Paris Library School project and its advocates linked efforts to train librarians in multiple nations to other internationalist work on bibliography, research, and information.

As documented through each of these projects, the CEIP engaged, supported, and used both libraries and the library profession to help it achieve its internationalist mission. It is also evident that the CEIP's resources enabled librarians to attend international meetings; funded librarians from throughout Europe, the Middle East, and South America to train in Europe and the US; and promoted the importance of the profession as a critical element for the creation of peace and a new international order. The support of the CEIP for the ALA's international activities had profound impacts on the profession and contributed directly to the success of the Paris Library School, the expansion library schools around the world, and the establishment of IFLA and UNESCO's library programs. As noted previously, the trajectory set by these programs and their emphasis on international understanding and cultural exchange still continue to influence the profession despite the fact that the CEIP no longer engages libraries at this level.

*[RQ3] How and in what ways were libraries used as mechanisms to influence global public opinion to achieve the policy goals of internationalist organizations?*

One of the main policy goals of the CEIP was to create the pre-conditions for peace and international order by changing public opinion towards internationalism (Chapter 1 and 3). Nicholas Murray Butler, Director of the CEIP Division of Intercourse and Education, referred to this process as developing the international mind (Chapter 3). As described in Chapter 3, Butler believed one could acquire an international mind by learning:

to measure other peoples and other civilizations than ours from their own point of view and by their own standards [and to hasten the time when] races and nationalities are able to cease preying upon and oppressing one another, and to live together as fellow-sharers in a world's civilization. (Butler, 1913, p. 103-4)

To implement the campaign to transform large swaths of the world's public towards international mindedness, Butler and the CEIP used libraries to expose the public to the ideas that would teach people about other cultures and the concepts behind international governance. Libraries were thus a mechanism within a larger social psychological experiment that relied upon positivistic notions of learning through exposure to specific types of books. The IMA program demonstrated that the Endowment sought to encourage established libraries to promote its cause rather than create libraries where they didn't already exist. Although the CEIP partnered with librarians and libraries to implement the IMA program, the libraries served a functional role of providing public access to its materials.

As the CEIP funded the ALA's work on the Paris Library School, the IMA program (Chapter 4) evidences the manner that the Endowment similarly engaged

libraries as a social tool to ensure access to materials that would inspire liberal democracy and internationalism in Europe and other parts of the world. As discussed in Chapter 6 and the preceding sections, the CEIP relied upon the structural capacity of libraries within society to disseminate materials with the aim to transform public opinion toward international mindedness on a global scale. In this sense, libraries and the library profession became essential tools for organizing an information campaign that could reach vast swaths of the public wherever libraries existed in the world. In many ways, the American idea of a public library became a precondition for internationalism since it provided a platform from which to educate and transform public opinion in a manner that would allow people to engage in an international civil society, whether they were in rural Texas or metropolitan Tokyo.

## DISCUSSION AND SIGNIFICANCE

In 1951, Suzanne Briet published *Qu'est-ce que la documentation? (What is documentation?)*, which advocates for documentationist methods for information organization and highlighted the profession's role in binding humanity in a global information network. Throughout the book, Briet emphasizes the "unification of humanity" that is supported by the informational work of documentationists and other information professionals. Briet's sentiments are clearly rooted in the internationalist movement through which the documentationists and librarians worked in tandem to create global order through the organization of and public access to information. Briet, who studied at the Paris Library School in 1923 (*Liste de Postulants Pour Le Cours*,

1923), bases her arguments for the role of information organization in an interdependent and interconnected world upon the work of her colleague Paul Perrier, who trained as an archivist and paleographer at the École des Chartes and spent his career at the Bibliothèque Nationale. In 1932, Perrier wrote a history of human civilization entitled *L'Unité Humaine*, which Briet quotes throughout her 1951 work to support the very contemporary notion of a universal humanity bound together and reliant upon a world-wide informational network. Briet and Perrier were associated with the network of librarians and documentationists in Paris that supported the Paris Library School, IMA programs, and rebuilding of the Louvain library. They and their colleagues worked as part of a novel transnational network of international librarianship that led to organizations such as FID and IFLA. This network also contributed to the founding of the UNESCO library programs and its continued vision of public libraries as vehicles for international understanding, social change, and the creation of peaceful societies.

By viewing the history of the Paris Library School, International Mind Alcoves, and the rebuilding of the Louvain University Library through the transnational lens of global history and globalization theories that emphasize the development of INGOs, the role of networks, and the evolution of new transnational cultural forms, it is clear that international librarianship developed in the spirit of cultural internationalism and followed what Castells and Appadurai would later describe in their globalization theories (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2009; Iriye, 2002;). Phenomena that could easily be explained as cultural imperialism, the pursuit of nationalistic goals through professional bodies, or simply as training librarians become far more complex and nuanced when viewed through these theories. In addition, it is clear that the international library

networks and projects provided space for cultural exchange and systemic change that moves well beyond the power structures and seemingly one-way flows of knowledge that appear within a nationally focused analysis. The use of globalization theory sheds new light on the impacts of long-standing international library organizations while helping to guide the development of new projects by ensuring that the flows of funds, technology, and culture happen in a manner that allow for positive repatriations and the development of new professional forms that contribute to successful outcomes with a globalized society.

Analysis of the partnership between the library profession and the CEIP to promote internationalism throughout this dissertation provides a unique lens through which to view library programs aimed to simultaneously impact public perceptions and policy at local and global levels. These programs capitalized in many ways on the Carnegie Corporation of New York's strategic use of information that supported libraries and the development of the library profession in North America (Pawley, 2010). In addition, the impact, scope, and nature of these programs reflected the power of information, which by the end of the nineteenth century had "crystallized as knowledge of various kinds became more and more essential to economic activity and the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of public policy" (Pawley, 2010, p. 4).

A transnational history of librarianship with a particular emphasis on the activities of American librarians also reveals the role of the library profession and philanthropic foundations in using libraries and public access to information to develop new forms of international networking and new means of influencing public discourse on a global scale. Much research on the international activities of Carnegie programs analyzes wider

impacts of US philanthropic organizations as agents of US foreign policy and cultural power. Analysis of the international work of US foundations often focuses on their role of exporting American values with an emphasis on progressive visions of social development and welfare (Curti, 1963). The overall aim of these activities reflected Progressive Era views on the “rationalization of social services and the more efficient and manageable functioning of the larger social system” (Curti, 1963, p. 17). As Kuehl and Lynne note, this was an expression of an “attitude that reflected both traditional American beliefs about the progressive nature of education” and new academic assumptions that presumed social science could examine and find solutions to human problems (1997, p. 64). Aspects of these programs clearly fall within analysis of US foundations abroad. At the same time, however, the domestic emphasis of the IMA program complicates notions of exporting American values since these internationalist values were clearly contested within America and not dominant politically at the time. The CEIP and its library partners attempted to institute social change at a transnational and universalizing level that encompassed both the American public and publics around the world.

Further, the international networks developed through these activities spawned institutions that engaged in cultural internationalism and are considered early examples of the transnational and global forces that define contemporary society (Iriye, 1998). The development of globally-focused activities and the central role of transnational information networks in their development is often viewed as anticipating the globalized nature of the contemporary world from which emerged a new form of global

consciousness distinct from state-based international identities (Benhabib, 2006; Gorman, 2012; 2017).

As the history of these programs reveals, both the library profession and the CEIP shared many of the assumptions of cultural internationalism and actively worked within a globalized paradigm to develop transnational information networks to change both public opinion and governance structures around the world toward a globalist view that promoted global governance enabled by participative societies and economic integration. The library profession played a clear and early role in cultural diplomacy and international relations, enacting these activities at a much larger scale and in a much earlier period than the “three-way partnership” - between the state – libraries – and foundations - that Kraske introduced (1985). The history of these programs shows that this form of cultural and preventative diplomacy in the US context first worked as a two-way partnership between the library profession and foundations.

The mobility and extensive network maintained by the CEIP staff and librarians were certainly reflective of the increasing importance of transnational networks and activities in civil society activities. These professionals exemplified the critical importance of a transnational network informed by new modes of communication, cosmopolitan perspectives, and the hypermobility of extensive travel. The CEIP’s strategic emphasis on the need to create personal connections between staff running programs and librarians around the world provides a glimpse at efforts to transcend national and cultural barriers, informing the CEIP’s expenditure of resources to include a level of travel and global engagement that seems unimaginable during an era of train travel and steam ships.

Taken as a whole, these cases reveal a library profession that was poised to promote a transnational profession and cosmopolitan perspectives among readers at the time the CEIP was established. The modern library profession and the CEIP formed within a common milieu of international networking that linked a professional and academic elite in the Eastern United States to similarly educated and positioned networks in Europe, South America, and Asia. Through this common genealogy, the library profession and the CEIP capitalized on shared ambitions, intertwined networks, and advances in technology that enabled their work to grow on an increasing scale.

At the same time, however, these cases reveal dissonance between the library profession and the CEIP as programs were enacted and their respective visions of internationalism developed. The CEIP vision of internationalism was more nationally focused while the vision shared by the librarians working within this transnational network was professional and revolved much less around nation-centric goals. The significance of these differences are seen in the means by which activities were carried out and the manner by which the impacts of programs resonated into the future.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

On the whole, this dissertation exposes multiple facets of the development of the library profession and internationalism that should be considered for further research. Some of these avenues for exploration are derived from the limitations of the current study, and others are new opportunities revealed through the primary source materials that were examined. These research areas can be categorized as: ways to expand upon the current study; new avenues developed through the study; and historical extensions on the topic.

There are multiple opportunities to expand upon the current study. The case study approach and transnational unit of analysis leaves gaps that could build upon current knowledge of the globalization of the library profession and the impact of transnational activities to change public opinion towards internationalism. For example, one aspect of this study is the targeting of rural American populations through public libraries. Further research that explores specific libraries or regions related to the International Mind Alcove program present opportunities to examine the impact of the program on rural America. Using methods employed by historians such as Pawley and Wiegand that analyze circulation records and examine archival records of specific libraries may provide evidence of the motivation for rural librarians to adopt programs such as the IMA, establish circulation and usage patterns to shed light on the local reception of these books, and help historians understand how rural libraries responded to the national controversies engendered by these collections through censorship or removal of collections (Pawley, 2010; Wiegand, 2011). Similarly, research on the work of the CEIP and American librarians in other world regions would contribute to a deeper understanding of the global development of the library profession and the impact of American philanthropy towards their development. For example, knowledge of the extent of IMA collections in China and Japan may provide inroads into research on the impact of these collections and other CEIP support to organizations such as Boone University, which is now Wuhan University in China, and the Tokyo College of Commerce, which is now Hitotsubashi University in Japan. In both instances, these universities have been absorbed into the institutional fabric of their host nations and provide opportunities to delve more deeply in terms of both the institutional aspects of the programs during the

early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the subsequent impact of them moving forward. Similar research in Japan, concentrated on post-war development of the library profession through ALA and Rockefeller Foundation support (Kon et. al., 2013). This level of scrutiny would contribute to enhanced understanding of regional histories and their relation to wider national and international movements in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

One aspect of this dissertation revealed the extent of the network in which libraries and librarians engaged internationally from the early years of the profession. This provides the basis for more in-depth social network analysis that might offer further understanding of the flow of ideas, levels of influence, and scope of interactions among members of the transnational library community. In each of the case studies analyzed in this dissertation, multiple people emerge and re-emerge. Prominent individuals such as Henry La Fontaine, Florence Wilson, and George Bowerman were deeply engaged in international work during this period and seemed to have moved fluidly within a network of associates within their fields and the wider internationalist community. Further research on the extent to which the actors and activities of these various programs extended and fueled wider and sustained networking activities within the profession would help establish the long-term impact of interactions such as those described in the case studies.

In addition to social network analysis, identifying curated collections of books that were employed to transform society provides opportunities for digital humanities research that could analyze textually works from the IMA and similar book programs focused on changing public opinion. Both the adult and children's archive collections present an opportunity to use digital humanities tools to explore further the manner by

which internationalism, cultural exchange, and governance were presented to a mass audience of adults and children.

Overall, the transnational analysis of the library profession and its work with the CEIP to promote the international mind is an opportunity to contribute to a better understanding of transnational processes and the social evolution of the globalized world society. This helps us understand the scope and extent of the collaboration between the library profession and internationalist organizations such as the CEIP. More importantly, it reveals the extent to which further work in this area can help us understand the important role of information and information professions in shaping society through knowledge dissemination and access.

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