Interwar Internationalism and the Rebuilding of the Catholic University of Louvain Library (1914–1928)

Steven Witt
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

ABSTRACT: Drawing upon archival sources from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) and the Nicholas Murray Butler papers, this article situates postwar reconstruction of the library within the context of the wider internationalist movement and interwar attempts to replace nationalism with internationalism as a means to guarantee an enduring peace. The article analyzes the manner this library served as a symbol of the destruction of cultural heritage, civilization's conquest over barbarism, and the potential for moving beyond a state system focused on warfare. By contrasting the actions of the CEIP and the international library community that supported the project, this article views the campaign to rebuild the library through attempts to promote internationalism and foster reconciliation in Europe, exposing the difficulties faced by internationalists working in a transnational context to sway public opinion and overcome the power of nationalism as an animating force among states and citizens.

KEYWORDS: internationalism, nationalism, libraries, transnational history, University of Louvain Library

Introduction

The Controversial Opening of the University of Louvain Library

On a warm and sunny July 4 in 1928, a delegation that included Prince Leopold of Belgium, former US president Herbert Hoover, and several hundred representatives from leading universities around the world gathered for the dedication of the newly built University of Louvain Library. The group "marched . . . in dignified and colorful procession . . . preceded by gendarmes and soldiery, Thebaean trumpeters, and mace bearers."[1] Conspicuously absent from the celebration were two of the principal forces behind the building: the architect, Whitney Warren, and his longtime acquaintance, Nicholas Murray Butler,

doi: 10.5325/libraries.4.1.0001
Libraries: Culture, History, and Society, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2020

president of Columbia University and director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's (CEIP) Division of Intercourse and Education.[2]

Flying over the crowd, a solitary airplane dropped pamphlets that "bore the inscription, 'Destroyed by Teutonic Fury; Restored by American Generosity." On July 5 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!"[3]. Rather than becoming a symbol of sympathy, reconciliation, and recovery after the First World War, the rebuilding of the University of Louvain Library had become mired in controversy and propagated narratives of German atrocities and the victory of an international coalition of the civilized over the forces of barbarism.

The University of Louvain Library burned on the night of August 25, 1914, eight days after the German military occupied Louvain.[4] German soldiers, acting on widespread rumors of civilian fighters, destroyed the town, resulting in the destruction of over 1,000 buildings and over 200 civilian deaths.[5] The sack of Louvain resulted in the burning of the library and its collection of over 300,000 books, many dating from the Middle Ages. Louvain soon became a rallying cry against Germany and part of the narrative that the United States used to justify entering the war.[6] As described in multiple historical accounts, German activity in Louvain and across Belgium was widely categorized in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, and the United States as barbarous and outside of the bounds of civilization.[7] Partisans to the Allied cause used the symbolic power and loss represented by the burning of the University of Louvain's library to invoke the savagery of Germany's actions during the war and fuel an international campaign to restore the library for the University.

Historians have documented the interwar reconstruction of the University of Louvain Library extensively. The richly illustrated *Leuven University Library 1425–2000* provides a detailed account of the history of the library, including its 1914 destruction and interwar rebuilding.[8] Further, Wolfgang Schivelbusch's *Ein Ruine im Krieg der Geister* recounts the history of the library thoroughly, drawing upon archival evidence from Belgium, Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States.[9] These works take an institutional view of the Louvain library and aptly concentrate on the historical significance of the university and the library, the monumental efforts of the Belgian people, and international contributions that included both the reparations from Germany and donations from the international community. More recent historical views of the University of Louvain connect the project to other historical narratives. Tammy Proctor examines Louvain through the lens of diplomatic

history, analyzing the manner by which the library fits within the context of the wider relationship between Europe and the United States during the interwar period of reconstruction.[10]

These histories don't fully address the ways the Louvain project intersected with the interwar internationalist movement or consider the motivation of the CEIP and Butler to support the building of the new library. Schivelbusch provides some background description of the Carnegie Endowment and Butler's early involvement with the international peace movement, while also introducing Butler as, "the spiritual leader of American plutocracy" in a quote from Upton Sinclair.[11] Proctor also quotes Schivelbusch's description of Butler while tying his rhetoric regarding the international role of America to Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points speech.[12] As pointed out by David Clinton, however, Butler "had no great admiration for either Wilson or his works" despite Butler's support for US ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and promotion of US engagement with the League of Nations.[13] Butler's universalist rhetoric on world order predated Wilson's speech by many years as evidenced by Butler's compilation of speeches from the Lake Mohonk peace conferences, *The International Mind*, published in 1913.[14] The works of both Schivelbusch and Proctor appear to ignore the deep and profound connection of both Butler and the CEIP to the transnational international peace movement, which sought internationalist solutions to the problem of war. Before the war and in the interwar period, Butler and the CEIP promoted simultaneously American leadership in international affairs and an internationalism that sought to limit wars through a just, orderly, and progressive society of nations.[15]

This article takes a transnational approach to the reconstruction of the University of Louvain Library by framing the role of Butler and the CEIP within the endowment's internationalist mission and partnership with the library profession to promote international views transnationally through the development of broad global networks of libraries and librarians. Using an approach that is not centered on the relationship between states provides a means to analyze the manner by which the internationalist movement attempted to counter nationalism.[16] Drawing upon primary source materials from the CEIP archives and the Nicholas Murray Butler Papers at Columbia University, this article situates the rebuilding project within the CEIP's use of libraries as both symbolic and practical tools for promoting internationalism. By examining the CEIP-led fundraising activities for the library building along with the endowment's efforts to support the international library community

to replace the lost collections, this article also documents the struggles of overcoming nationalism and the painful memory of war amidst the compelling need for reconciliation.

The Internationalist Movement and Postwar Reconstruction

The role of internationalism as a movement to sustain peace within the international system is an increasingly important facet of the historical narrative of the twentieth century. Despite being eclipsed by war and rampant nationalism, the form of internationalism that developed during the early twentieth 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.[17]

Glenda Sluga, a historian of international history, describes early twentieth-century internationalism as having distinctive roots in the same political realism that 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.'" Internationalism was animated by the threat of war throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth 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."[18] This form of internationalism aimed to create the conditions for permanent peace through systems of international law legitimized by an internationally minded populous that rejected war as a means of solving disputes. The internationalist movement 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.[19]

Early twentieth-century internationalism diverged from traditional ideas of international relations by focusing on the universal view of the individual and the power of nonstate actors to contribute to international governance solutions. This concentrated attention on 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.[20] Many of the activities to inform public opinion within the early twentieth-century internationalist movement constituted what Akira Iriye described as cultural internationalism, which sought to "link countries and

people through the exchange of ideas and persons, through scholarly cooperation, or through efforts at facilitating cross-national understanding."[21] This was distinct from the "world order defined by military power and considerations of national interests."[22]

After World War I in particular, internationalism took a more global turn, often emphasizing the interdependence and interconnectedness of both peoples and nations. 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. The struggle to win people's minds manifested itself in educational activities, cultural exchange programs, and forms of propaganda aimed at the idea of a global population with common interests.[23]

The war's contributions to an emergent global consciousness co-existed with what Markwick and Doumanis describe as the "spreading national consciousness and deepening emotional attachments to nationalism." This phenomenon resulted in new relationships between the state and society, inspiring "increased engagement in national life and with the public interest." The prominent role of civil society in shaping both national affairs and public opinion is where internationalism intersects with nationalism. Both the nativist views of nationalism and globalist views of internationalism were promoted as serving self and national interests. For nationalists, the "national interest assumed primacy in people's minds."[24] Among internationalists, the national interest equaled participation in an international community of nations that would agree to share sovereignty to ensure peace and a mutually beneficial flow of knowledge and trade. Thus, for internationalists a national perspective coexisted with an international mindset that placed individuals and nations within a civilized system of global order.

The CEIP's Division of Intercourse and Education dedicated much of its early efforts to shaping public opinion toward the international mind through the use of libraries as vehicles to support internationalist causes and disseminate books to transform public opinion.[25] As Nicholas Murray Butler wrote in 1927, libraries and the books they distribute were 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."[26] Promoting libraries and the library profession were important elements of the CEIP's internationalist mission.

Before the outbreak of the war, Belgium served as an important hub to the intersection of the internationalist movement and rapidly globalizing library profession. Years before the war, two University of Louvain graduates, the Belgian senator Henri La Fontaine, who won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1913, and Paul Otlet, a wealthy Belgian lawyer and bibliographer who drafted the original outline of the League of Nations, promoted internationalism through activities to organize associations and improve methods in international bibliography.[27] By 1911 Nicholas Murray Butler had approved nearly $75,000 USD in CEIP funding to La Fontaine's Central Office for International Institutions (L'Office Central des Associations Internationales). La Fontaine's request to the CEIP aimed to promote peace and internationalism through 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."[28] These CEIP funds were to support various efforts led by La Fontaine and Otlet, including the Institut International de Bibliographies.

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 August 14, nine days before the University of Louvain Library burned, Paul Otlet wrote an impassioned letter to Butler and 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, telling 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.[29]

Otlet's description of Belgium's plight amidst Germany's "barbarous" aggression mirrored the manner Belgium and Louvain were used to promote US involvement in the war. As Proctor describes, British and French propagandists featured Louvain prominently, understanding the rhetorical force of culture and using outrage of Louvain's destruction.[30] The symbolic power of the burning of the University of Louvain Library was invoked throughout the war. The destruction of the library conjured savagery and barbarism, fueling an international campaign for civilization to restore the university.[31]

The CEIP, Louvain, and Control of the Library Rebuilding Project

When the Treaty of Versailles ended the war, Article 247 mandated specifically the manner by which the German government would 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.[32]

The reparations, however, didn't address the lack of a library building. In 1918 an international committee to restore the library convened in Paris under the leadership of Étienne Lamy of the Academie Francaise. During the meeting, 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 rebuilding were 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.[33]

In many ways, the initial plans for the building of the library focused on the new library as a symbolic means to punish Germany by constructing 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." 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 nationalism that fueled the war. Throughout the statements from American

and 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." The rhetoric throughout Lamy's Paris conference echoed the language of internationalism that predated the war and was carried into the interwar era.[34]

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 United States's 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.[35] As the initial Paris meeting demonstrates, the building project included more than state actors and state interests. The movement was made up of multiple actors from religious, governmental, and nongovernmental groups who sought to assert a universal view of civilization that transcended state power and represented the interests of civil society. One of the most prominent civil society organizations to assert itself in the process was the CEIP, a rising nongovernmental organization that promoted international arbitration, international education, and a legal structure to support free-trade and international justice. The CEIP was already engaged in working with and through libraries to promote its vision for peace and economic progress.[36] The organization also played a central role of funding multiple internationalist projects within Europe, the Americas, and across Asia. These activities 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 the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In addition to work that used libraries as vehicles for internationalist literature and funds for mobilizing and training librarians to create a public focused library profession, the CEIP also rebuilt a number of libraries as a means to advance its mission.[37] The library building projects of the CEIP 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 CEIP's early work, but these projects contrasted the more widely known Carnegie Corporation public 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.

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 to 1918, its investments had accumulated capital for postwar recovery efforts.[38] 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."[39] In addition to Louvain, the CEIP 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.

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 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 and within the CEIP to support the rebuilding project.[40] Soon after the 1918 campaign to rebuild the library and university began, Butler and the CEIP became the principal organizing forces for the fundraising and construction projects.

On November 21, 1918, a small group met to plan the new library. Belle da Costa Greene, of the Morgan library; Clifford N. Carver, former secretary to the 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.[41] This group connected Belgium's political leadership directly to the financial, cultural, and educational elite of the United States during the early twentieth century. Given the economic state of Belgium after the war, access to capital was a key element to rebuilding Louvain.

Butler had been selected to lead the committee of twenty American delegates. He ensured control through a questionnaire sent out by the CEIP to the delegates that guaranteed "President Butler has full power to organize everything."[42] The American Committee's charge was comprehensive and included both building the library and completing the collection of books that had been destroyed.

Starting with replacing the collections, Greene, the sole librarian in the meeting, 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 materials to meet postwar needs. Finally, she argued for ceding control of the project to Louvain, advocating they "let them have the money and work out what kind of library they want."[43] Butler, however, had other plans.

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, suggesting that Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, serve as a member of the National Committee and lead efforts to solicit donations from university libraries. She further asserted that each university in the United States 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."[44] By December 3, 1918, the group had detailed plans 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.[45]

When the National Committee met, Putnam, who was selected to lead the committee's work on the collection and selection of books, informed the group that an international network of librarians from abroad had already started this process in 1915. Putnam reported that under the leadership of a British librarian named Dr. H. Guppy from the John Rylands Library in Manchester, roughly 7,000 volumes had been collected. 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.[46]

Like Greene, 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 noncoordinated 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." Butler sought to articulate the American contributions to the library project and ensure maximum impact despite Putnam's concerns for duplication. Greene, using the same unsubtle and 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."[47]

The day after the National Committee meeting, Putnam wrote 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 fifteenth 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.[48]

These early planning meetings exposed Butler's inclination toward centralizing authority and communications within the management of CEIP. Butler's management style ironically attempted to eschew the type of transnational collaboration both espoused by Putnam and promoted by the CEIP as an essential component of internationalism. Although Butler didn't value the use of transnational affiliations to fund the library, his actions still fell within the spirit of internationalism he promoted. Although emphasizing the library as an American contribution to Belgium and the world was a nation-centric stance that seemingly crossed against the grain of the internationalism, Butler sought to connect the broader American civil society to the goal of reconstituting a universal symbol of civilization. As noted previously, the internationalism espoused by Butler and many within this community focused on national interests articulated in an international community of states. From this perspective, the American gift of the library became an attempt to connect

American donors to both the innocent victims of war and a national obligation to contribute to an international order.

From International Committee to Bibliotheque Americaine

On December 4, Butler wrote to Minister 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. On December 26 Paulin Ladeuze, rector of the University of Louvain, responded to the American Committee's questions. Ladeuze gave the entire charge of rebuilding the library to the American 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." Ladeuze further informed Butler that they needed "a great modern library, filling all of the needs of higher learning in all of the sciences."[49]

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. Ladeuze also explained the university's dire financial situation, detailing its inability to provide competitive salaries to faculty and staff amidst increased expenses. The rector pleaded for the CEIP to provide the university with an endowment that would yield an annual income of 500,000 francs.[50] It would seem that the capital gains enjoyed by 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 focus on 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."[51] 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:

> 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.[52]

The secretary of the International Committee, Imburt de la Tour, acquiesced to this plan. In January of 1919 he reported that each nation would 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.[53]

These discussions further consolidated a central role for the US National Committee in rebuilding the University of Louvain Library. As predetermined in the initial Morgan Library meeting, the United States would have two distinct and identifiable roles: building the library and coordinating the restoration of the library collections. For each, the CEIP and Butler became 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 Butler. Restoring the books, however, continued as 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

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 committee aimed to solicit a further $400,000 from an American public whose government voted to remain aloof of the League of Nations. The National Committee quickly began to organize its fundraising 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 fundraising 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 subcommittees throughout the United States

and made former president Herbert Hoover honorary chair of fundraising 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.[54] In each turn, the plan to solicit donations relied on developing a civic consciousness or public opinion among Americans sympathetic to the plight of Belgium and the restoration of a library on foreign soil. This campaign relied on an internationalist perspective that countered nativist and isolationist sentiments that sought to exclude the United States from foreign entanglements.

Butler used the CEIP staff and resources to support the campaign. The CEIP managed correspondence, printed materials, and ensured 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, who managed the Endowment's International Mind Alcove and International Relations Club programs, Henry Haskell, and Butler to strategize on the fundraising campaign.[55] Butler expressed his concern for attracting the attention of the American people to Louvain 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." 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."[56] Through the Louvain fundraising campaign, Butler invoked the rhetoric of the propaganda that encouraged US involvement in the war by working to keep the shock and pain of the war alive to convince the American public to donate to the new library building.

The first public announcement from the committee followed Butler's plan. The press release focused on 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."[57] By November of 1919, the American funding campaign had begun with the committee working to solicit small and large donations through schoolchildren, corporations, and alumni of the University of Louvain.[58] Following the committee's lead, news

reports soon focused on fighting barbarism by donating funds in sympathy with people ravaged by war. The entire funding strategy was contingent upon the individual's obligation to seek justice for wrongs committed on the people of Belgium while righting the civilized world order.

Replacing the Louvain Library Collections

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 Rylands Library *Bulletin* from 1914 to 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."[59]

To maintain interest in the Louvain library, Guppy commissioned Dr. Leon 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. Van der Essen described the treasures of over 950 manuscripts including illuminated codecs 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 world.[60] 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 the efforts of the John Rylands Library to restock the Louvain library, proposing that it select duplicates to send from among the various collections they have purchased at auction over the years. Guppy encouraged other librarians to "share in this expression of practical sympathy, by taking part in the proposed reconstruction of the devastated library." 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, publishing quarterly the names of donors and the description of their gifts.[61]

The first listing contained donations from the John Rylands 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."[62] 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 library was different. Koch noted that his description 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." Koch, a German American, whose parents had immigrated to the United States, choose to focus less on what was categorized a German atrocity and more on the importance of the collections and cooperative plans for reconstructing the library. In the preface to the 1917 edition Koch, like Guppy, 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."[63] There was a clear and palpable international network of librarians communicating and working cooperatively toward the restoration of the library from the beginning of efforts to rebuild the collection.

By October of 1919 Putnam 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*,"[64] which borrowed a title that directly echoed the John Rylands 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 Butler's *International Mind* volumes and promote internationalism globally.

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. 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.[65]

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 postwar efforts to contribute books to the library campaign was geared more toward rapprochement in direct contrast to the symbolism and war spirit invoked in Butler's financial campaign.

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 had become associated with America. For example, when asking for directions to the new library, the locals referred to it as the "American Library." 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 unsolicited gifts 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.[66]

Although the books were acquired through forced 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 railcars 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.[67] 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 focus first on constructing the book stacks to provide a place to store and circulate the collection.[68] The books within the library appeared to have had less symbolic importance to the architect, donors, and local community in Louvain than the rising monument of a library, which continued to channel to power of the war's destruction. In addition, the American librarian's involved in the project seemed to work from the perspective of a profession that had become transnational in nature. This was a perspective that the CEIP and Butler were simultaneously engendering through support of such projects and the Paris Library School, funding of international meetings, and broad dissemination of books on internationalism.[69]

Architecture and Symbolism—Reconciliation vs. Reparations

The rebuilding of the library began as an effort of reparation to restore the university and reconstitute the library collections. 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. 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 building became a point of conflict internally within Belgium and internationally as people and nations grappled with the aftermath of the war.

Butler and Warren's personal relationship predated the Louvain library, but Warren was not partisan to the CEIP's international peace efforts. In 1913, while Butler promoted his book, *The International Mind,* and led CEIP efforts to forestall conflict in Europe through letter writing, speaking, and support for peace activists such as La Fontaine and Otlet, 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."[70] By September 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!"[71]. 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 seemed to have 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 Pierrepoint 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, the architect had:

> 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.[72]

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, multistoried 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.[73]

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."[74]

Ultimately, the much-delayed US funding efforts 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 project.

By 1923 the first completed wing of the library was ready for some of the accumulated books. 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 who gave their lives in the war. Butler placed the second volume beside the first. It contained the names of schoolchildren 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 schoolchildren with victims of the war.[75] By juxtaposing the names of students who died in the war with the names of American students who 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 forty-eight bells for each state in the United States. 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 the "Star Spangled Banner," "La Brabançonne," "La Marseillaise" 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.[76] 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 symbolism of the building design as the physical embodiment of new internationalism. The emphasis upon a community of nations underwritten by a robust 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-1920s reconciliation among the European states was taking hold. The United States 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 in 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. As recounted by the Belgian sculptor Pierre De Soete, it was Cardinal Mercer who provided the inscription in his first meeting with Warren. The inscription was a safeguard against similar destruction of other libraries by teaching a lesson and expressing Belgium's gratitude.[77] By 1926, however, this inscription kept 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, 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."[78]

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 both agreed the inscription must change.[79] Butler suggested the wording *In Bello Diruta In Pace Restituta* (Destroyed in war restored in peace).[80] 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.[81]

Removing the inscription was not welcomed by the architect. Two years later Whitney told the press "[I have] . . . 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."[82] He treated 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 up to the grand opening of the library. On June 27, 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 opening ceremonies. On July 6, the nationalist organization Souvenir Belge elected Warren to honorary membership. On July 16 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.'"[83]

Postscript: World War II

Years later the story of the library's inscription continued. In May of 1940 the German army again approached Louvain, and the "ill-starred Louvain library was once again burned and gutted, its 700,000 new volumes reduced to

smoldering ashes."[84] 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." 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. Butler informed Bishop Strycker of New York that "he didn't have the courage to engage once more in the task of reconstruction."[85] The international scholarly and library community, however, joined together to rebuild the University of Louvain's collections again.

Conclusion

The saga of the University of Louvain Library provides an example of the contested symbolism of a library building that resided far from either the utilitarian or grandiose notions of an academic library as a center for research. 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 the University 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 the war. Viewing this episode in the context of the internationalism espoused by the CEIP and Butler, 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 United States's increasing role in Europe and an early example of its developing foreign policy, Louvain exposed the difficulties faced by a nation-centric 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.[86]

Although the Louvain case presents the challenges of continued nationalism that plagued the memory of the war and complicated postwar reconciliation, the rebuilding project displayed the power of libraries as a symbol of the cultural and civilizational values upon which interwar internationalism was built. Throughout the Louvain project, the CEIP employed the symbol of libraries as the protectors of universal civilization's documentary culture to solicit donations. The new library became representative of global civil order, a physical symbol of an internationalist world order's triumph over the barbaric actions of uncivilized states. The controversy of the building exemplified the power of the idea of libraries during the interwar era to represent both the civilizational aspirations of internationalism and tensions this movement created among supporters of nationalism.

The restocking of the Louvain library with books and the library community's approach provided a counter to the struggles internationalism had as it sought to counter and grapple with its own internal struggles with nationalism. 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 United States, South America, and other parts of the world exemplified the power of transnational professional networks to coordinate activities across vast geographical distance and work within an established internationalized and professional system of standardization that transcended national identity. The Louvain library reconstruction suggests that the network of librarians established through meetings and collaborative efforts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries yielded far more than the shared cataloging standards that would allow English librarians to use the American Dewey Decimal system to catalog books for a Belgian library.[87] 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 a globalized field working on a sustained transnational basis.

STEVEN WITT has served as the head of the International and Area Studies Library since 2012. In 2016 he became director of the Center for Global Studies, a Title VI National Resource Center. Witt is also the executive editor of *IFLA Journal*. His research focuses on the trajectory and impacts of international developments in library and information science, placing global trends in information and knowledge production in the context of wider social and technological developments.

NOTES

1. Frank Pierrepont Graves, Report on the dedication of the library building of the University of Louvain, Louvain, Belgium, July 4, 1928, 2, Box 40.4, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace European Center Records, 1911–1940 (hereafter CEIP European Center Records), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Archives, Columbia University Libraries, New York.

2. Nicholas Murray Butler was a controversial and ubiquitous figure in US and international academic, political, and cultural life during the early twentieth century. As the longest-serving president of Columbia University, Butler was both lauded and criticized for his heavy-handed leadership. As with 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.

3. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, *Bouche* is derogatory French slang for a German soldier.

4. 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 article, 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.

5. Chris Coppens, Mark Derez, and Jan Roegiers, eds., *The Leuven University Library* (Leuven: The University Press, 2005), 158; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Eine Ruine im Krieg de Geister* (Geschichte Fischer: Frankfort, 1993), 16–17;

6. T. W. Koch, *University of Louvain and Its Library* (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1919).

7. Tammy Proctor, "The Louvain Library and US Ambition in Interwar Belgium," *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 2 (2015): 148–49, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009414552867; Coppens, Derez, and Roegiers, eds., *Leuven University Library*, 158.

8. Coppens, Derez, and Roegiers, eds., *Leuven University Library*, 158.

9. Wolfgang Schivelbusch. *Eine Ruine im Krieg de Geister* (Frankfort: Geschichte Fischer, 1993).

10. Proctor, "The Louvain Library and US Ambition."

11. Schivelbusch, *Ein Ruine*, 124.

12. Proctor, "The Louvain Library and US Ambition," 152.

13. Davis Clinton, "Nicholas Murray Butler and the 'International Mind' as the Pathway to Peace," in *Progressivism and US Foreign Policy Between the World Wars*, ed. Molly Cochran and Cornelia Navari (New York: Palgrave, 2017), 58.

14. Nicholas Murray Butler, *The International Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1913).

15. Clinton, "Nicholas Murray Butler and the 'International Mind,'" 53.

16. Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Palgrave, 2013).

17. Daniel Gorman, *International Cooperation in the Early Twentieth Centur*y (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2017); Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

18. Sluga, *Internationalism*, 2.

19. Ibid., 5; Steven Witt, "International Mind Alcoves: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Libraries, and the Struggle for Global Public Opinion, 1917–54," *Library and Information History* 30, no. 4 (2015): 273–90.

20. Marco Duranti. "European Integration, Human Rights, and Romantic Internationalism," in *The Oxford Handbook of European History, 1914–1945*, ed. Nicholas Doumanis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 440; Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013); Michael Pugh, *Liberal Internationalism: The Interwar Movement for Peace in Britain* (London: Springer, 2012); Katharina Rietzler, "Experts for Peace: Structures and Motivations of Philanthropic Internationalism in the United States and Europe," in *Internationalism Reconfigured*, ed. Daniel Laqua (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 45–65; Katherine Sorrels, *Cosmopolitan Outsiders: Imperial Inclusion, National Exclusion, and the Pan-European Idea, 1900–1930* (London: Springer, 2016).

21. Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, The Albert Shaw Memorial Lectures (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3.

22. Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 129.

23. Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace*; Sluga, *Internationalism*; Peter Weber, "The Pacifism of Andrew Carnegie and Edwin Ginn: The Emergence of a Philanthropic Internationalism," *Global Society* 29, no. 4 (2015): 530–50.

24. Roger D. Markwick and Nicholas Doumanis, "The Nationalization of the Masses," in *The Oxford Handbook of European History,* ed. Doumanis, 371, 372.

25. Steve Witt, "Merchants of Light: The Paris Library School, Internationalism, and the Globalization of a Profession," *Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, 83, no. 2 (2013): 131–51; Steve Witt, "Agents of Change: The Rise of International Librarianship and the Age of Gglobalization," *Library Trends* 62, no. 3 (2014): 504–18; Witt, "International Mind Alcoves"; Steven William Witt, "Making Internationalism Conscious: Libraries and the Transnational Propagation of the International Mind (1911–1951)" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, 2018).

26. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Annual Report—Carnegie Endowmentfor International Peace* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1927), 27.

27. Boyd Rayward, "The Evolution of an International Library and Bibliographic Community," *Journal of Library History* 16 (1981): 449–62.

28. Henri La Fontaine, "Salus Mundi Suprima Lex" (1911), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace New York and Washington Offices Records, 1910–1954 (hereafter CEIP NY-DC Records), vol. 35 (4078585), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Archival Collections, Columbia University Libraries, Columbia University, New York.

29. Paul Otlet, letter to Nicholas Murray Butler, "To our friends abroad," August 12, 1914, Nicholas Murray Butler Papers (hereafter Butler Papers), Union des Associations Internationales 45 (1914): 2884, CEIP Archives.

30. Proctor, "The Louvain Library and US Ambition," 150.
31. For further history of the University of Louvain Library with multiple reproductions of primary source and images of the building see Coppens, Derez, and Roegiers, eds., *Leuven University Library*.
32. Treaty of Versailles, Article 247 (June 28, 1919).
33. *La Bibliothèque de Louvain: Séance Commémorative Du 4e Anniversaire de l'incendie* (Paris : Perrin et cie, 1919), 114–15.
34. Ibid, 167, i.
35. Proctor, "The Louvain Library and US Ambition."
36. Witt, "International Mind Alcoves."
37. Witt, "Making Internationalism Conscious."
38. Nicholas M. Butler, *Across the Busy Years* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), 111.
39. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Year Book* (Washington, DC, 1916), 56.
40. Ibid., 112.
41. On Belle da Costa Greene, see Heidi Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life: Belle Da Costa Greene's Journey from Prejudice to Privilege* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007).
42. Conference at the Morgan Library, Box 321.3, Louvain Library, 1, CEIP NY-DC Records.
43. Ibid., 2.
44. Ibid.
45. These included Mr. Coolidge, director of the Harvard Library; Mr. Keogh, Yale Librarian; Mr. Burton, University of Chicago; Mr. Richardson, Princeton Librarian; Mr. Leupp, University of California; Mr. Bishop, president of the ALA; Mr. Anderson, New York Public Library; Mr. Beverly Chew, Century Association of New York; Mr. W. N. Carlton, Newbery Library; Miss Belle Green, Morgan Library; Bishop Shahon, Washington, DC.
46. Conference at the Morgan Library, 3.
47. Notes for Meeting, Box 321.3, Louvain Library, 3, CEIP NY-DC Records.
48. H. Putnam, letter to N. Butler, December 4, 1918, in ibid.
49. Translation of letter from Ladeuze to Butler, February, 9, 1919, Box 52, Louvain Library, 2, CEIP NY-DC Records.
50. Ibid., 5.
51. Ibid., 3.
52. Ibid., 6.
53. Report of the National Committee of the United States for the Reconstruction of the University of Louvain, Box 52, Louvain Library, 2, CEIP NY-DC Records.
54. Committee Meeting, Louvain University, December 3, 1918, Box 321.3, Louvain Library, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace New York and Washington Offices Records, 1910–1919.
55. Witt, "International Mind Alcoves."
56. Conference with Dr. Butler, April 11, 1919, Box 321.3, Louvain Library, CEIP NY-DC Records, 1910–1954.
57. Louvain University to Receive New Library as Gift of the American People [draft press release], 1919, in ibid.

58. "University Heads Plead for Louvain: Committee for Restoration of Library Asks Americans for Early Contributions. TO FINISH $500,000 FUND Cardinal O'Connell and Louvain Alumni Also Join in Appeal for Support of Gift. Father Delannoy's Work. Minister Without Salary Helps," *New York Times,* November 9, 1919.

59. H. Guppy, "Steps Towards the Reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1915): 107.

60. "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."

61. Guppy, *Bulletin*, 146.

62. H. Guppy, "Louvain's New Library. The British Contribution," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, July 6, 1928, on file in Box 40.4, CEIP European Center Records.

63. Koch, *University of Louvain and Its Library*, v, vi.

64. Herbert Putnam, "In the Matter of the Appeal for the Restoration of the Library of Louvain," October 25, 1919, Box 321.3, Louvain Library, CEIP NY-DC Records, 1910–1954.

65. Ibid.

66. T. W. Koch. *The Leipzig Book Fair, The Louvain Library, Travel Sketches from the Portfolio of Theodore Wesley Koch* (Evanston, IL: Privately printed, 1923), 55, 58.

67. Schivelbusch provides a detailed description of the books and libraries that donate books to meet treaty obligations. "Louvain Books Replaced," *New York Times*, October, 18, 1926.

68. Warren, letter to Butler, February 1, 1922, Box 52, Louvain Library, CEIP NY-DC Records.

69. Witt, "Making Internationalism Conscious."

70. Warren, letter to Butler, December 3, 1913, Box 243.8, Warren W., Butler Papers.

71. Warren, letter to Butler, September, 22, 1914, in ibid.

72. Graves, Report on the dedication of the library building.

73. Ibid.

74. Koch, *Leipzig Book Fair,* 67–68.

75. Graves, Report on the dedication of the library building, 53.

76. Coppens, Derez, and Roegiers, eds., *Leuven University Library*.

77. Pierre De Soete. *The Louvain Library Controversy: The misadventures of an American artist* (Concord, MA: Rumford Press, 1929), 5, 7.

78. Butler, letter to Warren, May 1926, Box 243.8, Butler Papers.

79. Ibid.

80. Butler, memorandum to Mr. Grady, November 2, 1927, Box 321.3, CEIP NY-DC Records.

81. W. Phillips, letter to N. Butler, June 6, 1926, Box 243.8, Butler Papers.

82. Box 40.4, CEIP European Center Records.

83. Ibid.

84. "Destroyed by German Fury," *Newsweek*, February 18, 1946.

85. Ibid.

86. Proctor, "The Louvain Library and US Ambition."

87. Witt, "Making Internationalism Conscious."