# Polyphonic Internationalism: The Lucie Zimmern School of International Studies*

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**Abstract**. This article recovers the musician, pedagogue, institution-builder, and intellectual Lucie Zimmern (1875-1963). Together with her husband Alfred, a canonical international thinker, Zimmern founded and ran the Geneva School of International Studies (1923-1939), where she outlined and taught the principles of what we term "polyphonic internationalism" to hundreds of students from across the globe: the musical texture of polyphony was an ordering principle for a world which had yet come to terms with the reality of human diversity. Zimmern's musical formation, her complex racial, religious, and national identity, combined with her experience as a private cultural diplomat of the Anglo-French *Entente Cordiale*, shaped her distinctive analysis of international politics which she disseminated in academic debates, written works, and public lectures. We analyse the genesis and claims of polyphonic internationalism, overtly a culturally relativist concept that sought to reconcile national and cultural self-determination with the hierarchies of empire. Lucie Zimmern's trajectory as a thinker and her experience as a 'wife of the canon' reveals the gendered politics of intellectual production in the early academic field of international relations where the boundaries between the feminised domains of culture and internationalist pedagogy, and the soon-to-be masculinised academic, and 'scientific' study of international relations remained surprisingly permeable.

Keywords: international thought; internationalism; Geneva School of International Studies; Lucie Zimmern; Alfred Zimmern

With the significant exception of work on Black women's intellectual history, international intellectual history has only recently and belatedly recovered and analysed women's international thought.[1] Much scholarship in this new field has focussed on canonical thinkers, academics, or figures working in related professional contexts.[2] Building on earlier feminist history, recent work in the history of political theory also points to "canon-adjacent" women or "wives of the canon", collaborators who were central to the production of work by 'great men', but were later erased in histories of political thought.[3] In this article, we recover such a figure, one side of the most influential celebrity academic couple in interwar international relations: Lady Lucie Anna Olympe Hirsch Barbier Zimmern (1875-1963).

Her husband, Sir Alfred Zimmern (1879-1957), is well known in histories of international thought and organisations, as a leading thinker, teacher, policy-advisor and exponent of early twentieth-century imperialism and internationalism. Born in Surrey, England to an upper middle-class half German-Jewish, half Huguenot family, Zimmern drafted the Foreign Office proposal for the League of Nations. He held the world's first chair in international relations established in 1919, the Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, and became the first Montague Burton Professor in International Relations (IR) at Oxford, both central locations in the disciplinary history of IR. He was Deputy Director of the League of Nations' International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation from 1926 and was central to the creation of UNESCO.[4] According to Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson, Zimmern was "the most influential representative" of interwar IR.[5] In Mark Mazower's assessment, "Zimmern is one of those men whose ideas, with all their idiosyncrasies, can provide a way into the guiding assumptions of an era".[6]

Lucie Zimmern is not one of those men. But hers is not solely a story of a wife sustaining a husband's academic celebrity behind the scenes, although she promoted Alfred's intellectual stardom and legacy. She was also more than an "educator's widow", the title of her obituary in *The New York Times*.[7] The French-born musician, soprano, cultural diplomat, educator, writer and intellectual played a prominent role in Alfred's career, as well as her own.

During her lifetime, Lucie Zimmern was known in at least three contexts. Between 1905 and 1916, then Madame Barbier was highly active in French and British cultural circles around the musical *Entente Cordiale*. As an accomplished soprano, pianist, and concert organizer she played a leading role in Britain's most active branch of *La Société de Concerts Français*. From 1923, by then Lucie Zimmern, she co-directed one of the most significant ventures in international education in the interwar years, the Geneva School of International Studies.[8] Here she conjoined her expertise on musical diplomacy and cultural internationalism with Alfred's schemes for a new post-war international order that decentred the state, claiming to have "appl[ied] her ideas on music in an entirely original manner in the field of international fellowship".[9] Finally, from the early 1920s to late 1940s, Madame, then Lady Zimmern (after Alfred's knighthood in 1936) was a celebrated *salonnière* and sought-after public speaker on international affairs.

Lucie Zimmern is not completely absent in the secondary literature, often mentioned in passing and usually vituperatively. Most often she is cause of Alfred's forced resignation from the first chair in international relations after two years in post. Lucie and Alfred began their relationship when she was still married to her first husband, the Professor of French at Aberystwyth.[10] On occasion, aspects of her work at the Geneva School are noted but not discussed at length.[11] In one of the earliest detailed treatments of Alfred, Lucie is not named but referred to three times as "wife".[12] In another, Lucie's views are misattributed to Alfred,[13] while others include unflattering assessments from contemporaries. On learning of their elopement, the Tory feminist Nancy Astor said, "Zim, you've been had!",[14] and later accused Lucie of damaging Alfred's career.[15] Alfred's rival for the inaugural directorship of UNESCO, Julian Huxley, described Lucie as "muttering and spluttering that no notice was being taken of her".[16] Attendants at academic conferences "happily" noticed when she "kept quiet".[17] The later president of the Zionist Organization and first president of Israel, Chaim Weizmann, thought Lucie was a "terrible witch", blaming her for Alfred's estrangement from political Zionism; it was "awful" she was in a relationship with Alfred.[18] The American birth control campaigner, eugenicist and internationalist Margaret Sanger called Lucie "a nasty woman".[19] Others considered Lucie "overpoweringly verbose and enthusiastic"[20], "ambitious",[21] "abrasive",[22] "notably short of tact and discretion",[23] and "frightening or overwhelming".[24] When Alfred failed to win election to the House of Commons in 1924 Lucie was described as a "political liability".[25]

Conforming to various stereotypes in the chronicles of misogyny, the level of vitriol in contemporary assessments indicates something of Lucie Zimmern's significance. However, the focus on Lucie's personality and ambition has made it easier for later historians to ignore what is most interesting about her. Numerous scholars have examined Alfred Zimmern's papers. Yet few have noticed that over two thousand items directly relate - or are relevant - to Lucie's work and ideas. Intellectual and disciplinary histories of the academic field of international relations have systematically neglected both education as part of the intellectual formation of the field and women as intellectual producers. They have also neglected heterosexual marriage as a site of intellectual production, specifically companionate marriage which, from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century emphasised ideals of intimacy, romantic love, and shared interests while disguising power differentials within such marriages.[26] Given the long recognised salience of marriage for the analysis of international politics, it is surprising that more attention has not been paid to those intellectual couples who shaped academic and public debates on international relations.[27]

To examine Lucie Zimmern is to examine the intersection of public and private intellectual worlds in the making of a significant institution and a theoretical approach to international relations in the twentieth-century history of internationalism, a set of ideas and practices that valorised international cooperation but also accepted difference and hierarchy.[28]

While internationalism as a form of international theory is often associated with the building of international institutions, cultural historians have recently begun to pay attention to the discursive and embodied practices that produced "feelings" of international cooperation. As a cultural practitioner, Lucie Zimmern was deeply concerned with emotions, and her work sought to produce the "benign interplay of feelings and international cooperation".[29]

We characterize Lucie's distinctive approach to international relations as polyphonic internationalism, an adaptation of her own term "polyphonic thinking" as recounted by her friend and occasional lecturer at the Zimmern School, Lewis Mumford.[30] Polyphony describes a many-voiced texture commonly found in sung music. In the European musical tradition, polyphony emerged from the sacred music of the medieval era, before European classical music developed through counterpoint, the lead and accompanying parts of the classical era. Each line in polyphony consists of a distinct melody that interlocks harmoniously with other lines. In its ideal form, polyphonic singing involves no hierarchy as each part should function as an independent melody and be of equal importance. Polyphony denotes, therefore, the art of combining different melodies, a metaphor that lends itself to the analysis of diplomacy and international politics.[31]

Lucie Zimmern's polyphonic internationalism emerged through a fusion of three distinct practical and intellectual strands of early twentieth-century internationalism: Lucie's musical training and work in cultural diplomacy; Lucie and Alfred's shared approach to multinational and multilingual internationalist education that valorised embodied emotion; and Alfred's ideas for a new international order centring on a commonwealth of culturally mature nations, a vision of empire that decentred the state. Constant intellectual-cultural exchange could lead to international harmony, or in Lucie's term, "a synchronization of syntheses".[32] The harmonic model of international order, as expressed through polyphonic internationalism, was central to what was intellectually and pedagogically distinctive about the Zimmern School and was responsible for some of its most important legacies.[33]

We offer the first sustained analysis of Lucie Zimmern's writings, teaching, institution-building, *salon* hosting, and international speaking engagements across five decades. We show that Lucie's intellectual, administrative, and emotional labours were more formative of the Geneva School than previously recognised, and her intellectual contributions were more than a mere copy of Alfred's "original" ideas. Lucie Zimmern's example broadens the history of international thought to include the artistic, organisational and intellectual work of a wife of a canonical thinker, as well as our understanding of interwar cultural diplomacy. She offers international intellectual history a case study of interwar internationalist education and the speaking circuit as sites of intellectual production, and she offers IR's disciplinary historians an important case study of the relationship between gender, kinship, and the historiography of international relations, as well as the making of this new intellectual and pedagogical field. What might the academic study of international relations have become had the *Lucie* Zimmern School of International Studies not been erased?

## 1. "The Beautiful has no Nationality", Lucie Barbier and the Musical *Entente Cordiale*

Born in Besançon, France in 1875, Lucie Hirsch was the daughter of Olympe Flotron (1850-1925), a Huguenot Swiss-born teacher, and Maurice Hirsch (1855-1926), a pastor and prison reformer who converted from Judaism to Protestantism in 1881, during a period of rising antisemitism that was increasingly framed in racial terms.[34] Lucie attended the Lycée Molière in Paris and studied music at the Sorbonne, specializing in soprano and piano in a period of musical and artistic renaissance in France. She gave recitals in Paris, singing for charities and Protestant churches, trained choirs, and organized concerts. Her singing debut in England at the Royal Albert Hall in 1901 was accompanied by composer and concert pianist, Cecile

Chaminade (1857-1944). In 1902, Lucie married French scholar André Barbier (1879-1953) and immediately followed him to lectureships at the University College Wales at Bangor, then to Manchester University in 1903, and finally to Aberystwyth in 1909.

In Manchester, Lucie became a central figure in the musical *Entente Cordiale*, the cultural accompaniment to the growing political ties following the Anglo-French agreement to address colonial disputes in 1904.[35] After the humiliating defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, this was a period of resurgent French national pride, exemplified by new classical music. Lucie became Executive Secretary of Manchester's *La Société de Concerts Français* to challenge the hegemony of German classical music in Britain. In a letter to *The Manchester Guardian* in 1908, Lucie wrote that "we hope to contribute for our part to a musical *entente cordiale*".[36] Ensuring Manchester's *Société* was the most active branch outside London, Lucie travelled to Paris, contacting France's leading new composers and musicians, and organised and promoted their chamber music, often delivering pre-concert lectures that were covered in the press. "I feel convinced that music will contribute to bring peace in the world", she wrote to the *Guardian* again in 1911. "Let us, then, have good music from all parts of the world - the beautiful has no nationality".[37]

Moving to Aberystwyth in 1909, again to follow André, Lucie Barbier became Assistant Lecturer in Music, teaching French music, singing, and conducting. She also founded and directed Aberystwyth's musical club.[38] When André joined the French Army Administrative Service at the start of World War I, Lucie engaged in fundraising for the thousands of Belgian refugees in Britain and, as "an ardent French patriot",[39] wrote letters denouncing the "plague" of Germans in Alsace.[40] In 1914, she persuaded the Welsh philanthropists Gwendoline and Margaret Davies to donate £75,000 for a new Department of Instrumental Music to be directed by Lucie, including funds for the employment of five French musicians.[41] Lucie had cultivated a relationship with the influential sisters as early as 1911, inviting Gwendoline to play the violin as a study in one of her lectures. Unlike their more well-known brother, David, who was more interested in sport, Gwendoline and Margaret Davies centred art and music in their vision of "social services for South Wales and international peace for all".[42]

Before the three siblings endowed the world's first university chair of international relations with a smaller donation of £20,000, for which only David is usually credited as the "father" of Welsh internationalism, Lucie Barbier had introduced Gwendoline and Margaret to her vision of polyphonic internationalism.[43] This vision was distinct from any of the approaches that would later come to define the study of international relations in intellectual and disciplinary histories and that would place Aberystwyth on IR's intellectual map. However, by 1916, Lucie Barbier "had ruffled" Gwendoline Davis "by her domineering ways", so her plan to institutionalise polyphonic internationalism in Aberystwyth was put on hold.[44] But Lucie Barbier's home remained "a cultural Mecca" in the small town. The historian Ian Parrott captures (and reproduces) some of the local response to the Frenchwoman's presence, inflected by early twentieth-century stereotypes of race, nation and gender: "I am informed that her pale auburn hair, which was abundant, wobbled and sometimes fell down when she was excited; and some remember not only the cottage-loaf top to a generous figure, but also the loose Magyar frock girdled with decorative beads and a mincing walk".[45] Lucie Barbier was imagined as a distinctly foreign, emotional and maternal figure that brought the world to Aberystwyth.

In December 1919, Lucie Barbier invited the recently arrived inaugural Professor of International Politics to deliver the opening remarks before a concerto.[46] Sometime after this encounter, Alfred Zimmern and Lucie Barbier, both in their mid-to-late forties, became romantically involved. Alfred was already divorced.[47] Lucie was still married to André, now Professor of French, with whom she had two daughters, Evelyn (1908-1987) and Edith (1903-

1991). All discussion in the secondary literature records that Alfred was forced to resign because of the relationship, marrying Lucie in March 1920 and leaving Aberystwyth.[48] But Lucie also had to relinquish her university position and she and her two daughters became financially dependent on Alfred. In one of the few sympathetic comments on their elopement, Christopher Stray writes that "Far from being 'had'", as Nancy Astor had suggested, Alfred "found in Lucie… a life long partner and close associate in his work".[49] Their companionate marriage, founded on romantic attraction and a shared commitment to transform the practice of international relations, became the bedrock of both Zimmerns' public personae.

## 2. International Overtones: Madame Zimmern as Orator, Author and *Salonnière*

Already an accomplished musician, teacher, promoter, and orator, Lucie Barbier organised the first of numerous intellectual platforms she shared with Alfred Zimmern. The couple were committed to a notion of public service, producing enlightened international citizens. After leaving Aberystwyth in 1920, through to the late 1940s, Lucie was fêted as part of a duo of "internationally noted authorities" on international relations.[50] In striking contrast to the image in the secondary literature, contemporary media coverage of her public speaking tours described Lucie as "cultured and charming";[51] "a brilliant woman.... French, high cast intelligent French... who can talk like chain lightening".[52] She was "the 'hit' of the evening… Other speakers had urged the need for international understanding… but none more eloquently than Mrs. Zimmern".[53] Lecturing with "Gallic fire", Lucie was "received with more enthusiasm than" Alfred.[54] She was "a well-read and cultured lady";[55] "an accomplished scholar in world affairs".[56] Her lecture on "Human Nature and Lasting Peace" at the Swindon's Workers Educational Association was praised in the press as "The finest sermon I have heard in my life".[57]

Thematically, Lucie Zimmern's speeches to clubs and societies around the United States, Britain and its Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, ranged from "Folk Songs as an Interpretation of National Character", "Anglo-French Relations and Their Influence in Europe", "Places and Personalities in Europe" to "The Situation in France" but also "The Present Status of Women in Europe".[58] Often speaking from a gendered standpoint, Lucie was regularly invited to comment on women's role in international relations. "She didn't believe in aggressive feminism", according to a report from a 1925 speaking tour in Canada, "but wished her sex to have due credit for what it had done and could do" to achieve peace.[59] In clearly autobiographical comments written in 1928, Lucie stated that we "must allow woman to play on equal terms, unimpeded by masculine condescension and interference, her part as wife and mother, as hostess and diplomat, as talker and letter-writer, as artist and intellectual, as a lover of ideas and of truth, as a lover of ideals and of the good, above all as a lover of that outward and inward beauty".[60] In a 1938 speech in Australia, Lucie praised Scandinavian countries for their progress toward gender equality, which, she implied, had a pacifying impact on international politics. "Without such an attitude it was no use struggling for peace, for sex wars acted as ferments for bigger wars".[61]

Press reports on the Zimmerns' speaking engagements consistently emphasised Lucie's exceptional oratorical skill. Alfred "talks for a while… and… he shifts the question to her and she talks for a while and then shifts it back to him. It makes a most brilliant evening. They are delightful";[62] both "exercised an almost mystical clairvoyance".[63] On these tours, Lucie enhanced Alfred's social capital. No longer with an institutional affiliation, Lucie also shaped the early field of international relations in the Zimmerns' private home. They hosted regular *salons* and study groups in their various residences, first in Ithaca in New York state, then Geneva, Paris, Oxford, and finally Hartford, Connecticut. At the Hartford Study Centre for World Affairs, which the Zimmerns co-directed after World War II, Alfred led study groups

for men that focused on politics and economics. Lucie led all-women groups that addressed "the individual and cultural factors",[64] "approaching" international relations "from a different angle and seeking to bring into the open the fundamental obstacles to human cooperation".[65] Such an explicitly separatist pedagogy may have been congenial to 1950s U.S. gender conventions, but it should not distract from the Zimmerns' egalitarian educational philosophy. In their view, men and women required the same level of formation as enlightened international citizens, and they practiced what they preached.

The Zimmerns cultivated a form of *salon* sociability which mixed intellectual seriousness with sensual pleasure.[66] Lucie presided, and discussion of international politics was followed by a recital. As she wrote in 1928 for a volume that included essays by H.G. Wells, G. Lowes Dickinson, and H.L. Mencken, it was "not so much in the classroom or in the degree lists… but in the after careers of the students and, above all, in the homes of the professors themselves" that real fruits of teaching can be witnessed.[67] Most of the correspondence to Alfred among his papers was addressed to the Zimmerns' residence on the Banbury Road, Oxford, indicating that he worked mostly from home. However, rather than being "uxorious",[68] Alfred may have found this arrangement simply more congenial to his work and collaboration with Lucie. As historian Bonnie Smith has pointed out, much scholarly research and authorship in the early twentieth century "was familial … and much writing took place at home".[69] It is difficult to assess the degree to which Lucie researched, copied, proofread, or edited for Alfred in addition to, more likely, maintaining their home, raising two children, organising both their lives, alongside her own intellectual and pedagogical work.

Lucie Zimmern wrote and spoke in her own voice. She published one book, the 1932 *Must the League Fail?*, reviewed in *International Affairs* and *The Spectator*, which called it "brilliantly epigrammatic".[70] Prefiguring the work of the new international historians on the significance of the social and cultural work of the League, she highlighted the degree to which "the great bulk of the staff were loyal and devoted servants of the League in its best sense".[71] She criticized the cynical diplomats from national capitals and the senior figures in the Secretariat who remained captured by the Old Diplomacy. But she wrote in high praise of the men and women who managed the machinery of the League - "hundreds of subordinates, secretaries, typists, copyists, interpreters, translators, porters and messengers", "the humble, unknown, unstarred members of the rank and file".[72] Though her book was not centrally concerned with gender, she observed that "women delegates have been the quickest to learn how to use the new machine and the most reluctant to be used by it".[73] She herself had helped to organise the League's landmark 1927 World Population Conference.[74] Writing at a time when the League went through its first great crisis in the aftermath of Japan's invasion of Manchuria, Lucie supported an international organisation that had committed itself explicitly to the goal of producing international friendship.[75] Regulating and coordinating emotions was also the focus of the Zimmerns' most successful venture, their School.

### 3. The Sounds of Internationalism at the Zimmern School

Lucie Zimmern's conscious recreation of *salon* sociability in the Zimmerns' home not only enhanced Alfred's social capital; they were both practicing their theory and pedagogy of international relations. The crowning achievement of Lucie and Alfred's experiment was the Geneva School of International Studies, often referred to as the Zimmern School, which ran for sixteen years between 1923 and 1939. Alongside several academic institutions focused on international relations, the School was one of the founding institutions of the International Studies Conference (1928-1954).[76] Alfred was inspired by an image of ancient Greek pedagogy which had informed his previous work for the British Board of Education and the Workers' Education Association.[77] His fusion of Hellenism with neo-Hegelianism, which

emphasised moral responsibility toward the community and the cultivation of a shared ethical consciousness, also informed his practical conception of internationalist education.

Arnold Toynbee, who relied heavily on the labour of women researchers at Chatham House, described the Geneva School as Alfred's "*chef d'oeuvre*".[78] However, the masterpiece belonged equally to Lucie. In retrospective accounts of the School's origins, the Zimmerns evoke the semi-domestic space of their hotel room in Geneva during the 1923 session of the League Assembly. Sitting on the floor, students listened to Alfred analyse the proceedings. These informal discussions were so popular that the Zimmerns decided to institute "a series of lectures to be carried out in the weeks preceding the Assembly" in the following year.[79] In 1938, Lucie told an Australian journalist that the idea for the School was hers[80] and on her insistence, the School was held at Geneva's *Conservatoire*.[81] Lucie effectively ran the School's day-to-day activities, causing friction with the official Deputy Director, Nicholas Spykman. Spykman complained that Lucie, officially "Assistant to the Director", "undertook the duties of general executive manager".[82] More generally, Lucie Zimmern's intellectual and organisational singularity is intimated by the fact that students were divided into five subject groups, Economics, Psychology, Law, Seminar, and "Mrs. Zimmern".[83] In addition to teaching, she organised the School's practical and promotional work, fundraising, soliciting messages of support, editing, and writing for *Comprendre*, the School journal, and initiating alumni associations. Small numbers of students continued to meet and form discussion groups in the Zimmerns' apartment.

The School was also a family business, structured around the intimate bond between Lucie and Alfred. In 1924, Everett V. Stonequist married Lucie's daughter Edith, becoming Travelling Secretary of the School in 1925-26. In 1928, requests for accommodation, and further enquiries were addressed to Miss E. Barbier, Lucie's younger daughter Evelyn, previously Secretary of Geneva's Students' International Union.[84] The financial contributors for the fiscal year 1930-1931 included Alfred's older sister, Elsie Zimmern (1876-1967), General Secretary of the International Council of Women.[85]

In terms of enrolment, the Geneva School's most successful period were the mid-1920s. In 1925 and 1926, almost 600 students attended, with 130 joining the "special course" in addition to the public lectures in 1926.[86] Only half as many attended in 1928, when 316 students from 30 nations joined.[87] These numbers declined further, not least due to the impact of the Great Depression, by the mid-1930s.[88] In those years, the School went into "crisis", downsizing while also becoming more professionalised. It offered fewer places, a less expansive roster of lecturers and fewer scholarships (guest lecturers included John Maynard Keynes, Halford Mackinder, Jane Addams, Rachel Crowdy, Agnes Headlam-Morley, Lewis Mumford, and Arthur Salter). However, these strictures also ensured that only truly motivated students attended and, according to Alfred, the quality of students improved,[89] allowing for greater intellectual and social cohesion.[90] Americans were usually the most numerous, and a surprisingly large number were women, two thirds of all U.S. students in 1927.[91] Of a total of 66 students in 1934, 24 were American, including one African American student. The rest were European, save two Indians and one South-African student.[92] The School's 1937 admissions records listed 78 students from 23 countries, nearly 40% of whom identified as women.[93] Financially and in terms of its student body, the School depended heavily on American resources. Several U.S. women's colleges offered scholarships and American philanthropic foundations and wealthy individuals provided funding.[94] Funding streams and the prevalence of an ethos of international citizenship among U.S. university women may account for the School's unusually high intake of women students at a time when women remained a small minority in Higher Education across Europe and the United States.[95]

### *3.1. Beauty, Music, and Internationalism*

In addition to general lectures on internationalism and education, Lucie Zimmern's teaching at the Geneva School can broadly be divided into two overlapping subjects, "The Comparative Study of Nations" and "Beauty, Music, and Internationalism". In the latter, Lucie lectured on "The International Aspect of Music", "Discs, Radio, and the Cinema", "Beauty, Music and Internationalism", and "The Place of Beauty in International Studies". She organised regular recitals of music from around the world following evening lectures as well as group singing. Students sang English folksongs and the African American spiritual, "Old Black Joe".[96] Lucie often provided musical accompaniments, for example, in the 1930 session for Hans Mohr's lecture on Ibsen's Peer Gynt.[97] Experts on African American music were invited to perform and give talks, and students learned about racial injustice in the United States.[98] Students almost certainly sang the School's official anthem, "Canticum Scholae Genavensis", in Latin verse written by Alfred, set to music by Henri Gagnebin, the *Conservatoire*'s director.[99] In Lucie's words, Gagnebin "adjust[ed] his musical thought to the goal that the School would pursue: to seek in the harmony of sounds the aspirations of those who work for the harmony of spirits".[100]

For Lucie Zimmern, the connections between music and internationalism were not only metaphorical, architectural, or even theoretical, but visceral. As she wrote in her 1932 book on the League of Nations, "International interdependence cannot be *preached*. It has to be experienced".[101] In addition to studying international law and organization, labour issues, the problem of minorities, colonial administration and mandates, and all the issues and agenda pursued by the League, students were to be inculcated in the *sounds* of internationalism, the intuitive and non-verbal. Hence the built environment of the *Conservatoire* supported and reflected the School's ethos, with the central place of aurality often conveyed in letters from students. "The Conservatory's accustomed sounds of vocal and instrumental efforts", according to one, "were replaced by reverberations from lectures, discussions, arguments".[102] Another recalled, "Agitated French voices cutting across throaty German accents, suave English comments and hearty American laughs. Sir Alfred sat with chin cupped thoughtfully in two hands; Lady Zimmern smiled and nodded".[103] In line with Lucie's polyphonic pedagogy, lectures were given in both English and French.[104]

Transnational cultural interchange, and particularly for Lucie, appreciation of the beauty and significance of musical cultures, effected a psychological, embodied transformation necessary to reform world politics. As one student recalled in 1930, quoting Lucie, "music appreciation is just as essential to world peace as is the study of international problems… 'If you can't sing in harmony or feel the rhythm of a piece of music, you don't have polyphonic souls, and if you don't have polyphonic souls [then] you can never understand world problems'".[105] World politics was not polyphonic in the simple sense of multiplicity, of merely "more than one", but of plurality and diversity, of many and different. As Lucie wrote in 1928, "We must aim at a society which will be a diversity, not a uniformity, a harmonization, not a standardization, an orchestra, not a masculine solo".[106] Such sentiments and analogies accorded with wider efforts to foster international peace through artistic interchange, becoming the basis of influential strands of cultural internationalism after World War I. This cultivation of an "international mind", Alfred explained in 1936 was not "gas and water internationalism", or "a lawyer's pipe-dream" or the "pre-war system of state sovereignty", but the "…embodiment of a sense of solidarity".[107]

The School's focus on emotion, culture, and the sounds of internationalism clashed with another new approach represented at the School by Deputy Director, Nicholas Spykman. Spykman and Lucie were constantly in conflict on matters of pedagogy and administration. In 1927, he resigned, citing the conflict of responsibilities, and that the School's programme was not what he had agreed with Alfred. Spykman, his secretary, and some of the American

students did not appreciate the extent to which the programme was less "a course of study" and "much more an intellectual and spiritual experience".[108] In turn, a report written by unnamed tutors after the 1927 session accused Spykman of failing to make "an effort for understanding what constitutes the originality of the environment to which they have come", and of "mechanizing" the institution while "giving a vexatory importance to administrative and material details, and to matters of hierarchy", and "isolating himself from the intellectual and cultural life of the school".[109] The Zimmerns' denied any "conflict of functions" between Spykman and Lucie, and, far less convincingly, claimed that Lucie's duties were minimal.[110] Lucie's formal role was indeed ambiguous. In the mid-1930s, the advisory committee was all-male, but with Lucie holding the position of honorary secretary.[111] She was omitted in administrative charts of the School, a likely case of constructive ambiguity, to dispel any suggestion that Lucie was undermining Alfred's authority and the prestige of the School. [112]

*3.2. The Comparative Study of Nations*

The Zimmerns conceived of the School's activities as emotional as well as intellectual because they believed that international conflict was not primarily rooted in political and economic struggles. The "more fundamental cause" of international conflict, the Zimmerns argued, lay elsewhere.[113] "That is why", Alfred wrote in 1927, "the interpretation of the varieties of national temperament and experience forms such a prominent part of the Geneva course."[114] As evidenced by student essays, this second and closely related strand of Lucie's teaching, "the study of the deeper national forces which color the whole mental life and outlook of… various peoples", incorporated wide-ranging questions of history, culture, geography, class, gender, race, and mentality.[115] This was the fundamental, but also often a highly topical element of the School's curriculum, the comparative politics underpinning polyphonic internationalism. In 1932, after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Lucie taught a seminar on "relations between the Western World and Asia". A later biographical sketch, almost certainly drafted by Lucie, described her qualification to teach such subjects: Lady Zimmern's "interest in æsthetic values has enabled her to understand the psychology of nationality in its different manifestations, and thus to break down the barriers of misunderstanding and suspicion".[116] As historian Daniel Laqua notes, "intrinsic to both interwar internationalism and the discourse about music" were "simultaneous references to universal values on the one side and ideas about 'national culture' on the other".[117]

In keeping with intellectual currents of the time, race was taught as a political and biological category at the School. Lectures included the "problem of racial differences", incorporating "race from point of view of physical characteristics", the "question of racial superiority" and the "problem of racial mixture".[118] Lucie's core teaching was consonant with Alfred's attempt to theorize the basis for a new international order as a federation of culturally mature nations, including many without their own state within multinational empires or as colonies. Alfred famously rejected the principle of state sovereignty as the basis of international order, instead conceiving of a new order based on a federation or commonwealth of nations. Alfred's discomfort with racial categories and attempt to conceive of a "post-racial Commonwealth",[119] was also rooted in his Jewish identity and rejection of political Zionism, for which Chaim Weizmann held Lucie responsible.[120] In other writings, Alfred explicitly rejected white supremacy.[121] Cultural, not political Zionism was the model for reform of the British empire into a commonwealth.[122] In turn, the British commonwealth was the model for a new worldwide political arrangement.

The cultivation of a deep appreciation for national cultural traditions would *depoliticize* national sentiments and, it was hoped, demote racial categories. "Harmonize Asians, Europeans, Africans", in the words of the School's anthem. According to a retrospective

account of "the work of Madame Zimmern's group", students were taught to "de-emotionalize politics, and to de-politicize nationality. Not our State, but our culture and tradition were to be the objects of our affection and devotion."[123] Writing in 1914, Alfred had already argued that "the chief political problem of our age" was "the contact of races and nations with wide varieties of social experience and at different levels of civilisation. It is this great insistent problem… the problem of the colour-line… which makes the development of the principle of the super-national Commonwealth the most pressing political need of our age".[124] In Lucie's terms, international relations were a variegated cacophony whose "rich and beautiful diversity" could be aestheticized and ordered.

But there is an obvious contradiction between the Zimmerns' vision of international order as hierarchically structured, with a hegemonic centre, and the polyphonic principles of independent forces interweaving harmoniously but none dominating the other. While polyphony as a metaphor implied a rejection of hierarchy, its origin was nonetheless considered as intrinsically European, certainly in the 1920s and 1930s, a period which many Western intellectuals characterised as an age of cultural crisis. Oswald Spengler's widely read 1918 book *The Decline of the West* argued that polyphony emerged at the dawn of a distinctly Western civilization, around the 10th century, which he characterised as "Faustian", uniquely driven by the pursuit of almost unreachable goals.[125] And what goal could be more unattainable than international peace? While the Zimmerns certainly did not move in the right-wing circles most receptive to Spengler's message, their School nonetheless incorporated the pre-modern universalisms of Western Christendom. Alfred's Latin lyrics for the School song, for example, referenced various nationalities by their Latin name. While the Zimmern School promoted the appreciation of human diversity, it did so from an aesthetic and intellectual standpoint that was self-consciously "occidental".

Polyphonic internationalism was culturally and racially elitist, requiring, in Lucie Zimmern's words, teachers "who are live, observant, and sensitive human beings… to who each child, boy or girl, Anglo-Saxon, Slav or Latin, Jew, Greek, or colored barbarian, is a treasure-house to be unlocked, a riddle to be solved, a unique human soul to be loved".[126] The lesson of the "Madame Zimmern group" was that the principle of self-determination could only be realized when "a nation, or national group, is free… to develop its own life and culture. Only in this way can it really be free to co-operate, and to contribute its share to the symphony of a world orchestra".[127] Political claims for representation were subsumed under cultural expression and emancipation. For instance, the Zimmerns clearly viewed African Americans as having reached a higher cultural plane. But Alfred opposed political independence for Britain's African colonies, who, in his view, still required education and tutelage.[128] His vision for post-war international relations was modelled on an idealization of a harmonious commonwealth of nations, led by the English-speaking peoples.[129] Despite Alfred's rejection of biological racism, the Geneva School's focus on cultural pluralism was compatible with a racialised and hierarchical British Empire. Lucie herself praised its world-ordering effects. Addressing the English-Speaking Union in New Zealand, she "described the… various component parts of the Empire as a 'wireless of feelings' permeating the world", and according to a media report, "cited one of the greatest assets of Empire strength the fact that its subjects comprised different types of peoples living under different geographical conditions".[130]

## 4. "I Do Not Expect a Shower of Bouquets"[131]: The Zimmern School's Legacies

The Geneva School of International Studies would neither have had the wide influence, nor its distinctive intellectual approach, without Lucie Zimmern's intellectual, pedagogical, and administrative labours. Her students indicated in their written work that they were implementing her ideas. One student from Barnard College in the New York City redrafted her

paper for Lucie's Comparative Nationality seminar, so that it "meets with your approval".[132] The resulting essay, on "National Characteristics of the United States", sought to take account of the "inner currents of feeling and thought that must occur" in a country as vast and diverse. Its conclusions were surprisingly authoritarian. To counter widespread public ignorance, "factionalism must be controlled", misinformation contained and "strong leaders found".[133] Lucie's students testified to the originality of her pedagogy which required extensive work on what we might now call "the self". Lucie Zimmern asked her students to become "perfectly attuned", to bring forth in group-work sessions that "serene, harmonious being" that would be "able to meet and cooperate with others on their own ground".[134]

Lucie encouraged students to draw psychological portraits of their own countries of origin, which were then presented at Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations and thus the spiritual capital of the world. To some extent, these essays were also self-portraits, encouraging an act of introspection that some may have welcomed, and others may have found alienating or inappropriate. One student from Pahlavi Iran theorised about the "psychological cause of the weakness of Persia" which were rooted in a lack of political mindedness of its people. Nonetheless, the student rejected the suggestion that dictatorship was the answer for Persia and instead defended the institution of a charismatic monarchy.[135] A French-Canadian student speculated on the "Factors which have molded the French Canadian Soul", pointing to the "strong and robust" nature of the first colonists.[136] But there were also students who used Lucie's seminar to spell out disconcerting realities that would have been impolitic to present in an academic context at home. A student writing on "The South and the Negro Problem", analysed the stark economic, social, and political oppression of African Americans.[137]

One former student likened their work on nationalities to "confessions", designed to elicit, through "group-work", authentic personalities that had been obscured by "the mask of illusion, sham, and hypocrisy" of modern life. Lucie's belief in the naturally "harmonious" interior lives of human beings was literal, which may have led her to transgress social conventions, if not personal boundaries.[138] There were complaints about her teaching methods, with some denouncing indoctrination and excessive psychologising. After attending the School in 1932, Louise Warren Johnson of the U.S. League of Women Voters accused the Zimmerns of trying "to dominate students". Johnson excoriated "that 'method' of yours which Mrs. Zimmern was so fond of emphasizing", alleged that "critical minds were NOT wanted", and that "young minds" were prevented from hearing other lectures and meeting other groups.[139] The Zimmerns did foster an *esprit de corps* among their students and alumni, and spent considerable energy on their alumni network. They also knew that university students were a small, privileged minority of young people and destined to form future political elites. Whether Johnson's criticism was justified or not, Lucie certainly was a consummate and charismatic teacher who sought to effect not only intellectual but also emotional growth, and her students' work may be read as a reflection of her own international theory.

Once graduated, many Zimmern School students went on to illustrious careers and often fondly remembered their time in Geneva. For interwar internationalists of a certain generation, the Zimmern School was a rite of passage. Notable U.S. alumni include Brooks Emeny, a rising star of interwar international relations who became the president of the Foreign Policy Association[140]; Eleanor Lansing Dulles, sister of statesmen John Foster and Allen Dulles and a leading international economist who worked for the State Department; and Cora Du Bois, who became a notable anthropologist.[141] Some students were already famous when they enrolled, for instance Lucia Ames Mead, veteran pacifist campaigner and author.[142] Others were more obscure, for instance Edith E. Ware, a history professor at Russell Sage College who compiled two studies of international relations scholarship activism that are indispensable to historians of U.S. interwar international thought today.[143] The Zimmern School is also remarkable for the number of women alumnae who entered that peculiar and

very American sphere of associational internationalism, the public discussion of foreign affairs as a quintessential and gendered aspect of citizenship.[144]

One who assimilated and amplified the Zimmerns' pedagogical principles was white U.S. citizen Esther Caukin Brunauer, who used the Zimmern School's template in her work as secretary to the Committee on International Relations of the American Association of University Women (AAUW).[145] She made a point of announcing the School's programme to all AAUW branches, praising "the special value of the Geneva School of International Studies organized by Professor Alfred Zimmern", omitting Lucie.[146] In the 1930s, Brunauer continued to develop her own interest in popular international relations education. Her study courses sold in their hundreds, in some years in their thousands.[147] She later joined the U.S. State Department and represented her country at the UNESCO preparatory commission, moving in the same circles as the Zimmerns, though her career was cut short by McCarthyism.[148]

The African American international relations scholar Merze Tate was another notable alumna of the Zimmern School. Tate only attended its 1931 session because she happened to meet the African American musician Grace Walker in London on her way to Geneva to lecture on Black music and art.[149] Tate joined Walker, attending those lectures, and enrolling at the Geneva School. Instead of pursuing her original plan to read French in Paris, Tate applied to study International Relations at Oxford, initially with Alfred, but then completing her work under the supervision of Agnes Headlam-Morley, the first woman to hold a professorship at Oxford. In 1935, Tate became the first African American to earn a graduate degree from Oxford, before continuing her studies in another neglected institutional context of interwar IR, the Harvard-Radcliffe Bureau of International Research, founded by two women.[150] Bureau funds helped Tate turn her graduate research into a highly regarded book on disarmament that was partially supervised by Alfred. When Tate approached the Zimmerns with the request to write an introduction, Alfred turned her down, though not before congratulating her on her "success, which must be a great satisfaction and stimulus to many others beside yourself", reminding Tate of the special expectations that rested on her due to her race.[151] Tate became probably the "most accomplished international relations scholar" at Howard University, the major academic site of dissent to post-1945 mainstream U.S. IR, in which questions of race, gender, and empire were side-lined.[152] Tate would have excelled at whatever academic field she chose. But it is unlikely that she would have chosen international relations as her field without encountering Grace Walker on her way to perform as part of Lucie's polyphonic internationalism.

The Geneva School closed in 1939, while the erstwhile deputy director Spykman became a leading figure of early "American IR", co-founding and directing the Yale Institute of International Studies in 1935, which became one of the preeminent centres for the study of international relations in the United States. As Robert Vitalis has pointed out, at Yale "many of the founding myths of realism first took shape".[153] Lucie Zimmern may have defeated Sypkman in the power struggle at the Geneva School. But the new post-World War II IR discipline in the United States, to where the Zimmerns emigrated in 1947, was defined in opposition to the thought and pedagogy practiced at the Geneva School, too focused on the workings of the League, too open to questions of gender, race, aesthetics and psychology, albeit from a liberal-individualist and Eurocentric perspective, too idealist and emotional, too polyphonic internationalist.[154]

The Zimmerns emigrated after Julian Huxley was appointed first director general of UNESCO instead of Alfred. Lucie falsely accused Huxley of being a communist, leading Ellen Wilkinson, President of UNESCO's preparatory commission, to further side-line Alfred.[155] He took a visiting professorship in History and International Relations at Trinity College and the Zimmerns immediately attempted to recreate the Geneva School. The original proposal was explicit about Lucie's central role in Geneva: the new initiative was to take their joint name,

because “Sir Alfred Zimmern… and Lady Zimmern, who founded the Geneva School”, have “settled in Hartford”.[156] However, in Alfred’s handwriting, Lucie’s name is crossed out, leaving Alfred the sole founder.[157] Alfred may have been concerned by the reaction of the male-only Trinity College faculty and leadership. As plans progressed, Lucie’s position was partially restored. The constitution for what became the Hartford Study Center for World Affairs named both Alfred and Lucie as directors.[158] An internal report in 1948 also afforded some recognition to Lucie; both Zimmerns were “internationally known persons in the fields of education, government, and international relations”.[159] But a memorandum seeking UNESCO recognition for the Study Centre omitted Lucie’s name as co-Director, only mentioning her women-only groups.[160] By the time of Alfred’s death in 1957, Trinity College obituaries made no mention of Lucie’s role as co-director or indeed public intellectual in her own right. In a letter to the widow, college officials declared how “honoured” they were by Alfred’s visiting professorship and claimed that his “delightful personality” would be much missed.[161] Lucie was well on the way to becoming a ‘wife of the canon’.

## 5. Conclusion

In her inaugural lecture as Oxford’s Montague Burton Professor of International Relations in 1948, Agnes Headlam-Morley recalled how in 1930 in Geneva, Lucie Zimmern “gave us a little homily on the spread of reason and harmonism in the modern world. In time she said a generation would grow up to whom war was impossible, unthinkable”. This was not “crude and naïve”, Headlam-Morley maintained, “it was enlivened by wit and enriched by understanding”. Perhaps because her own mother, Else Sonntag, was an accomplished musician and composer, or because she had tutored at Geneva and experienced Lucie’s polyphonic internationalism first-hand, Headlam-Morley could not, unlike so many contemporary intellectual historians of international relations, “talk of Sir Alfred without thinking of Lady Zimmern”.[162]

Assessments of canonical thinkers are not neutral. In histories of political and international thought, criteria such as “influence” and “representativeness” prioritise the “influence of white men on other white men”.[163] Yet the analysis of Lucie and Alfred’s intellectual companionship, and Lucie’s own trajectory as a thinker expands existing accounts of liberal internationalism, revealing early and clearly prominent efforts to think about culture, emotions and international relations. The Zimmern School as the institutional manifestation of the Zimmern’s companionship underlines the importance of internationalist education projects as the location for inquiries into international intellectual history. In a period when companionate marriage was not yet the norm, Lucie Zimmern embraced it as an ideal that afforded her access, prestige, influence, and opportunities for international thinking that she would not otherwise have had, and which were not always welcomed. She elicited scathing reactions when she acted against convention and in ways threatening to others’ agendas; these reactions can be interpreted as products of sexism, jealousy, xenophobia, and, of course, her own personality and manner, but also her distinctive approach to the study of international relations.

Her example demonstrates that not all intellectual influence in the new field of international relations occurred through scholarly publications, teaching that led to advanced degrees, or the successful establishment of a so-called “school” of international theory. Her career, such as it was, also illustrates that there were multiple disciplinary routes to international thinking. Unlike many of the well-known men (and increasingly women) of interwar international relations, Lucie trained neither in law, classics, history, nor the social sciences but in music, a highly disciplined and systematised practice of human creativity side-lined as IR was consolidated in the interwar years, and, after 1945, as a subfield of political

science. And yet, Lucie Zimmern's polyphonic internationalism was as sensitive to the reality of nationality as those more recognised pathways to international thought.[164] At the Geneva School and in her *salons*, she blurred the boundaries between the more feminised domains of culture and internationalist pedagogy and the soon-to-be masculinised scientific study of international relations. She is thus an instructive case study of an international thinker positioned at the margins but yet able to deploy her status as wife and artist-intellectual in a cosmopolitan, semi-academic setting. While we are hesitant to proliferate the already excessive numbers of schools of international theory, the erasure of the Lucie Zimmern School of International Studies helped to organise the post-World War II academic discipline of IR around male eponymous approaches and an all-male, all-white canon.[165]

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[1] Cheryl Higashida, *Black Internationalist Feminism: Women Writers of the Black Left, 1945-1995* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill (eds.) *To Turn the Whole World Over: Black Women and Internationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019). C.f. Glenda Sluga, 'Turning International: Foundations of Modern International Thought and New Paradigms for Intellectual History', *History of European Ideas*, xli (2015), 103-115.

[2] Patricia Owens and Katharina Rietzler (eds.) *Women's International Thought: A New History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021); Valeska Huber, Tamson Pietsch, and Katharina Rietzler, 'Women's International Thought and the New Professions, 1900-1940', *Modern Intellectual History* xviii (2021), 121-145.

[3] Jennifer Forestal and Menaka Philips (eds.) *The Wives of Western Philosophy: Gender Politics in Intellectual Labour* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

[4] There is a large secondary literature on Alfred Zimmern. See, for example, D. J. Markwell, 'Sir Alfred Zimmern revisited: fifty years on', *Review of International Studies*, xii (1986), 279-292; Julia Stapleton, 'Alfred Zimmern and the world "citizen scholar"' in *Political Intellectuals and Public Identities in Britain since 1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 91-111; Paul Rich, 'Reinventing Peace: David Davies, Alfred Zimmern and Liberal Internationalism in Interwar Britain', *International Relations*, xvi (2002), 117-133; Jeanne Morefield, *Covenants without Swords: Idealist Liberalism and the Spirit of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Tomohito Baji, *The International Thought of Alfred Zimmern: Classicism, Zionism and the Shadow of the Commonwealth* (London: Palgrave, 2021).

[5] Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson (eds.) *Principles and Problems of International Politics: Selected Readings* (New York: Knopf, 1950), 18.

[6] Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 68.

[7] 'Lady Zimmern, 88, Educator's Widow', *New York Times*, 19 October 1963, 20.

[8] Often abbreviated as the 'Geneva School', the Geneva School of International Studies was also known as the 'Zimmern School'. We use both interchangeably.

[9] Biographies of the Zimmerns for the programme of Alfred's six lectures as part of the National Lectureship Scheme of the National Council of Education', Canada. MSS Zimmern 33, 134.

[10] Brian Porter, 'Appendix 1: Holders of the Woodrow Wilson Chair' in *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics 1919-1969* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 362; Jo Anne Pemberton, *The Story of International Relations Part One: Cold-Blooded Idealists* (Cham: Palgrave, 2020), 115; Jan Stöckmann, 'Women, wars, and world affairs: Recovering feminist International Relations, 1915–39', *Review of International Studies*, xliv (2018), 226.

[11] Stapleton, 'Alfred Zimmern', 99; Stray, *Oxford Classics*, 195; Jo Anne Pemberton, *The Story of International Relations Part Two*, 128; Daniel Laqua, 'Educating Internationalists: The Context, Role and Legacies of the UIA's 'International University' in Daniel Laqua et. al. (eds.), *International Organizations and Global Civil Society: Histories of the Union of International Associations* (London: 2019), 62; Jan Stöckmann, *The Architects of International Relations: Building a Discipline, Designing the World, 1914-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 242.

[12] Markwell, 'Sir Alfred', 280, 281. Baji's study of Alfred mentions 'Lucy [sic] Barbier' once. *The International Thought of Alfred Zimmern*, 111.

[13] Paul Rich, 'Alfred Zimmern's Cautious Idealism: The League of Nations, International Education, and the Commonwealth' in David Long and Peter Wilson, eds., *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-war Idealism Reassessed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 87.

[14] Christopher Stray, ed., *Oxford Classics: Teaching and Learning, 1800-2000* (London: Duckworth, 2007), 195.

[15] Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower*, 91.

[16] Quoted in John Toye and Richard Toye, 'One World, Two Cultures? Alfred Zimmern, Julian Huxley and the Ideological Origins of UNESCO', *History*, xcv (2010), 325.

[17] Selskar M. Gunn to E.E. Day, June 22, 1932, Rockefeller Archive Center, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, 1/100 S/105/952.

[18] Chaim Weizmann to Vera Weizmann in *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann* (Vol.12, series A, August 1923 – March 1926) (Newark, 1977), 385; Chaim Weizmann to Vera Weizmann, *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann* (Vol.10, series A, July 1920 – December 1921) (Newark, 1977), 157. Weizmann was a former colleague at Manchester of Lucie's first husband.

[19] Margaret Sanger to Hugh de Selincourt, May 22, 1927, quoted in *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger: Volume 4: Round the World for Birth Control, 1920-1966* (edited by Esther Katz, Peter C. Engelman and Cathy Moran Hajo) (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 112.

[20] Stanley Brice Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower: F. Cyril James of McGill* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 91.

[21] James Patrick Sewell, *UNESCO and World Politics: Engaging in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 83-84.

[22] Toye and Toye, 'One World?', 313.

[23] E. L. Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth 1872-1972* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1972), 176.
[24] Ian Parrott, *The Spiritual Pilgrims* (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, 1969), 30.
[25] Labour Party activist Silyn Roberts to Thomas Jones, 5 Nov. 1924, quoted in Toye and Richard Toye, 'One World?', 314fn.
[26] Marcus Collins, *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic, 2004); Leonore Davidoff, Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink and Katherine Holden, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy* (London: Longman, 1999).
[27] Diana Saco, 'Gendering Sovereignty: Marriage and International Relations in Elizabethan Times', *European Journal of International Relations*, iii (1998), 291-318.
[28] Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (eds.) *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Daniel Laqua, (ed.) *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars* (London: IB Tauris, 2011); David Long and Brian C. Schmidt (eds.) *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2005).
[29] Ilaria Scaglia, *The Emotions of Internationalism: Feeling International Cooperation in the Alps in the Interwar Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 4.
[30] 'My friend Lucie Zimmern's musical name for this this method, polyphonic thinking, was even better; but perhaps when it draws in other sciences one ought to conceive it as contrapuntal'. Lewis Mumford Patrick Geddes, and Frank G. Novak, *Lewis Mumford and Patrick Geddes: The Correspondence* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 356.
[31] On the history and musicology of polyphony see Cecil Gray, *The History of Music* (London: Routledge, 2003); Samuel Rubio and Thomas Rive, *Classical Polyphony* (Oxford: Blackwell 1972). On polyphony in literary and film studies see, for instance, Jonathan Fruoco (ed.) *Polyphony and the Modern* (New York: Routledge, 2021); Berna Gueneli, 'The Sound of Fatih Akin's Cinema: Polyphony and the Aesthetics of Heterogeneity in "The Edge of Heaven"', *German Studies Review*, xxxvii (2014), 337. This is the first exploration of polyphony in histories of international thought.
[32] 'Visiting Internationalist: Lady Zimmern Interviewed', *The Western Australian*, 10 October 1938. MSS Zimmern 179, 264.
[33] On musical cultural diplomacy, see Marianne Franklin, *Resounding International Relations: On Music, Culture, and Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2005); Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht (ed.) *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn, 2014). On cultural diplomacy more broadly see Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Benjamin G. Martin and Elisabeth Piller (eds.) 'Cultural Diplomacy and Europe's Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939', *Contemporary European History*, xxx (2021).
[34] 'Educator's Widow', 20; Stephen Wilson, *Ideology and Experience: Anti-Semitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (London: Associated University Presses, 1982), 456-464.
[35] Martha Elisabeth Stonequist, 'The Musical Entente Cordiale: 1905-1916'. University of Colorado PhD, 1971, 18.
[36] Lucie Barbier, 'French Concerts in Manchester', *The Manchester Guardian*, 22 October 1908, 4.
[37] Lucie Barbier, 'Correspondence: The Hallé Concerts', *The Manchester Guardian*, 1 June 1911, 9.
[38] Parrott, *The Spiritual Pilgrims*, 26.
[39] Stapleton, 'Alfred Zimmern', 99.
[40] Lucie A. Barbier, 'Correspondence: Alsace-Lorraine', *The Manchester Guardian*, 9 August 1917, 3.
[41] Parrott, *The Spiritual Pilgrims*, 27-28. For more on the sisters see Trevor Fishlock, *A Gift of Sunlight: The Fortune and Quest of the Davies Sisters of Llandinam* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 2014).
[42] Parrott, *The Spiritual Pilgrims*, chapter three. David Davies was vice-chair of the League of Nations Union and wrote extensively on international affairs. For Lucie Zimmern's critical review of Davies' book calling for an international police force see Lucie A. Zimmern, 'Force, by Lord Davies (Book Review)', *International Affairs*, xiv (1935), 128.
[43] Welsh Centre for International Affairs, 'David Davies 75: Internationalist 'Father' of the Temple of Peace', https://www.wcia.org.uk/wcia-news/wcia-history/david-davies-75-father-of-the-temple-of-peace/ (accessed February 1, 2022); the David Davies Memorial Institute in the Department of International Politics at Aberystwyth University still gives sole credit for endowing the first chair in International Politics to the brother. See <https://www.aber.ac.uk/en/interpol/research/research-centres-and-institutes/ddmi/> (accessed September 10, 2021). Brian Porter refers to 'David Davies and his Sisters'. 'Preface' *The Aberystwyth Papers*, ix.
[44] Ellis, *The University*, 175-176
[45] Parrott, *The Spiritual Pilgrims*, 27, 30-31.
[46] 'M. Cortot at Aberystwyth: Visit of Famous Pianist', *The Cambrian News*, December 4, 1919, p.5 MSS Zimmern 179, 8.
[47] Noam Pianko, 'Cosmopolitan Wanderer or Zionist Activist? Sir Alfred Zimmern's Ambivalent Jewishness and the Legacy of British Internationalism', *Ab Imperio*, iv (2009), 230.
[48] Markwell, 'Sir Alfred Zimmern', 280; Rich, 'Reinventing Peace', 120; Baji, *The International Thought of Alfred Zimmern*, 127.
[49] Stray, *Oxford Classics*, 195. Harold Laski was also more gracious, writing to Lucie during the scandal, 'It was a great joy to see your mutual happiness'. Laski to Lucie Zimmern, January 26, 1921. Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 106, 3.
[50] Kasper Monahan, 'Peace and Licorice are Interview Subjects: English Lecturer and French Wife Also Discuss "Babbits"', *The Rocky Mountain News*, 4, n.d. MSS Zimmern 179, 141.
[51] 'Sentiment in Work for Peace: Criticism by Lady Zimmern'. Unnamed newspaper, n.d. MSS Zimmern 179, 291.
[52] 'City Club, Kansas City, MO. *Ladies' Night, Thursday, February 2, 1922*', MSS Zimmern 106, 113.
[53] 'No Opportunity Life England's - Mrs. A. E. Zimmern: Frenchwoman's Eloquent Appeal for Big Effort to Secure World Peace', *Oxford Mail*, 1 April 1933. MSS Zimmern 179, 217.

[54] 'New World Weapon Boycott, Blockade says Dr. A. Zimmern', *The Herald*, 7 March 1925. MSS Zimmern 179, 110.
[55] Reuben George, 'Swindon W.E.A. at Childrey. Address by Mrs. Zimmern on "The Situation in France"'. *Swindon Advertiser*, 13 May 1932. MSS Zimmern 179, 172.
[56] Robert E. Stansfield, 'A New Impulse Toward World Harmony', *The Harford Courant Magazine*, Sunday, January 2, 1949, 5. MSS Zimmern 106.
[57] 'The Way to Peace: Human Nature Must be Disciplined', *North Wilts Herald*, 8 March 1935. MSS Zimmern 179, 248.
[58] James Cotton, 'Sir Alfred Zimmern Lectures Australia, 1938: A Utopian on Munich?' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, xxxi (2018), 503.
[59] 'New World Weapon Boycott, Blockade says Dr. A. Zimmern', *The Herald*, 7 March 1925. Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 179, 110.
[60] Lucie A. Zimmern, 'Women's Part in the New Renaissance' in Joseph Bachelor and Ralph L. Henry (eds.) *Challenging Essays in Modern Thought* (New York, 1928), 97.
[61] 'Visiting Internationalist: Lady Zimmern Interviewed', *The Western Australian*, October 10, 1938. Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 179, 264.
[62] 'City Club, Kansas City, MO. *Ladies' Night, Thursday, February 2, 1922*', MSS Zimmern 106, 113.
[63] Quoted in Sewell, *UNESCO and World Politics*, 83-84.
[64] 'Memorandum Submitted to the Executive Board of UNESCO by the Council and Director of The Hartford Study-Center for World Affairs', Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 106, 230.
[65] 'The Hartford Study-Center for World Affairs: Programme', Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 106, 167; 'The Hartford Study-Center for World Affairs. Report of the Directors to the Council Meeting of January 31, 1949'. Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 106, 207.
[66] According to one reporter, 'probably no private apartment in Hartford has more international overtones per cubic foot than the spacious one the distinguished couple occupies'. Robert E. Stansfield, 'A New Impulse Toward World Harmony', *The Harford Courant Magazine*, Sunday, January 2, 1949, 5. MSS Zimmern 106.
[67] Zimmern, 'Women's Part', 102.
[68] Martin Ceadel, 'The Academic Normalization of International Relations at Oxford, 1920–2012' in Christopher Hood, Desmond King, and Gillian Peele (eds.) *Forging a Discipline: A Critical Assessment of Oxford's Development of the Study of Politics and International Relations in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 188.
[69] Bonnie Smith, 'Historiography, Objectivity, and the Case of the Abusive Widow', *History and Theory*, xxxi (1992), 17.
[70] '*Must the League Fail?* By Mrs. L. A Zimmern (Book Review)', *The Spectator* 148.5407 (1932), 228; G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, '*Must the League Fail?* (Book Review)' *International Affairs*, 11.4 (1932), 549.
[71] L.A. Zimmern 'Critics of the League', March 7, 1932, MSS Zimmern 29, 24-25.
[72] Lucie A. Zimmern, *Must the League Fail?* (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1932), 37.
[73] Zimmern, *Must the League Fail?* 35-36. In addition to gifting a copy of her book to H.G. Wells, Lucie also sent copies to Raymond Leslie Buell and the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. MacDonald to Lucie Zimmern, 25 October 1932, MSS Zimmern 30, 127.
[74] Margaret Sanger to Hugh de Selincourt, May 22, 1927, quoted in *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger: Volume 4: Round the World for Birth Control, 1920-1966* (edited by Esther Katz, Peter C. Engelman and Cathy Moran Hajo) (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 112.
[75] Scaglia, *Emotions of Internationalism*, 53-59.
[76] The Zimmerns' Geneva School is distinguished from the Geneva Institute of International Relations, a two-week lecture series organized in mid-August by Britain's League of Nations Union and the International Summer School organized in August-September by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.
[77] Alfred Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth: Politics and Economics in Fifth-century Athens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911).
[78] Arnold Toynbee, *Acquaintances* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 61. On women's intellectual labour in Chatham House and other Anglo-American foreign affairs think tanks see Katharina Rietzler, 'U.S. Foreign Policy Think Tanks and Women's Intellectual Labor, 1920-1950', *Diplomatic History* xlvi, 575-601.
[79] 'The Geneva School of International Studies. 1923-1939'. N.d. MSS Zimmern 106, 1. For the wider context of the founding of the School see Pemberton, *The Story of International Relations Part Two*, 114-117.
[80] 'Visiting Internationalist: Lady Zimmern Interviewed', *The Western Australian*, October 10, 1938. MSS Zimmern 179, 264.
[81] It was Lucie who hired the Conservatoire for the Zimmern School and introduced its Director Henri Gagnebin to one of her musician friends, Georges Pitsch. Gagnebin to Lucie Zimmern, September 17, 1926. MSS Zimmern, 19; Lucie Barbier and Georges Pitsch correspondence, 1912-1913, National Library of Wales, Lucie Barbier Papers, MSS22692-3E.
[82] 'Errata and Addenda in Report of Deputy Director'. N.d. MSS Zimmern 93, 186.
[83] Student lists. MSS Zimmern 31, 112-114.
[84] 'International Studies', *Vox Studentium*, April 1928, MSS Zimmern 180, 228.
[85] MSS Zimmern 91, 26.
[86] 'The Geneva School of International Studies', 1927, MSS Zimmern, 87.
[87] 'Program for Sixth Session, July 8 to August 30, 1929', MSS Zimmern, 87; Paul Hymans to Alfred Zimmern, November 21, 1928, MSS Zimmern, 21.
[88] 'The Geneva School of International Studies, 1934', MSS Zimmern, 87.
[89] 'Note by Director', n.d., MSS Zimmern, 93, 171-172.
[90] 'The Geneva School of International Studies', 1927, MSS Zimmern, 87, 21.
[91] 'Student records, Geneva School of International Studies, 1927', MSS Zimmern, 95, 2 ff. Women were identified by name, ambiguous names of students that attended male-only colleges such as Yale were excluded.

[92] While we cannot offer a full break-down of the ethnic and national composition of Zimmern School students across the School's existence, it is clear that the Zimmerns' pedagogical approach valorised ethnic and national diversity. League of Nations International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation, Eight International Studies Conference, London, June 1935, 'Report on the Geneva School of International Studies, 11th session, 1934', MSS Zimmern, 86.
[93] Geneva School of International Studies Report on the Fourteenth Session, July-September 1937. MSS Zimmern 92, 135.
[94] Mrs Baldwin to Henry MacCracken, January 20, 1927, Vassar College Archives, Henry MacCracken Papers 59.63; 'Colleges having regular Scholarships for the Geneva School', MSS Zimmern 93, 143.
[95] Megan Threlkeld, *Citizens of the World: U.S. Women and Global Government* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022).
[96] G.B. Wilson, 'Geneva 1931 - A Critical Retrospect' in *Comprendre*, Vol.1, 1931, 25-7. MSS Zimmern 87, 16.
[97] MSS Zimmern 90, 107.
[98] G.B. Wilson, 'Geneva 1931 – A Critical Retrospect' in *Comprendre*, Vol.1, 1931, 25-7. MSS Zimmern 87, 16.
[99] *Comprendre: Organe de l'Association des Anciens Elèves du Bureau d'tudes Internationales* (Geneva School of International Studies) 1933, no.6. MSS Zimmern 87, 21.
[100] In French: '*chercher dans l'harmonie des sons les aspirations de ceux qui travaillent à l'harmonie des esprits*'. Lucie Zimmern, 'Canticum Scholae Genavensis, Words by Alfred Zimmern, Music by Henri Gagnebin', *Comprendre: Organe de l'Association des Anciens Elèves du Bureau d'Études Internationales*, 1933, no.6, 299. MSS Zimmern 92, 21.
[101] Zimmern, *Must the League Fail?* 85 (emphasis in original).
[102] Philip L. Boardman, 'Thirty-Three Nations at School', *The Commonweal*, 12 December 1930, 416-418. Zimmern MSS 180, 260.
[103] Mrs. Bruce Moore to Alumnus, n.d. MSS Zimmern 92, 161.
[104] 'The Geneva School of International Studies', 1927, MSS Zimmern, 87, 21.
[105] Philip L. Boardman, 'Thirty-Three Nations at School', *The Commonweal*, 12 December 1930, 416-418. MSS Zimmern 180, 260.
[106] Lucie A. Zimmern, 'Women's Part', 96.
[107] Alfred Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918-1935* (London, 1936), 176-177.
[108] Notes on the programme for the 8th session in 1931.n.d. Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 91, 8.
[109] 'Report Submitted by the Tutors of the Geneva School of International Studies'. Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 89.
[110] 'Errata and Addenda in Report of Deputy Director'. MSS Zimmern 93, 187.
[111] League of Nations International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation, Eight International Studies Conference, London, June 1935, 'Report on the Geneva School of International Studies, 11th session, 1934', MSS Zimmern, 86.
[112] 'Administrative Organization', n.d., MSS Zimmern, 93, 112-113.
[113] 'Lecture courses in Geneva this Summer', n.d. MSS Zimmern 93, 123. This in line with early twentieth-century 'conceptions of the nation as psychological, of nationalities as forms of subjectivity, and of nationalism as a political force that could be explained by reference to the workings of the unconscious'. Glenda Sluga, *The Nation, Psychology, and International Politics, 1870-1919* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 2
[114] Alfred Zimmern, 'The Geneva School of International Studies', *The American Review of Reviews*, April 1927, 385-388. MSS Zimmern 180, 208.
[115] Zimmern, 'The Geneva School of International Studies', MSS Zimmern 180, 208.
[116] Biographies of the Zimmerns for the programme of Alfred's six lectures as part of the National Lectureship Scheme of the National Council of Education', Canada. MSS Zimmern 33, 134.
[117] Daniel Laqua, 'Exhibiting, Encountering and Studying Music in Interwar Europe: Between National and International Community', *European Studies* xxxii (2014), 207-23.
[118] Memorandum, n.d. MSS Zimmern 93, 168. The psychologist and physiologist, Ross A. McFarland, lectured on 'The role of culture in racial and national differences'.
[119] Tomohito Baji, 'Zionist Internationalism? Alfred Zimmern's Post-Racial Commonwealth', *Modern Intellectual History*, xiii (2016), 629.
[120] Chaim Weizmann to Vera Weizmann in *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*, 385.
[121] Pemberton, *Story of International Relations Part I*, 118.
[122] Pianko, 'Cosmopolitan Wanderer', 220.
[123] 'Retrospection of the work of Madame Zimmern's group', n.d. MSS Zimmern 94, 81-82.
[124] Alfred E. Zimmern, 'German Culture and the British Commonwealth [1914]' in *Nationality and Government, with Other War-Time Essays* (London, 1918), 29–30.
[125] Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, pt. 1 (Munich, 1919), 316; Matthew Rose, *A World After Liberalism: Philosophers of the Radical Right* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021), 29, 33.
[126] Zimmern, 'Women's Part', 100.
[127] 'Retrospection of the work of Madame Zimmern's group', n.d. MSS Zimmern 94, 80-81.
[128] Alfred Zimmern, *The Third British Empire: Being a Course of Lectures Delivered at Columbia University, New York* (London, 1926).
[129] Jeanne Morefield, '"A Liberal in a Muddle": Alfred Zimmern on Nationality, Internationality, and Commonwealth', in Brian Schmidt and David Long (eds.), *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), 93-115; Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace*, 66-103.
[130] 'Lady Zimmern at Victoria League', n.d. MSS Zimmern 179, 293.
[131] Lucie Zimmern to H.G. Wells, 19 January 1932, MSS Zimmern 28, 40. The full quote is: 'I have burnt my boats… I do not expect a shower of bouquets but I feel that the attacks on the League are hitting the wrong target'.
[132] Adaline Heffeldinger to Mrs Zimmern, 20 September 1931, MSS Zimmern 94.
[133] Adaline Heffeldinger, 'National Characteristics of the United States', MSS Zimmern 94, 2, 16.

[134] 'Retrospection of the work of Madame Zimmern's group', n.d. MSS Zimmern 94, 80.
[135] A. Pazargadi, 'The Brief Paper on Persia given in Mrs. Zimmern's Discussion Group on Comparative Nationality', MSS Zimmern 94, 71, 74.
[136] Rosario Cousineau, 'Canada and the Concept of Nationality', 4 September 1935. MSS Zimmern 94, 25.
[137] Mary Lane Charles, 'The South and the Negro Problem'. MSS Zimmern 94, 260-261. It is unknown whether Charles African American herself.
[138] 'Retrospection of the work of Madame Zimmern's group', n.d. MSS Zimmern 94, 80.
[139] Louise Warren Johnson to Alfred Zimmern, December 9, 1932. MSS Zimmern 31, 32.
[140] 'Some Alumni of the Geneva School', MSS Zimmern, 93, 128.
[141] 'Student records, Geneva School of International Studies, 1927', MSS Zimmern, 95, 14.
[142] 'Student records, Geneva School of International Studies, 1927', MSS Zimmern, 95, 39.
[143] Alphabetical list of attendees, n.d., MSS Zimmern, 95. Edith E. Ware, *The Study of International Relations in the United States. Survey for 1934* (New York, 1934); Edith E. Ware, *The Study of International Relations in the United States*. *Survey for 1937* (New York, 1938).
[144] Threlkeld, *Citizens of the World*, esp. chapters 3, 5; David Allen, *Every Citizen A Statesman: The Dream of a Democratic Foreign Policy in the American Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2022).
[145] Esther Caukin to Mary Woolley, 2 March 1931, American Association of University Women Archives, 1881-1976, microfilm, reel 1:17.
[146] Report of the Secretary of the Committee on International Relations, November 14, 1928, AAUW Archives, reel 104:393.
[147] Report of International Relations Office, April 8, 1929. AAUW Archives, reel 104:386; Report of the Secretary of the Committee on International Relations, 1930-1931, AAUW Archives, reel 104:393.
[148] Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 24-29.
[149] Barbara D. Savage, 'Beyond Illusions: Imperialism, Race and Technology in Merze Tate's International Thought' in Owens and Rietzler (eds.) *Women's International Thought*, 268.
[150] Joanna Wood, DPhil. in progress, University of Oxford.
[151] Tate to Alfred Zimmern, August 28, 1941; Zimmern to Tate, September 11, 1941. MSS Zimmern 46, 173, 177. We are indebted to Barbara D. Savage for her insights on Tate's often keenly felt 'burden of representation'.
[152] Vitalis, *White World Order*, 161.
[153] Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 118.
[154] William T. R. Fox, 'Interwar International Relations Research: The American Experience', *World Politics*, ii (1949), 67-79.
[155] Toye and Toye, 'One World?', 326.
[156] 'The Zimmern Institute of International Studies at Trinity College, Hartford'. Bodleian Library, MSS Zimmern 106, 34.
[157] 'Heads of a Proposal for a centre in Hartford to be called The Hartford Institute of International Studies at Trinity College'. MSS Zimmern 106, 9-12.
[158] 'The Hartford Study Center for World Affairs Incorporated Constitution', MSS Zimmern 106, 240.
[159] 'The Hartford Study-Center for World Affairs: Statement for the Council'. December 6, 1948, MSS Zimmern 106, 186.
[160] 'Memorandum Submitted to the Executive Board of UNESCO by the Council and Director of The Hartford Study-Center for World Affairs', MSS Zimmern 106, 230.
[161] 'Alfred Zimmern, Hon. 1947', Trinity College Bulletin, January 1958; Albert C. Jacobs to Lucie Zimmern, 27 November 1957; both in Zimmern Papers, Alumni File, Trinity College Archives, Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
[162] Agnes Headlam-Morley, 'Idealism and Realism in International Relations', an Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford', 6 May 1949, 3–14. Papers of Sir James and Agnes Headlam-Morley, Churchill College, Cambridge, GBR/0014/HDLM, 815/32.
[163] Kimberly Hutchings and Patricia Owens, 'Women Thinkers and the Canon of International Thought: Recovery, Rejection, and Reconstitution', *American Political Science Review*, cxv (2021), 347.
[164] Polyphony was also later developed by Edward Said in his effort to theorise and experience 'humanistic emancipation'. See Rokus De Groot, 'Perspectives of Polyphony in Edward Said's Writings', *Alif*, xxv (2005), 219-240.
[165] C.f. Patricia Owens, Katharina Rietzler, Kimberly Hutchings and Sarah C. Dunstan (eds.), *Women's International Thought: Towards a New Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).