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From *The Greek Commonwealth* to *The Commonwealth of Nations*: Zimmern, Curtis, and a Tale of Two Titles

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the development of the notion of 'commonwealth' within the Round Table group in relation to two books: Alfred Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth* (1911) and Lionel Curtis' *The Commonwealth of Nations* (1916). Modern historians of International Relations have argued that the title of Zimmern's book alluded to conceptions of the British empire as a 'commonwealth'. Drawing on previously unused archival sources and on detailed study of the different editions of *The Greek Commonwealth*, this article shows that Zimmern's title did not refer to any form of political organization larger than the city-state and that IR historians have wrongly read into Zimmern's book both the idea of commonwealth and the reading of the Athenian empire developed by Lionel Curtis. The article explores Curtis' development of the concept of commonwealth and its reception by Zimmern and other members of the Round Table, and sets the historical narrative Curtis offers in *The Commonwealth of Nations* against *The Greek Commonwealth*. It shows that, even though Curtis used Zimmern's work as a source, he took issue with its presentation of Athens precisely in relation to the questions of imperial organization that were the Round Table's central concern.

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KEYWORDS
Alfred Zimmern; Lionel Curtis; the Round Table; commonwealth; imperial federation

Abbreviations:

GMP :	Bodleian Libraries, Gilbert Murray Papers
GWP :	LSE Library, Graham Wallas Papers
HKP :	American Jewish Archives, MS-1, Horace Kallen Papers
RTP :	Bodleian Libraries, Round Table Papers
TCoN :	L. Curtis, *The Commonwealth of Nations: An Inquiry into the Nature of Citizenship in the British Empire, and into the Mutual Relations of the Several Communities thereof* (London, 1916)
TGC :	A.E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*: *Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens* (Oxford, 1961), reprint of the fifth edition (1931)
$TGC^{1,2,3,4}$:	first edition 1911; second 1915; third 1922; fourth 1924
ZP :	Bodleian Libraries, Alfred Zimmern Papers

Use of C'wealth for Whole Empire has a Diff: Origin.
Popularized by 2 books by L. C.

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This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

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The C'wealth of N:
The Probl: of the C.
Former orig. privately published under title
Project of C.
Suggested by G. Comm: v Gk State.
But my dist: was that treatment was wider than pol:
C's object was to find half house betw:
(1) Empire and 2) dem:
C'wealth = democracy in the making
a State based on idea of mutual service
Why Project
∵ conc: of common citizenship is in making
i.e. Project of a project of democracy

Alfred Zimmern, Lecture Notes, London School of Economics, 1924[1]

1. Two Concepts of Commonwealth

Alfred Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth* (1911) was one of the most influential works on ancient Greek history published in the twentieth century. Lionel Curtis' *The Commonwealth of Nations* (1916) was an attempt to popularise ideas about the future of the British Empire that he had developed over some years in discussion with the circle of thinkers known as the Round Table. That circle was set up in 1909 by Curtis, Philip Kerr, and others involved in the settlement of South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War; it was enlarged with new recruits, including Zimmern.[2] *The Greek Commonwealth* and its relation to *The Commonwealth of Nations* have been explored in recent years by several historians of International Relations (IR).[3] Interest in Zimmern's book has been further prompted by his career: after teaching Ancient History in Oxford and Sociology at the LSE, some years working in the Board of Education and then wartime work in the Ministry of Reconstruction and the Foreign Office, he became in 1919 the inaugural Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics at Aberystwyth, a position widely regarded as the world's first chair in IR. That IR historians are right to look at Zimmern and Curtis together is suggested not just by their personal ties but also by the notes reproduced above for Zimmern's lectures on the British Empire at the LSE. The aim of this article is to test the story those notes reveal.

A key concern of this article will be the word 'commonwealth'. Widely used in English as a general term for a state, or specifically for a non-monarchy, the term has come to be applied, too, to larger groupings such as Curtis' *Commonwealth of Nations*. How Zimmern's title *The Greek Commonwealth* relates to this imperial usage has been discussed by several prominent historians in recent years. Priya Satia has written that Zimmern 'read the history of the Greek city-state system as a playbook of imperial survival, as captured in the title of his 1911 work',[4] while Mark Mazower has suggested that the very title of Zimmern's book 'alluded unmistakably' to 'contemporary preoccupations' with Britain's imperial rule: '"commonwealth" along Athenian lines would allow some degree of autonomy to the colonies – or to some of them – while preserving and justifying continued governance (and protection) from London.'[5] Both writers draw largely on the influential work of Jeanne Morefield. Morefield's writing on Zimmern is part of a

broader critique of liberal imperialist doctrines preached in modern-day North America and in Britain a century earlier. In particular, she is interested in the way apparent contradictions are deflected by strategies such as the replacement of the term 'empire' by 'commonwealth'. With regard to Zimmern's work on ancient Greece, Morefield argued in a 2007 article that his 'decision to name a book that is almost exclusively about Athenian politics and history *The Greek Commonwealth* … seems like a profound act of wish fulfilment. … he would have liked the Athenians to have perfected their theory of commonwealth, to push it beyond the borders.'[6] She returned to Zimmern in her 2014 monograph, *Empires without Imperialism*, where she made the stronger claim that 'the title suggests that another international commonwealth, the British Commonwealth, had a fighting chance at making the Periclean dream a reality'.[7] Her analysis has been taken as authoritative in most subsequent studies of Zimmern.[8]

There has been some uncertainty among historians over the direction of influence between Zimmern and Curtis. One view holds that it was Zimmern's title that inspired Curtis and other members of the Round Table to develop their idea of commonwealth. This view was expressed by the American historian Carroll Quigley in his controversial work *The Anglo-American Establishment* (written in 1949 and published posthumously in 1981). Quigley there argued for the existence of an elite circle that sought, from the time of Cecil Rhodes onwards, to promote Anglo-American hegemony. To this circle he gave the name 'the Milner Group', after Lord Milner, the colonial administrator under whom core members of the Round Table – often called the 'Kindergarten' on account of their youth – had worked in South Africa. Quigley included the Round Table in the 'Milner Group' and in the course of his research contacted several of its members, including Zimmern. These discussions underlie his assertion that 'there apparently exists within the Milner Group a myth to the effect that they invented the expression "Commonwealth of Nations", that it was derived from Zimmern's book *The Greek Commonwealth* (published in 1911) and first appeared in public in the title of Curtis's book in 1916'.[9]

Other scholars hold that the line of influence ran the other way. Jeanne Morefield suggests that Curtis 'picked up the commonwealth standard'– the use of the term to refer to the British Empire – in 1910, and that 'from around 1911 on, the use of the word empire in the [Round Table's] publications was largely replaced by commonwealth'.[10] In explaining Zimmern's title, she writes that it is 'no surprise … that Zimmern stumbled upon it in 1910, when he returned to England [from the British School at Athens, where he wrote most of the first draft of his book] and reconnected with Curtis, Kerr, and the other members of Milner's "kindergarten", who were in the midst of developing a "theory of commonwealth" as a response to the 'imperial problem' (that is, as a way of glossing over the contradictions of liberal imperialism).[11] Mark Mazower similarly suggests that Zimmern chose his title because 'he formed part of a circle known as the Round Table, an astonishingly influential study group of young men … much interested in the question of international commonwealth'.[12]

The views of Morefield and Mazower are open to objection on biographical lines. Zimmern did not join the Round Table group on his return from Greece in 1910. He was first invited to contribute to the journal in 1913 and first published in it in 1914, and it was in 1914, too, that he first joined the moot (the central committee). As an

undergraduate at New College, Oxford from 1898 to 1902, Zimmern did coincide with several early members of the Round Table: for his first year with D.O. Malcolm; for three years with R.H. Brand; and for his final year with P.H. Kerr. There is no evidence, however, that he had close dealings with them or with the other early Round Tablers with New College links, Lionel Curtis (an undergraduate from 1891 to 1895) or Milner (a non-residential Fellow). Zimmern's introduction to the Round Table came instead through two intimate friends, Edward Grigg (later Lord Altrincham), an exact contemporary in College (the scholars' house) at Winchester and again at New College, and Reginald Coupland, who overlapped with Zimmern for a year in College at Winchester and was later his pupil at New College. Neither Grigg nor Coupland was involved in the Round Table when *The Greek Commonwealth* was published.[13]

While disagreeing on the direction of influence, these scholars agree that Zimmern's title relates to empire. Quigley, admittedly, at first seems to limit Zimmern's usage to the civic realm ('the expression "commonwealth" referred to a community based on freedom and the rule of law, in distinction to a government based on authority or even arbitrary tyranny'), but he proceeds to claim that 'the distinction was worked out in Zimmern's book in the contrast between Athens, as described in Pericles's funeral oration, and Sparta (or the actual conduct of the Athenian empire)'.[14] That is, an imperial state's treatment of its subjects determines the applicability of the term 'commonwealth'. So too, as we have seen, Jeanne Morefield's understanding of Zimmern's title is shaped by a reading of the book's presentation of the Athenian empire.

That the Round Table group did not invent the use of 'commonwealth' for 'empire' is clear.[15] To give three instances: in a speech in the House of Lords in 1868, Lord Carnarvon spoke of the desire of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia 'to maintain their position in that Imperial commonwealth to which they belong';[16] in a speech in Adelaide in 1884, Lord Rosebery referred to the British Empire as 'a commonwealth of nations';[17] and in the 1900 volume *Liberalism and the Empire*, J.L. Hammond wrote that 'the name "Empire" is charged with associations for which Liberals have little liking, and they would prefer to apply the term "Commonwealth" to the confederacy of States which makes up the dominions of the Crown'.[18] This international usage *could*, then, be relevant for Zimmern's title, even if he did not come to it through the Round Table.

Against that hypothesis, this article will show that the title *The Greek Commonwealth* does not refer to any form of political organisation larger than the city-state and that IR historians have wrongly read into Zimmern's book both the idea of commonwealth and the reading of the Athenian empire developed by Lionel Curtis. My argument will proceed in three sections. In the first, I will analyse the use of 'commonwealth' in the various editions of Zimmern's book and then draw on archival evidence for Zimmern's conception of his title. In the second, I will explore Curtis' development of the concept and its reception by Zimmern and other members of the Round Table. The final section will set the historical narrative Curtis offers in *The Commonwealth of Nations* against *The Greek Commonwealth*. It will show that, even though Curtis uses Zimmern's work as a source, he takes issue with its presentation of Athens precisely in relation to the questions of imperial organisation that were the Round Table's central concern.

2. Looking for Commonwealth in *The Greek Commonwealth*

The Greek Commonwealth is divided into three parts. After an initial section on 'Geography', Zimmern traces the development of civic life in a longer section on 'Politics'. He then goes over the same ground, but from a different perspective, in a section on 'Economics' which occupies roughly half the book. These three sections are followed by an 'Epilogue' describing the Peloponnesian War up to the departure of Athens' disastrous expedition to Sicily.

How often does 'commonwealth' appear in Zimmern's work? According to Mazower's hazy summary, 'the city's beneficial influence even extended beyond the borders of what Zimmern sometimes called its empire and sometimes the commonwealth'.[19] Morefield is more precise. She notes that the word occurs four times[20] – but not that one of those instances was added in the third edition. As we shall see, the difference between the editions is of some importance.

The first instance of 'commonwealth' occurs in Chapter II of Part II, 'The Family'. Zimmern here describes how the growing feeling of civic loyalty in the Greek city-state built on the affective associations of the family. 'Commonwealth' appears in the first of two quotations which round off the chapter's penultimate paragraph:

> 'The city,' says Aristotle in the first paragraph of his *Politics*, 'is the highest of all forms of association and embraces all the rest.' It is easily said on paper, and as glibly repeated by those who do not make clear to themselves what it means or how seldom in history its meaning has been realized. It is not an easy thing but well-nigh impossible to train civilized men, not merely in the hour of danger but in the work and leisure of every day, to set country before wife and family, or lifelong companions, or fellow-craftsmen and fellow-worshippers, 'to bring the dispositions that are lovely in private life into the service and conduct of the commonwealth', to 'spend their bodies, as mere external tools, in the city's service, and count their minds as most truly their own when employed on her behalf'.[21]

The sources of the quotations are revealed in a footnote: 'Burke, *Present Discontents*, *sub fin.*; Thuc. i.70.6.'[22] 'Commonwealth', that is to say, is taken from a speech Burke delivered in 1770 about the relations of court and parliament. In Zimmern's argument, it is made to refer to the Greek city-state in general. The following quotation from a famous Thucydidean speech depicting the Athenian character may, however, hint that the dispositions brought into the service of the commonwealth are pre-eminently Athenian.

The second usage of 'commonwealth' is in Part II Chapter V, 'Law, or the Rule of Fair Play': 'These were the two chief ideas which Solon, following the lines roughly traced by his predecessor Draco, embodied in the Athenian commonwealth.'[23] 'Commonwealth' here was added as an afterthought soon after the original drafting.[24] It refers not to the Athenian empire (which did not exist in Solon's time) but to the city of Athens; the two ideas to which Zimmern refers are that city's ability 'to free its members from the tyranny of lesser loyalties' and the notion that its voice should be clothed 'with the impartial authority, not of a class or a caste, but of the people'.

The final instance in the first edition of *The Greek Commonwealth* occurs in Zimmern's translation of the oration Thucydides presents Pericles delivering at the funeral of the Athenian dead in the first year of the Peloponnesian War: 'So they gave their

bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die.'[25] 'The commonwealth' (i.e. Athens) here translates a Greek adverb κοινῇ ('in common', 'commonly'). This rendering is found, too, in Thomas Hobbes' 1629 translation ('hauing euery one giuen his body to the Common-wealth'),[26] but it is unlikely that Zimmern had access to an edition of Hobbes in Athens.[27] While he could have remembered Hobbes' version if he read it in Oxford, it is more likely that he came independently to the conclusion that a noun would convey best in English the emphasis κοινῇ receives in the Greek original from its placement at the start of the sentence. It recreates the 'forcible'[28] antithesis with the following clause in Thucydides' Greek.

A further use of the word was introduced in the third edition of *The Greek Commonwealth*, published in 1922: 'the metropolis of the British Commonwealth, with its wide oceanic connexions, still looks eastwards down the Thames towards Europe.'[29] The phrase 'metropolis of the British Commonwealth' replaced what had in the first two editions been 'capital of the British Empire'. This change reflected the terminology of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6 December 1921, the first time the phrase 'British Commonwealth of Nations' was used in an official document.[30] This edition featured, too, a new title-page which gave more emphasis to the word 'commonwealth': 'THE / GREEK COMMONWEALTH' became 'THE GREEK / COMMONWEALTH'.

One key point that emerges from this overview is that Zimmern in the original edition applied the term 'commonwealth' only to city-states, and not in a national or supranational sense. And yet he does refer more than once to the possible or actual formation of larger groupings. Besides speaking repeatedly of the Athenian and British 'empires', he writes that Greek soldiers engaged against the Persian invaders in 480–479 BC 'dreamed for a moment of making Greece a single state' and that the Athenian empire was 'the first great civilised attempt to form a state of many cities'.[31] Supra-civic or -national groups are 'empires' or 'states', then, not 'commonwealths'.[32]

My argument about Zimmern's use of 'commonwealth' is supported by the reception of the book. None of the more than sixty reviews known to me (more than fifty for the first two editions) takes the title to refer to anything other than the city-state – even though several do note the contemporary relevance of Zimmern's account of the Athenian empire.[33] Especially revealing is the review published in the *Spectator* in November 1911:

> The word 'commonwealth' is one of the most beautiful words in the world. It suggests, as no other word does, just what a state, whatever its size and whatever its form of government, ought in fact to be, and points out that the true aim of all politics is to secure, both for the social organism as a whole and for each member of it in particular, the fullest measure of weal or well-being in its widest sense. … To call Sparta, for instance, a commonwealth seems to misuse words, for its government was that of a military caste. … in writing about 'the Greek Commonwealth' Mr Zimmern is really writing about 'the Athenian Commonwealth'.[34]

While using 'commonwealth' to introduce a distinction at the level of the city-state, the otherwise favourable review goes on to criticise Zimmern for presenting the Athenian empire in too positive a light.

It is easy enough to explain why readers did not refer Zimmern's title beyond the borders of the city-state. There were occasional precedents for international uses of 'commonwealth', but only when there were contextual signals. Speaking of the Greek *polis* as a 'commonwealth', by contrast, was an established practice among political thinkers and

historians. It was used by Acton, for instance, in the essay on freedom which contains what Zimmern later identified as his core political principle.[35] Consider, too, the other Greek histories commonly read when Zimmern was writing. J.B. Bury's *History of Greece*, a standard textbook for much of the twentieth century, uses 'commonwealth' to map the rise and fall of the free city-state. Turning to 'a period in which the Greek world is striving and tending to pass from the aristocratic to the democratic commonwealth', Bury devotes a chapter to 'The Foundation of the Athenian Commonwealth'. He later speaks of 'the rise of the democratic commonwealths', before describing Macedonian supremacy as 'the triumph of an absolute monarchy over free commonwealths': 'the old Greek commonwealths had had their day'.[36] Another much-read work was George Grote's *History of Greece* (1846–1856), available since 1907 in a shortened edition designed for students. Grote uses 'commonwealth' variously as a synonym of *polis*, or in order to capture the communal ideology of the *polis* ('that sentiment of the entire commonwealth as one and indivisible'), or again in distinctly Athenian settings (Pericles as 'first citizen of the commonwealth').[37] Like Zimmern, then, Bury and Grote limit the term's scope to the city-state while giving it a slight Athenian valence. So familiar was the English word in this sense that it was even used by the leading German Hellenist, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in a 1910 book on the ancient city-state.[38] In the broader historiography of Greece, moreover, there was nothing abnormal in talking of the Spartan (or Lacedaemonian) commonwealth.[39] At most the term conveyed a sense of united civic spirit and perhaps an (occasionally explicit) idea of evolution from the city-state to the nation.[40]

A second point to emerge from Zimmern's usage in *The Greek Commonwealth* is that it is very hard to extract any principle of commonwealth *per se*.[41] Consider again that *Spectator* review. That review draws a contrast between Athens and Sparta which is similar to the distinction Lionel Curtis later drew, as we shall see, between commonwealth and empire – a distinction that was fleshed out by other Round Table writers (including Zimmern) with comparisons of Sparta and Prussia.[42] The *Spectator* review makes clear, however, that this concept is not explicitly articulated by Zimmern ('in writing about "the Greek Commonwealth" Mr Zimmern is really writing about "the Athenian Commonwealth"'). The word 'commonwealth' does carry suggestions of political community. But focus on that word obscures the fact that the key term for Zimmern's understanding of the Greek city-state is 'citizenship': the 'Politics' section of *The Greek Commonwealth* is divided into seven chapters under the heading 'The Development of Citizenship' and a final chapter – which includes the translation of the Funeral Speech – under the heading 'The Ideal of Citizenship'. 'Citizenship' became in turn central to Curtis' understanding of commonwealth.[43]

It will be helpful at this point to return to Jeanne Morefield's reading of Zimmern's title as a reflection of (frustrated or potential) imperial desire. The problem is not just that Zimmern has no theory of commonwealth to export. It is also that Morefield's perception of the oddity of deciding 'to name a book that is almost exclusively about Athenian politics and history *The Greek Commonwealth*'[44] rests on a misunderstanding of Zimmern's plotting of Greek history. In both the 'Politics' and 'Economics' sections, Athens is dominant in the later chapters. In part this distribution reflects the fact that we have far more evidence about Athens than any other city in the fifth century. But

it is due, too, to Zimmern's concern to set the particularity of Athens against the common development of the Greek city-states in their earlier stages.

Zimmern's conception of his book is revealed in two letters he sent from Athens to his two most important mentors, the political thinker Graham Wallas and the classicist Gilbert Murray.[45] These letters show that as late as March 1910, with fourteen chapters written, he was planning to call it by a different title, *Politics and Economics in Ancient Greece* – a title which, with the substitution of 'fifth-century Athens' for 'ancient Greece', became the sub-title when he decided, with his 'peculiar flair in these matters',[46] on the more memorable and pointed *The Greek Commonwealth* as his title. To Murray, moreover, he provided an explicit justification of his initial preference for 'Greece' rather than 'Athens': 'for simple readers one must explain Greece before talking of Athens.' What emerged with the final title and sub-title was a sense of Athens as both typical and exceptional. The point was well conveyed in a review of the first edition in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* which explained that 'Mr. Zimmern's aim in writing this book is best expressed by its sub-title', but suggested that 'the book justifies its more comprehensive title, for it deals with much which is not solely Athenian and attempts to estimate the chief factors … which affected, to a greater or less degree, all Greek city-states': 'Athens is unique, but because further along a common path.'[47]

But why choose *Commonwealth* – rather than, for instance, another term commonly applied to the Greek *polis*, such as *City* or *City-State* or *State*?[48] One possible explanation for Zimmern's choice is the word's use in the key passage he cites from Burke: the title would then signal the importance of a Burkean sense of tradition and public service for the development of the Greek city-state.[49] A further explanation of the title is that it evokes a notable precedent: *The American Commonwealth*, a three-volume analysis of the institutions of the United States published in 1888 by James Bryce, a Liberal MP and Professor of Civil Law at Oxford who was known to Zimmern personally.[50] A connection between the two titles was felt by one reviewer, who wrote that 'we get an understanding of politics in general from this book in the same way as we do from Lord Bryce's "American Commonwealth"'.[51] Given that it was already an established classic,[52] it is likely that Bryce's title had some influence on Zimmern's choice, even though he first read *The American Commonwealth* only during his travels in the United States immediately after the publication of *The Greek Commonwealth*.[53] If so, Zimmern was making his own book both a prequel to Bryce's (by date of content) and a sequel (by date of publication).[54]

For a fuller picture, let us return to the explanation Zimmern offered in his 1924 LSE lectures. Although his argument survives only in rough notes, it can be easily reconstructed. Before the extract printed above, Zimmern had been explaining why Australia was formally called a 'Commonwealth' when a federal constitution was adopted in 1901. He proceeds to explain that the use of 'commonwealth' for 'empire' has a different origin and to trace a connection between the title of his own book ('G. Comm.') and two works by Lionel Curtis (both published in 1916) which he says popularised that notion, *The Commonwealth of Nations* and a shorter companion volume *The Problem of the Commonwealth*; he adds that the former volume had been privately printed as *The Project of a Commonwealth* – a title which, he notes, highlights the future orientation of Curtis' historical analysis. To some extent, then, Zimmern follows the 'myth' as outlined by Carroll Quigley. But he does not go so far as to claim that the Round Table *invented*

this use of 'commonwealth', and he notes that his own use was different: 'my dist[inction] was that [my] treatment was wider than pol[itics]'.[55] The note 'G. Comm: v Gk State' suggests that he then explained why he did not call his book *The Greek State*: he wanted to range beyond politics.

Zimmern's ambitions for his book are seen in his decision to keep the pairing *Politics and Economics* in his sub-title. The significance of that pairing is elucidated in the letters Zimmern wrote about his book to Wallas and Murray early in 1910. He explained to Wallas that 'the inter-action and conflict between πολιτικὴ [politics] and economic tendencies is its central idea' and to Murray that he wanted 'to show the forces on both sides: the πόλις [*polis*], with its traditions of religion, morality, law, humanity etc and the imperialist or economic forces which drove them into injustice in order (speaking roughly) to finance the Parthenon'.[56] As we shall see, the conflict between politics and economics points to a very different plotting of Athenian history from the recent consensus that Zimmern criticised the Athenians for failing to export a theory of commonwealth.

Further insight into Zimmern's title is provided by a series of articles he wrote in 1910 for the *Highway*, the journal of the Workers' Educational Association. In this series, Zimmern gave the first public airing of many of the themes of *The Greek Commonwealth*. Thus the second article, 'Fellowship', corresponds to the opening chapter of the 'Politics' section, 'Fellowship, or the Rule of Public Opinion' – a chapter which Zimmern had originally planned to call '*Res publica*'.[57] In the article, he explained the social and political implications of the out-of-doors life possible in the Near East (in which he included modern Greece): instead of talking about money and the weather, like the British, people talk about politics and government – 'or, as men said in the days when they could still discern that economics was a branch of politics, the Common Wealth (which is the English of the poor, ill-used Latin word Republic').[58]

The letters and articles Zimmern wrote in Greece show us his final title in the making. Rather than using the Latin *Res publica* as title for one chapter, he came to realise as his plans matured that the corresponding English word could embrace his book's two central topics: politics ('common-') and economics ('-wealth').[59] Perhaps the fact that 'commonwealth' was an English word made it a fitting vehicle for the social and political concerns Zimmern was seeking to address in his book. He outlined these concerns in his letters to Murray and Wallas, telling Murray that 'one subsidiary object I have in view is to show people how to study sociology or "civics"',[60] and writing still more pointedly to Wallas that, besides wanting 'as much as anything' to liven up classical teaching in schools, 'of course I want most of all to make people think about the nature of the XXth century πόλις [*polis*].'[61] The use of English terms was one of the ways in which Zimmern tried to make his readers think about the differences between the ancient and modern worlds: in the manuscript of *The Greek Commonwealth* we can observe him provocatively experimenting with language, at times speaking of 'economics', at times using the odd-seeming 'house-keeping' (a literal rendering of the Greek root of 'economics'), but all the time seeking to defamiliarize, to make readers look afresh.[62] Applying an English term to the ancient Greek city was not in itself unfamiliar, as we have seen. Even so, it could have been a further incentive to readers to think through the problems of the modern industrialised and urbanised state.[63]

3. Finding Commonwealth in *The Commonwealth of Nations*

In his 1924 LSE lectures, Zimmern stressed the importance of Lionel Curtis' books (*The Project of a Commonwealth*, *The Commonwealth of Nations*, *The Problem of the Commonwealth*) for the expanded use of 'commonwealth' to refer to 'empire'. While his lecture notes highlight the use of the word in Curtis' titles, the difference he notes is confirmed by Curtis' usage within those works. As we shall see, Curtis' usage of 'commonwealth' differs in three key respects from the way Zimmern applies the word in *The Greek Commonwealth*: it is overtly theorised, repeatedly used, and applied at a range of levels, from city-state to nation to empire.

Curtis' theory of commonwealth is outlined in the 'Introduction' of *The Commonwealth of Nations*. It is based on a strong contrast between the theocratic and autocratic regimes of the stationary East and the governments of Europe, which are differentiated by their conception of free will and by the sense of duty to fellow citizens.[64] Curtis returns to this notion after outlining the historical circumstances through which it arose in the Greek world. He picks out for special mention the doctrines of Pericles and Socrates: the former are illustrated by a quotation from Zimmern's translation of the Funeral Speech which includes the phrase 'they gave their bodies to the commonwealth'; the latter is supported by a citation of F.J. Church's 1886 translation of the famous speech in Plato's *Crito* where the imprisoned Socrates imagines what he would do if 'the laws and the Commonwealth were to come and appear to me as I was preparing to run away'.[65] As the account proceeds, Curtis makes a crucial move from a historical account of developments in Greece ('we now begin to see what a Greek commonwealth was') to an essentialised doctrine of commonwealth: 'The rule of law as contrasted with the rule of an individual is the distinguishing mark of the commonwealth. … In a commonwealth rulers derive their authority from the law, and the law from a public opinion which is competent to change it.'[66] Curtis' whole book grounds this theory in (what he takes to be) history.

The second difference between Zimmern and Curtis lies in the frequency with which they use the term. 'Commonwealth', as we saw, is used only three times in the roughly 450 pages of Zimmern's first edition. In the 700 or so pages of Curtis' *Commonwealth of Nations*, by contrast, the word is used almost 500 times (disregarding headers, but including initial chapter and marginal summaries). Echoes of Zimmern's title can be heard when Curtis writes that 'in the Greek commonwealth public opinion found expression in the resolutions passed by the citizens themselves meeting in the marketplace' and concludes that 'to the Oriental theocracy the Greek commonwealth was in its essential idea an offence'.[67] Beyond the Greek world, Curtis uses 'commonwealth' to articulate his wider narrative, as we can conveniently see from the chapter titles and summaries in the 'Table of Contents'. 'Commonwealth' appears in the titles of five chapters: 'The English Commonwealth' (II); 'The Inclusion of Scotland in the British Commonwealth' (V); 'Ireland and the British Commonwealth' (VII); 'The American Commonwealth' (VIII); 'The Schism of the Commonwealth in its After Effects' (IX). His basic narrative is caught in the following phrases from his chapter summaries: 'City commonwealths too weak to maintain freedom … National commonwealth developed in England … American ideas limited to the national commonwealth … The British Empire an international commonwealth.'[68] Together with the chapter titles, these

summaries bring out the increasing scale at which Curtis' principle of commonwealth is realised.

This idea of national and international commonwealths is the third difference from Zimmern's usage. In Zimmern, too, increasing scale is central to any understanding of the differences between the ancient and modern worlds: he would probably not have seen anything to object to in Curtis' statement that 'as the Greek city–state was the prototype of the modern nation, so Hellas was the prototype of Europe'.[69] But unlike Curtis, Zimmern does not use 'commonwealth' to express those differences.

The three differences I have outlined in Curtis' usage point to an inescapable conclusion. It is Curtis' idea of commonwealth that IR historians have wrongly found in *The Greek Commonwealth*.

Where, then, did Curtis derive his notion of 'commonwealth'? Scholars have drawn attention to two passages where Curtis explains his use of the word. In his *Letter to the People of India* (1917), he looked back to a conversation he had with another Round Tabler, William Marris, on the Pacific coast of Canada in 1909:

> It was from that moment that I first began to think of 'the Government of each by each, and of all by all' not merely as a principle of western life, but rather of all human life, as the goal to which all human societies must tend. It was from that moment that I began to think of the British Commonwealth as the greatest instrument ever devised for enabling that principle to be realized, not merely for the children of Europe but for all races and kindreds and peoples and tongues. And it is for that reason that I have ceased to speak of the British Empire and called the book in which I published my views 'The Commonwealth of Nations'.[70]

Curtis here explains why he made a distinction between 'commonwealth' and 'empire', but not why or when he chose the term 'commonwealth.[71]

The second passage is a conversation Curtis had with the Commonwealth historian Keith Hancock:

> I came to regard the word 'Empire' as a misnomer. Hunting about for a good Saxon word to express the kind of state for which it stood I naturally lit on the word 'Commonwealth'. I developed the theme that while the Greeks had achieved the city-commonwealth, England has made an immense advance in achieving a national commonwealth; but this was by no means the end of the process of development. The next step in the history of mankind must be the creation of an international commonwealth.

In citing this conversation, Hancock notes that Curtis' usage was anticipated by Rosebery's 1884 speech – but he adds that Rosebery 'seems to have forgotten his phrase and nobody else remembered it'.[72]

How plausible are the accounts offered by Curtis? Hancock's justification that Rosebery had forgotten his own earlier use of commonwealth is itself evidence of perceptions of the term prior to more scholarly recent studies of its history. There is contemporary evidence, moreover, that commonwealth was felt to be acquiring a new resonance around the time of the First World War. Consider a claim made in the October 1915 issue of the *Sociological Review*: 'One of the predictions to which the war has given rise is that the concept of Empire will give place in general European vogue to that of Commonwealth; and in this connection it is significant to note that the most thoughtful and scholarly group of British Imperialists *already begin* to

speak of the British Commonwealth.'[73] The 'scholarly group' to which the editor referred was evidently the Round Table. That the usage was felt to be innovative is shown, too, by contemporary reviews (J.A. Hobson, no stranger to imperialist discourse, spoke of Curtis' 'bold extension' of the term) and still more by that group's publications and archives.[74]

Let us see what the records of the Round Table reveal. The term 'commonwealth' appeared several times in the first volume of the *Round Table* (published quarterly between November 1910 and August 1911). All but one of these usages, however, relate to the 'Commonwealth of Australia', and even in the exception the term is applied to what were more commonly called the dominions: 'the British Empire … consists of a real Empire bound up with an alliance of independent commonwealths.'[75] It was in the *Round Table Studies* privately circulated among the Round Table groups in 1912 that Curtis developed the idea of 'commonwealth' by contrast with 'empire' along the same lines (indeed, in large part in the same words) as in *The Commonwealth of Nations*;[76] by the following year he was using the term in speeches.[77]

That Curtis' usage was felt to be unusual is shown by the responses to his *Round Table Studies*. One Canadian correspondent described 'British Commonwealth' as 'an admirable substitute, if I may say so, for the term British Empire';[78] the implication is that the phrase was new to him. Within the Round Table moot, Curtis met with considerable opposition, often in terms suggesting that 'commonwealth' was treated as an innovation. Thus R.H. Brand found Curtis confused as to the distinction between a commonwealth and a state; suggested that he equated the notions of commonwealth and democracy; and concluded by asking whether the duty to train the dependencies up to self-government 'cannot … be said without recourse to the theory of the commonwealth'.[79] Lord Milner was similarly sceptical: in a letter he took offence at the accusation that he was '"dedicated" to a "commonwealth"', professing to admire Curtis' 'work', not his 'philosophy', and asserting 'I hate all kinds of flapdoodle more than words can say'.[80] Such doubts over the value of the term were reinforced by the feeling that the historical edifice Curtis constructed would do little to help the Round Table's cause, especially in the Dominions.[81]

The impact of Curtis' phrase is shown by the increasing use of the 'British Commonwealth' during the period he was composing his work. As a term for the empire, the phrase entered the *Round Table* journal in Alfred Zimmern's first contribution to it, an article on 'Education and the Working Class' in the March 1914 issue.[82] This usage became more common during the course of the war, and commoner still after the war's end; this shift was further reflected in the decision in 1919 to substitute 'British Commonwealth' for 'British Empire' in the sub-title of the journal.[83] At this time, too, when Kerr and Grigg were working closely with Lloyd George, the Round Tablers came to be associated publicly with the goal of making the Empire a Commonwealth.[84] At the same time, they still used the term 'empire' frequently, or else hedged their bets by writing 'Empire (Commonwealth)'.[85]

Zimmern himself was one of the most committed exponents of Curtis' new doctrine of commonwealth. His sensitivity to the novelty of the usage is shown by a letter he wrote the month after he introduced the concept to the *Round Table* journal in which he envisaged the United States becoming 'a congeries of Nations inside a great Commonwealth, similar in scope and in ideals to the British – not the United Kingdom, but the

great Commonwealth which we call an Empire'.[86] Here, moreover, we see Zimmern beginning to see how the term offered scope for his new political project of disassociating nationality and statehood: large commonwealths, he hoped, would offer a space within which different national feelings could flourish.[87] If we follow Zimmern's writings over the next few years, we can find further variations on the theme of commonwealth – including an explicit definition of the term: 'A Commonwealth is a community, designed to meet the common needs of men, founded on the principle of the service of each for all.'[88] Zimmern elsewhere paid tribute to Curtis by speaking of 'that aspect of liberalism which has been defined as "the principle of the Commonwealth"' or of 'what has been called the principle of the Commonwealth' as 'the inspiration of all sound and enduring political and social construction'.[89] 'What has been defined' and 'what has been called': the glosses distance the new idea of commonwealth as principle from the usage in *The Greek Commonwealth*. The change in Zimmern's usage is seen further in various wartime articles in which, besides speaking of the British Commonwealth, he suggested that the time was not yet ripe for 'the commonwealth of Europe';[90] discussed the use of the phrase 'Imperial Commonwealth' in a resolution of the 1917 Imperial Conference ('perhaps the most important [point] is the discarding of the word *Empire* in favour of *Commonwealth*');[91] and looked ahead to the creation of a 'world commonwealth'.[92] It was during the war, too, that Zimmern's correspondence begins to include discussion of the term.[93] His enthusiastic adoption of the term led in turn to a slight reaction after the war: in reviewing the Australian Duncan Hall's *The British Commonwealth of Nations*, Zimmern criticised the 'opportunism' of Hall and Smuts in having 'stolen the word "Commonwealth" from Mr Lionel Curtis to cover the nakedness of the principle of co-operation'[94] – a much colder form of association than Zimmern and Curtis thought the word should convey – and some years later he even suggested that the term 'Entente' was more appropriate than 'Commonwealth'.[95]

Our analysis so far has suggested that Curtis' analysis in his conversation with Hancock of the increasing use of 'commonwealth' for 'empire' is in important details correct. But what Hancock does not record is Curtis linking his own use of commonwealth with *The Greek Commonwealth* – the link which Zimmern pressed in his LSE lecture. Curtis' use of the phrase 'city-commonwealth' in that conversation seems rather to point to another source: that phrase, with its hint that the principle of commonwealth evolves from the civic to the national and ultimately to the international realm, was made familiar by a writer Curtis frequently cites, E.A. Freeman, the most prominent Victorian historian of Greek federalism.[96] We have also seen, however, that Curtis included in *The Commonwealth of Nations* an extract from Zimmern's translation of the Funeral Speech. To test the hypothesis of Zimmern's LSE lecture properly, then, let us probe more fully the way Curtis used *The Greek Commonwealth* in the historical account that underlies his principle of commonwealth.

4. Reading Zimmern through Curtis

Curtis turned to Zimmern first to evoke the civic spirit in the Greek city-states. His citation from the Funeral Speech is immediately preceded by an unacknowledged use of Zimmern's translation of a different Thucydidean speech:

> the dominating factor in [the Greek's] political life was … enthusiasm for his city, which to his eye was made, not of walls, but of his fellow citizens. And to the welfare of that city so conceived he was prepared to dedicate not merely his property and his energy but life itself. It was in Athens that the Greek spirit reached its typical development; and as one of their enemies said of the Athenians, 'They spend their bodies, as mere external tools, in the city's service, and count their minds as most truly their own when employed on her behalf.'[97]

That Thucydidean sentence may have stood out because it appears immediately after one of the few uses of 'commonwealth' in *The Greek Commonwealth* (the quotation from Burke).

It was when Curtis came to the Greeks' collaborative resistance to Persia and its aftermath that he turned again to Zimmern. At this point he reproduced over five pages a continuous extract from *The Greek Commonwealth*, starting with Zimmern's imagined reconstruction of soldiers' campfire talk of a Greek state and continuing to the formation of the Delian League (a modern name for the early stages of the Athenian hegemony).[98] The descent of that league into tyranny leads to a final reflection on the 'tragic paradox' of Athens' history: 'just at the same time as she was thus perfecting the idea of a commonwealth limited in scope to the city-state, she was failing to grasp the idea of a wider Imperial Commonwealth.'[99]

Central to Jeanne Morefield's reading of Zimmern and Curtis is the assumption that their view of Greek history is identical:

> Curtis and Zimmern pointed out time and time again the possibility that Athens could have had had the foresight necessary to expand their notion of commonwealth beyond the city walls and forge an organic union out of the already affiliated and organized city states of Greater Greece. It was a lack of imagination and not something inherent in the imperial endeavour that brought about the fall of Athens and would bring about the fall of the British Empire if steps were not taken to avoid it.[100]

Curtis' narrative is correctly analysed by Morefield. Where she goes wrong is in supposing that the same account is present in *The Greek Commonwealth*.

Zimmern's account of the formation of the Athenian empire is based on Thucydides. A grouping initially based on voluntary adhesion after the Persian Wars gradually becomes a tyrannical empire owing to the unintended consequences of the security system established at the outset – the decision by most of the allies to provide money rather than ships to support the defence of Greece. That much of the analysis is shared with Curtis. But at no point does Zimmern criticise the Athenians for failing to form a wider commonwealth. The moment when the Greeks might have united is during the Persian wars, before the Athenians became leaders – but 'these dreams soon faded', for 'what centuries have put asunder two summers' fighting cannot bind fast', and 'the "Panhellenic confederacy" disappeared into the limbo of forgotten things'.[101] In describing the subsequent ascendancy of Athens, Zimmern brings out the allies' discontent at their treatment by Athens,[102] and even assimilates Athens to Persia and Assyria,[103] but there is no criticism of Athens for failing to export the principles of the Funeral Speech.[104] On the contrary, Zimmern presents the Athenians as having 'wished and tried to champion freedom' on the seas, inspired by the spirit of communal service that Pericles describes; he even sums up these endeavours for the common good in a 'theory of empire' that Thucydides retrospectively constructed.[105] For

Zimmern, the tragedy is that Athens' 'civilised attempt' at creating a state of many cities was thwarted by the economic conditions of ancient Greece. The spirit of adventure manifested in Greek colonisation led to fertilising contact with surrounding peoples, and the successful resistance to Persia provided a further stimulus to the development of the Greek spirit. The problem for the Athenians – as Zimmern noted in his letters to Wallas and Murray – was the imbalance of politics and economics: they created an ideal of civilisation that they could not afford, and so had to resort from an early stage to 'robber empire' tactics that evoke a much earlier stage in the development of Greece.[106]

The relation between Curtis and Zimmern is brought by the two passages from Curtis' long extract from *The Greek Commonwealth* that he presents in italics ('not the author's'). Curtis returns to these two passages in his ensuing analysis (where he keeps the italics). First he asks whether the Ionians had 'really succeeded in this "*attempt to form a state of many cities*"', and explains their failure: for the Athenians as well as for 'the hundreds of other communities which joined in "*this first great civilized attempt to form a state of many cities*"', their primary loyalty was to their native *polis*.[107] Curtis' explanation here echoes Zimmern – not, however, Zimmern's treatment of the Delian League, but his impressionistic account of the Greek failure to form a panhellenic confederacy during the Persian Wars.

The second passage to which Curtis returns is Zimmern's account of the allies' decision to set up a single body to oversee military arrangements and foreign policy: '"*For this purpose*," says Zimmern, "*they elected representatives to a Parliament at Delos, which, like the Ecclesia or any other city assembly, was to discuss and decide upon all matters of policy.*"'[108] This is the only time Curtis actually names Zimmern in his main text. He does so because he wants to take issue with Zimmern's use of the term 'Parliament':

> The truth is that the Delian synod was neither an ecclesia nor a parliament of representatives, but a congress of delegates like that which the thirteen American states established in 1781, and which collapsed because the delegates felt themselves bound, not by the vote of the majority, but by the instructions of the state which had sent them.[109]

The reason for Curtis' departures from Zimmern is evident. He was engaged in a historical enquiry with the goal of devising a federal structure for what he had come to call the British Commonwealth. His comment here picks up his discussion of the fragility of the Greek city-states. Though he praised the Greeks for 'discover[ing] that the public opinion of a community' can 'become the directing as well as the driving principle of its government', he was critical of their failure to look beyond gatherings of citizens in the market-place: 'The enthusiasm which inspired them at one time for Hellas … might have made them one Hellenic commonwealth if they had understood how the public opinion of a people, too numerous and scattered to meet in one place, can be collected, formulated, and made to shape the law.'[110] While many historians had blamed the Greeks' decline on the small size of their cities and on their endemic rivalries, Curtis highlights in addition their failure to develop representative government.[111]

Curtis' greater concern with institutional structures is confirmed by criticisms he made of Zimmern in a Round Table volume privately printed in 1914, *A Practical Enquiry into the Nature of Citizenship and into the Relation of its Several Communities*

to Each Other. Curtis there warned that 'modern scholars are now given to teaching that the principle of representation was to be found among the Greeks themselves'.[112] His main target in making that warning was Zimmern, who had insisted that the 'axiom that Greek democracy differs from modern because it did not use the representative principle' is 'a complete mistake' resulting from modern fixation with the right to vote rather than cooperation in the work of government.[113] For Curtis, Zimmern's usage involved a 'confusion' between 'two wholly different things': 'Men are said to be "represented" in court by counsel, and governments are said to be "represented" by ambassadors. In these cases representatives are mainly vehicles of intercommunication. As a rule, they can settle nothing except by particular and special reference to their principals.'[114] Curtis located the origins of representative government in Edward I's English parliament instead.

So far in this section we have watched Curtis reading Zimmern. Let us close it by seeing how Zimmern responded to Curtis' criticism. In a much expanded footnote in the second edition of *The Greek Commonwealth*, Zimmern included a long extract from Curtis' work, simply calling it a 'pamphlet by a friendly anonymous critic'. Following the extract, he conceded that 'representation of this sort was, of course, unknown to the Athenians, as the failure of the Delian Parliament illustrates'.[115] Tellingly, Zimmern was led by the Round Table's interest to mention the Delian Parliament, even though the footnote forms part of his account of the earlier Cleisthenic reforms at Athens (where he had provocatively detected the representative principle).

It is not that Zimmern's first edition had ignored practical details of how the League worked. But while these details were foremost in Curtis' mind, for Zimmern the main question was how the spirit of happy communal effort that he detected in fifth-century Athens could be revived in the altogether different conditions of industrialised England. From this difference of outlook followed a small but revealing contrast in the way they defined commonwealth: Zimmern was less committed to a federal empire than Curtis or most other members of the Round Table, and, as we have seen, he spoke more of voluntary service than of legal duties.[116]

5. Conclusions

This article has shown that the analysis of 'commonwealth' Zimmern offered his LSE students in 1924 was in all essentials correct.[117] Zimmern used the term in the title of *The Greek Commonwealth* to refer to the city in its political and economic aspects. Curtis took it up from Zimmern and other Greek historians and applied it to the British empire; in due course 'British Commonwealth' was adopted as a formal title. Zimmern did not claim any credit in his lecture for that innovation, but it can nonetheless be seen as an unexpected offshoot of his book.[118]

A key part of the argument used to support this reading has been that IR historians such as Jeanne Morefield and Mark Mazower have misunderstood Zimmern's narrative in *The Greek Commonwealth*. That book offers a model of the development of civic spirit in the ancient Greek city and, at one point, an impressionistic theory of empire. What it does not provide is a theory of commonwealth. Nor does its title allude to the British Commonwealth. The title plays instead on the tension between politics and economics that lies at the heart of Zimmern's interpretation of Athens' failure. This tension is

also relevant to the contradictions in liberal imperialism that are, in Morefield's reading, glossed over by the notion of commonwealth. As I will show elsewhere, Zimmern's book, far from deflecting those contradictions, highlights them.

Behind these readings of Zimmern's book, I have further suggested, lie the different concerns of Lionel Curtis' *Commonwealth of Nations*. Inspired by the model of citizenship conveyed in Zimmern's rendering of the Funeral Speech, Curtis sought to provide a theoretical basis for larger institutional structures in which the duties of the citizen could be exercised for the preservation of peace. Where Zimmern stressed the spirit of empire, Curtis focussed too on the institutions.

One goal of this article was to use *The Greek Commonwealth* as a test-case for IR approaches to ancient history. It may be a truism to say that all histories of classical Greece must be understood in relation to disciplinary and institutional practices before IR lessons can be extracted. The need to be alive to complexity is particularly great, however, in the case of a work of such narrative ambition as *The Greek Commonwealth*.

One paradox of the way IR historians have approached Zimmern's book is that they have largely neglected the evidence the book does offer for the development of his internationalist thought. The account of the Greeks' failure to form a confederacy during and after the Persian Wars is one of a number of passages in the book that offer evidence for Zimmern's interest both in the processes by which international thought slowly developed and in the numerous obstacles in its path. The way Zimmern picked up Curtis' criticism of his account of representation is itself, moreover, but one example of an increasing attention to internationalism as the book went through its successive editions. In this article, I have attempted to shift the focus of discussions of *The Greek Commonwealth* from the international to the national. But I hope to show elsewhere that a nuanced study of the book in its various editions alongside relevant archival sources can shed much light on Zimmern's political thinking as he moved from Ancient History via government service to the new academic discipline of IR.

Notes

1. ZP 139.8–9.
2. See Kendle, *The Round Table Movement*; Bosco and May, *The Round Table*; on Curtis himself, Lavin, *Empire to International Commonwealth*.
3. I will use the term 'IR historians' to refer to scholars concerned with the history of internationalist thought, regardless of their disciplinary affiliation.
4. Satia, *Time's Monster*, 195.
5. Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace*, 76.
6. Morefield, "'An Education to Greece'", 354.
7. Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism*, 58.
8. E.g. Wold, "Commonwealth: Imperialism and Internationalism", 281, 308; Stowell, "The Athens of Example", esp. 68 ('Athens also stood at the head of an empire of "liberty" – a commonwealth'); Dubnov, "Jews, Imperial Liberalism", 320–321; Earley, *The Thucydidean Turn*; Rummel, *Ein Föderales Imperium?*, 538–542. Baji, *International Thought*, 33–80, by contrast, while clinging to an imperial reading of the title, presents Zimmern's account of the *internal* development of Athens as a model for the British Commonwealth (but see n. 61).

9. Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment*, 149; also "Round Table Groups", 219, 224, with nn. 44, 54. Cf. a 1952 letter from Leo Amery (a close Round Table associate) to another American historian, John Conway, asserting that the Round Table 'first made use of the word "Commonwealth", afterwards popularized by General Smuts' (Bodleian Libraries, Additional Papers of the Round Table, Eng. c. 6555.289). Wold, "Commonwealth: Imperialism and Internationalism", 281 and Behm, *Imperial History*, 154, 191 claim that Zimmern's book influenced the Round Table, but do not elucidate the title.
10. Morefield, "'An Education to Greece'", 329; "'Liberal in a Muddle'", 106.
11. Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism* 58, cf. 49. In earlier writings she placed Zimmern's entry into the Round Table and his attachment to the idea of commonwealth in 1913 (*Covenants without Swords*, 145, 181 n. 31, 217; cf. "'Liberal in a Muddle'", 106).
12. Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace,* 76.
13. For Zimmern's contributions to the journal, see n. 82; for his joining the moot, see Bodleian Libraries, MS. Eng. c. 6536.33 (minutes for 12 February 1914), RTP 817.14–15, 17b (correspondence between Grigg and Zimmern). See May, "The Round Table", for reliable detailed information on the formation of the Round Table, including 451–453 for moot membership. My statement on the New College undergraduate scene is based on study of the papers of Zimmern and Brand, undergraduate journals, and the records of various student societies in New College and the Bodleian archives.
14. Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment*, 149.
15. Mehrotra, "On the Use", Hall, *Commonwealth*, 179–199, and McIntyre, *The Britannic Vision*, 82–85 are well-document studies. Mehrotra's and Hall's understandings of Zimmern's title are unfortunately hard to grasp. Mehrotra writes that 'it was not perhaps altogether chance that one of the very first persons to bring out most clearly and correctly the contrast between the British and German Empires was an Oxford professor of German origin who in 1911 had published a notable book called *The Greek Commonwealth*' (pp. 10–11); an earlier passage (p. 8) where she speaks of the anti-imperial Little Englanders who 'drew their inspiration not from the Roman Empire but from the Greek Commonwealth' does not add clarity. Hall, *Commonwealth*, 189–190 links Zimmern's interests in the Greek Commonwealth and nationality and notes Acton's use of 'commonwealth' in the essay that inspired Zimmern's thinking on nationality, but again without explication of the book.
16. https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1868-07-06/debates/975adda3-fe77-4481-933b-8beea14fce6e/LordsChamber (consulted 26 May 2023).
17. *OED* s.v. 'commonwealth' 4.c.
18. Hammond, "Colonial and Foreign Policy", 207.
19. Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace*, 76.
20. Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism*, 46. In an earlier article she stated that the word occurs only twice, including the title ("'An Education to Greece'", 252).
21. *TGC* 81.
22. Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism,* 46 refers to 'a quotation from Burke [Zimmern] attributed to Aristotle'. This claim misunderstands both the flow of Zimmern's paragraph and the footnote system he explains in the 'Preface' (*TGC* 10), viz. his decision to group references in paragraphs to 'make it easy for the general reader to skip them'. The Burke and Thucydides references should strictly have been placed at the end of the preceding paragraph, as they are in the manuscript of *TGC* (ZP 126.186); in the same note the discussion of Fustel de Coulanges was originally a separate 'note at end of chapter' and the material on Japan (which is linked to the chapter's final paragraph) was added when the book was in typescript.
23. *TGC* 135.
24. Zimmern originally wrote 'the two achievements which Solon carried successfully through' (ZP 126.292); the chapter in question was among those brought in March 1910 by Reginald Coupland from Athens to Oxford for typing (GMP 116.155).
25. *TGC* 207, translating Thuc. 2.43.2.

26. Hobbes, *Thucydides*, 105 (cf. Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism,* 47 – though it is scarcely true that the translations of the whole speech bear 'an uncanny resemblance'). As elsewhere (Hoekstra and Iori, "Thomas Hobbes' translation", 182–183), Hobbes drew on the Latin translation in the edition by Aemilius Portus from which he worked: 'publicè enim corpora dantes, [*& pro Reipub. salute vitam profundentes*]' (the square brackets – 'pouring out their lives for the safety of the Republic' – are Portus' addition to Valla's translation). For the frequent use of 'commonwealth' to translate Greek phrases involving κοινός, ὅλος, πόλις, and πολιτεία or Latin *respublica* and *commune*, see Ebbesen, "From Empire to Commonwealth", 177–178; δῆμος is another word so translated.
27. The libraries of the British and American Schools at Athens did not have copies of Hobbes' translation. Zimmern openly uses Crawley's translation in the 'Conclusion', which was written back in England.
28. Marchant, *Thucydides: Book II*, 182, with the gloss: 'They gave their lives for the common good; they gained for themselves undying fame' (cf. 254). Marchant's commentary was available at the American School.
29. *TGC* 370.
30. For the significance of this shift see e.g. Kerr, "From Empire to Commonwealth".
31. *TGC* 185.
32. Contrast a much later paper where Zimmern spoke of 'the commonwealth of republics which had ostensibly been established in the Delian Confederacy' ("Athens and America", 8).
33. Many reviews can be found in ZP 181. Cf. e.g. the *Tablet* for 14 October 1911: 'Mr Zimmern takes … the skeleton of the commonwealth as discovered in Aristotle and Plato'. Cagiano de Azevedo in a review of the 1967 Italian translation – significantly entitled *Il commonwealth greco* – does justify the apparent anachronism of the title, but without specifying his understanding of the term. Note too the implications of Walter Lippmann's claim that Zimmern was contemplating a book on "The Jewish Commonwealth" in 1919 (Bodleian Libraries, MSS. Facs. c. 118.150) and of a journalist's suggestion of 'a study of the Hebrew Commonwealth' modelled on *TGC* and looking at ancient Jewish daily life (Ben-Shahar, "The Adversary's Notebook", 313); cf. n. 93 (Laski).
34. Anon., "The Greek Commonwealth", 745.
35. Acton, *History of Freedom*, 10 ('Pericles held that every Athenian who neglected to take his part in the public business inflicted an injury on the commonwealth'), cf. 270 (of Plato's utopia); Bodleian Libraries, MSS. Facs. c. 118.89 (Zimmern to Walter Lippmann, 23 June [1915]).
36. Bury, *History of Greece*, 146, 168–171, 385, 731.
37. Grote, *History of Greece*, 97, 67, 340. Ebbesen, "From Empire to Commonwealth", 149 notes Grote's usage in discussing Zimmern, but wrongly states that Zimmern refers to fifth-century Athens as 'the Greek commonwealth'.
38. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Niese, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, 116. Zimmern referenced this work several times in *TGC* and recalled this passage – and Wilamowitz' claim that πόλις was untranslatable – in a 1932 lecture (ZP 142.90).
39. Classically in James Harrington's political writings, on which see Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition*, 190–195.
40. Thus Bosanquet, *Philosophical Theory*, 20 suggested that 'the first and last idea which governs [Hegel's] representations of the modern State is that of the Greek commonwealth enlarged as it were from a sun to a solar system'. See further n. 96 on the term 'city-commonwealth'.
41. *Pace* Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism*, 57. Similarly May, "Introduction", 5 speaks of the 'principle of the Commonwealth' as having been 'originally formulated by Alfred Zimmern in his work on Greek city-states'. Zimmern himself attributed this 'principle' to Curtis ("The State", 34).
42. Zimmern, "German Culture", 358.
43. Note the sub-title of *TCoN: An Inquiry into the Nature of Citizenship in the British Empire, and into the Mutual Relations of the Several Communities thereof*; also Zimmern's gloss on

Curtis in the lecture notes cited at the start of this article: 'conc[ept] of common citizenship is in making'. Curtis had other sources too for this concept: cf. the 1901 Johannesburg newspaper article on "The Ideals of Citizenship" preserved at Bodleian Libraries, MS. Curtis 1.126.

44. Morefield, "'An Education to Greece'", 354.
45. GWP 1/46.7 (5 January 1910); GMP 116.154–155 (28 March). The second letter is filed among the undated correspondence in the Murray papers, but can securely be dated to 1910.
46. R.W. Livingstone to Zimmern, 2 July [1922], ZP 75.22.
47. Anon., Review of *TGC*[1], 317.
48. Cf. the popular 1893 work by Zimmern's Oxford colleague W. Warde Fowler, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, or G. Glotz' 1928 *La cité grecque*, to which Zimmern added allusions in the fifth edition of *TGC*.
49. Zimmern also cited Burke's 'golden words' in "Greeks and Modern Life, V", 10, and in his 1911 London extension lectures "Ancient Greece and Modern Problems" (ZP 137.79), and later in *Nationality and Government*, xvii; "Christianizing International Politics", 801; "The Ethical Presuppositions", 45; "The Decline of International Standards", 4; *Spiritual Values*, 21. The importance of Burke for Zimmern is rightly (but, I will argue elsewhere, too strongly) stressed by Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism*, and Baji, *International Thought*.
50. ZP 7.25 reveals that Zimmern met Bryce at the Russell Club (a liberal society run by Oxford undergraduates of which Zimmern was President in Summer Term 1901) and sent him a copy of his 1902 Stanhope Prize essay Henry Grattan (cf. also Bodleian Libraries, MS. Bryce 156.160–161); in 1911 (when Bryce was ambassador in Washington) he sent him *The Greek Commonwealth* (ZP 13.90–91).
51. Anon., Review of *TGC*[2], 284.
52. At Oxford, it was among the Special Subjects offered in Literae Humaniores in 1900 (Bodleian Libraries, Per. 2626 e.173) and proposed in 1902 (Oxford University Archives, FA 4/7/2/1.29).
53. GWP 1/48.39 (letter of 24 December 1911); in July 1898 Zimmern had borrowed the book overnight from the Moberly Library at Winchester (Winchester College Archives P8/97.180). Cf. a letter to his sister Edith on 26 December 1911 offering to return to Britain 'even at the expense of my precious lectures on the American Commonwealth' (ZP 8.104). Zimmern was later the driving force behind the internationalist Bryce Club at Oxford in the 1930s.
54. Cf. the use of "The American Commonwealth" as the title of Round Table Studies D (1914), subsequently Chapter 8 of *TCoN* – with Curtis' cryptic explanation to Kerr: 'The title of the chapter was changed at the request of the Moot to "The American Commonwealth". Thus far have I gratified their distaste for the picturesque' (RTP 808.105, letter of 23 September 1914).
55. Ehrenberg, Review of *TGC*[4], 141 nonetheless complained that the sub-title did not cover the full scope of the term 'Gemeinwesen' – 'oder wie man das ungemein englische, unübersetzbare commonwealth wiedergeben will' ('or however one wants to render the immensely English, untranslatable "commonwealth"').
56. Zimmern to Murray, 28 March [1910], GMP 116.155. The 'or' in 'imperialist or economic' is not strongly disjunctive: cf. the use of 'Imperial Economics' as sub-title for the last five chapters of Part III.
57. Zimmern to Wallas, 5 January 1910, GWP 1/46.7.
58. Zimmern, "Greeks and Modern Life, II", 155; cf. 156: 'a fairly steady public opinion and interest in "public affairs"' is 'the only stable foundation for the successful management of the Common Wealth'.
59. In his 1916 lecture "Progress in Government" Zimmern posits that the 'old English translation' of 'what the Greeks called *to koinon* and the Romans *res publica*' is '"The Commonwealth" or Common Weal', and justified adopting that word on account of 'its richness of traditional meaning and its happy association of the two conceptions, too often separated in modern minds, of Wealth and Welfare' (*Nationality and Government*, 136); Zimmern

discussed elsewhere how politics and economics were falsely separated by nineteenth-century theorists (*The Prospects of Democracy*, 320; *Quo Vadimus?*, 23) and how the war tied them even more closely together (*Nationality and Government*, 284). Cf. and contrast Zimmern, "Democracy and the Empire", 277 on how 'the good old English word "Commonwealth"' avoids the reactionary connotations of 'empire'.

60. Zimmern to Murray, 28 March [1910], GMP 116.156.
61. Zimmern to Wallas, 5 January 1910, GWP 1/46.8. The letter as a whole (which does not mention the Athenian empire) suggests that *polis* refers (as one would expect in a letter between two scholars well-versed in Greek political thought) to the British city or the British state internally, not to the Empire (*pace* Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism,* 32–33 – who ends the quotation at 'the twentieth-century') or Commonwealth (Baji, *International Thought*, 34, anachronistically: Zimmern did not use the term 'British Commonwealth' until 1914). Note the necessary qualifications when the word's scope is extended in Zimmern's later writings: 'an age in which economic relations have created the rudiments of a *world-wide* πόλις' (*Quo Vadimus*?, 7, my emphasis) and 'a world community … a sort of enlarged Greek Polis' ("International Law", 37). For more limited modern applications of the word, compare a letter in which Zimmern told Gilbert Murray that the city of Hartford, CT, was 'a real latter-day πόλις' (GMP 98.53, 2 February 1947) and a talk which referred to the State of Virginia as 'the Virginian Polis' ("Address of Sir Alfred Zimmern", 5); in ancient contexts Zimmern at times aligns *polis* and nation (e.g. *Nationality and Government*, 120, in translating Aristotle; cf. *Learning and Leadership*, 30; "Athens and America", 5).
62. Thus the manuscript of what became Section III had a subsection 'Private Economics' (ZP 127. 24, 36, 47, 69), a hint of which survives at *TGC* 243 (and cf. 13, 213; Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, 174). Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism*, 47–48 by contrast sees Zimmern as assimilating Athens and England by his use of 'commonwealth'.
63. Besides the seven-part *Highway* series, Zimmern's 1911 London lectures (n. 22) went through the material of *The Greek Commonwealth* without any mention of empire.
64. For Curtis' stress on duty, see e.g. *TCoN* 7, 20, 34–35.
65. *TCoN* 21, citing Church, *Trial and Death of Socrates*, 93 (translating τὸ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως at *Crito* 50a8: changed from 'the state' in the 1880 edition). Church, like Zimmern, was a product of Winchester College, a school noted at that time for attempting to instil a spirit of civic and imperial service. For the capitalisation of 'Commonwealth', see RTP 807.20 (Curtis left it to the discretion of his Round Table secretary Miss Bannatyne).
66. *TCoN* 24.
67. *TCoN* 24, 27–28.
68. *TCoN* vi, xviii.
69. *TCoN* 27.
70. Curtis, *Letter to the People*, 7; re-printed in Curtis, *Papers*, 42.
71. Donelly, "Dafoe and Lionel Curtis", 173 n. 1 wrongly inferred from this passage that Curtis began using the term in 1909: by 'I began to think of the British Commonwealth', Curtis means ' … what I later termed the British Commonwealth'. Curtis' language is also distorted by Thakur, Davis, and Vale, "Imperial Mission", 16: 'From this point [viz. the conversation with Marris] forward, Curtis confessed, I "ceased to speak of the British Empire"'; Curtis' perfect tense ('I *have* ceased') indicates that he ceased after that conversation, but it does not pinpoint the exact moment.
72. Hancock, *Survey*, 1.54 n. 2. Mehrotra, "On the Use", 3 notes that Rosebery 'was not coining a new name for the British Empire': in a speech in 1900, he suggested that 'we cannot discard [the term "Empire"], for there is no convenient synonym'.
73. "Editorial Notes", 210 (my emphasis).
74. Hobson, Review of Curtis, *Commonwealth of Nations*. Zimmern quoted this phrase (without objection) in a letter he sent Hobson about his review in which he referred to Curtis' principle of the commonwealth as 'simply the old Liberal doctrine of the Victorian era' (RTP 817.139).

75. [Holland], "Spirit of the Coronation", 432. Note that Henry Campbell-Bannerman suggested in a 1900 speech (quoted in Mehrotra, "On the Use", 9) that the Australian usage ruled out the adoption of 'British Commonwealth' for Britain and the dominions; similarly a 1905 *Times* editorial cited by Hall, *Commonwealth*, 187.
76. Mehrotra, "On the Use", 15 n. 59; May, "The Round Table", 139. While the Round Table had at one time thought of taking account of feedback on Curtis' studies before publishing an agreed text anonymously, circumstances made them decide to publish *The Commonwealth of Nations* in more or less the same form as the earlier *Studies*, and under Curtis' name. Note that the "Green Memorandum" of 1910 is often referred to in scholarship as "Memorandum [or Memoranda] on Canada and the British Commonwealth", sometimes with the clear implication that this was its actual title (e.g. Thakur, Davis, and Vale, "Imperial Mission", 19). This is in fact a title applied by Curtis' bibliographer Ruth Pryor, "Bibliography", 43; it is hand-written with a reference to Pryor's bibliography on the inside cover of a copy in Oxford (Bodleian Libraries, MS. Curtis 156/5).
77. Kendle, *The Round Table Movement*, 178.
78. RTP 836.73.
79. Brand's memorandum is at RTP c.777.154–166; the passages alluded to here are on 155–156, 158, and 165.
80. Quoted by May, "The Round Table", 94–95 (letter to F.S. Oliver, 22 June 1914). Dougal Malcolm similarly distanced himself from the term through double quotation marks (RTP 836.108–111). Further negative responses at RTP 777.127, 836.91 (G.L. Craik); Kerr to Brand, 25 January 1914 (Bodleian Libraries, MS. Brand 182).
81. E.g. RTP 778.25.
82. [Zimmern], "Education and the Working-Class", 276, 277, 279; Mehrotra, "On the Use", 15 n. 59 adduces the use of 'British Commonwealth' on 229 too, but the term there may refer only to the United Kingdom. For this as Zimmern's first article, see the list in May, "The Round Table". Morefield, by contrast, first assumes (*Covenants without Swords*, e.g. 107), and later argues (*Empires Without Imperialism*, 60–65), that the 1913 article "The Ethics of Empire" was by Zimmern, and twice ("'Liberal in a Muddle'", 106; *Covenants without Swords*, 216) cites it as if re-printed in Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*. The article was written by a different Wykehamist, William de Burgh (RTP 778.15–16, 813.1–30; May, "The Round Table", 471); the false attribution to Zimmern (tentatively made by Kendle, *The Round Table Movement*, 172 n. 51) is followed by Stowell, "The Athens of Example", 52, Baji, *International Thought*, 44, and Rummel, *Ein Fōderales Imperium?*, 540–541.
83. Hodson, "The Round Table", 317. The same change was made in the rules of the Round Table's Oxford offshoot, the Ralegh Club, in February 1920, but Reginald Coupland's attempts to replace the club toast 'The Empire of the Bretaynes' by 'The British Commonwealth' or 'The Commonwealth of Nations' in 1921–1922 and 1924 failed (Bodleian Libraries, MS. 5721/1, minutes for 15 February 1920, 10 June 1922, 18 May 1924); by 1935 Coupland's view was that '"British Empire" would be the better substitute for the Toast. Com.th strictly applies only to the Dominions with U.K.' (Coupland to F.M. Hardie, 20 March 1935, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Eng. lett. c. 458.100).
84. E.g. an *Evening Standard* article "The 'Round Tablers' and Mr Lloyd George" (6 November 1922; preserved in MS. Brand 70/1).
85. E.g. a December 1916 policy paper by Kerr (RTP 780.205–208) and the moot minutes for 4 January 1917 (Bodleian Libraries, MS. Eng. c. 6536.77–79). For the chronology of this paragraph, cf. Mehrotra, "On the Use", 15 n. 59; May, "The Round Table", 140. Contrast Morefield (n. 10).
86. HKP 32/2 (12 April 1914).
87. Rich, *Race and Empire*, 60–61, by contrast, wrongly finds already in *TGC* a view of Hellenic civilisation 'as a model of a large-scale civilised community which transcended local and national differences'.
88. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, 355.

89. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, xxiv, 355. Cf. 332 on the conflict of three 'doctrines fighting for mastery in the world of to-day' – the principles of Prussianism, Revolution, and Commonwealth. For an open tribute to Curtis' work, see [Zimmern], "Imperial Dilemma"; for later criticism of the essentialist opposition of East and West that pervades Curtis' work, see ZP 134.122–123 (undated draft) and LSE/SMALL LSE DEPOSITS/50/194.1 (notes on Zimmern's "Greek Life and Thought" 1924 lectures).
90. Zimmern, "Introductory", 11.
91. Zimmern, "British Imperial Reconstruction", 239–240.
92. [Zimmern], "Imperial Dilemma", 710.
93. ZP 15.143 (Leo Amery to Zimmern, 30 August 1918), 15.152–153 (Harold Laski to Zimmern, 20 September 1918; cf. 15.163 for Laski's referring the term 'the Greek Commonwealth' to the city-state); Quigley, "Lord Balfour's personal position", 341 (Lord Balfour to Zimmern, 19 September 1918). Cf. Bodleian Libraries, MSS. Facs. c. 119.114–115 (Lord Eustace Percy to Walter Lippmann, 26 February 1915).
94. Zimmern, "The Future", 66. Unlike the LSE lectures, this review does not mention the impact of *TGC*. Smuts was also charged with opportunism by Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment*, 77 (quoted by Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism*, 175).
95. Zimmern, "British Empire in 1924", 529; cf. Ebbesen, "From Empire to Commonwealth", 170–175 on his usage in Zimmern, *Third British Empire*.
96. The term is common in Freeman, *Comparative Politics*, and his 1886 lecture *Greater Greece and Greater Britain* (cited in *TCoN* 28 n. 2, 46 n. 1, 48 n. 1, 229 n. 1). The term 'city commonwealth' is used, too, as a section heading in Posnett, *Comparative Literature*, an overtly evolutionary study of the development of world literature. Cf. the distinction Curtis himself drew between India as a 'sub-commonwealth' itself and India as part of a 'super-commonwealth' (RTP 826.233). At a smaller scale, cf. an editorial in the Winchester College journal two years before Zimmern's arrival: 'The ideal school, like any other Commonwealth, is animated … by an active beneficence of one part for another' (*Wykehamist* 253 (April 1890) 22); the *locus classicus* for the 'school commonwealth' is Stanley, "School a Little World", 102 – an article rich with comparisons between the public school and the Greek city-state.
97. *TCoN* 20.
98. *TCoN* 39–43 = TGC^1 179–183 (TGC^5 184–188).
99. *TCoN* 49.
100. Morefield, "'An Education to Greece'", 346. Note that the term 'Greater Greece' is taken from Freeman (n. 96) and not used by Zimmern.
101. *TGC* 185. Cf. Zimmern, "Athens and America", 5–6 for the reflection that Athens and Sparta should have formed a 'common political organization' – with the qualification that he was 'looking at the situation in retrospect with modern eyes'. This counterfactual had many antecedents: addressing an American audience, Zimmern cited Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, *The Federalist*, 81, which itself alluded to Millot, *Elémens d'histoire générale*, 225.
102. Note *TGC* 188 ('[financial] centralization … of a peculiarly insidious kind'); 191 ('sometimes (it is to be feared) safest excuse for wrongdoing', 'whether her pupils liked it or'); 196 n. 1 (Athenians were blinded to the feelings of the wealthier classes in allied cities owing to their greater contact with the enthusiastic poorer classes in the fleet); also 250 (the 'ominous shadow' cast by Miltiades).
103. *TGC* 194.
104. Contrast Zimmern, "'Between the Quick'", 487, where Athens' failure to broaden the basis of her democratic power is attributed to the lack of secularisation in Greek politics.
105. *TGC* 196 (to be read with 194: 'freedom had changed its meaning').
106. I hope to elaborate this analysis elsewhere and show, to return to Morefield's formulation (n. 7), how Zimmern's book (not his title) does hint, albeit very briefly, that the British Empire (not the Commonwealth) has 'a fighting chance at making the Periclean dream a reality'.
107. *TCoN* 43, 44.
108. *TCoN* 45.

109. *TCoN* 46.
110. *TCoN* 25–26.
111. Freeman, *Comparative Politics*, 1.29 offers a similar account.
112. [Curtis], *A Practical Enquiry*, 11.
113. *TGC* 159. So too "The Greeks and Modern Life, IV".
114. [Curtis], *A Practical Enquiry*, 11.
115. *TGC* 161 n. 1. So too later Zimmern denied that the Greeks had representative government (*The American Road*, 41), attributing its invention to the English (*Nationality and Government*, 165–166) or to the Christian Church ("Christian Education", 28–29).
116. For his stance on federation e.g. HKP 32/2 (13 October 1915): '[the Round Table] conceive of the British Commonwealth as a Federation of Nations. … But of course to us [i.e. Zimmern and Kallen] a nation is not an administrative unit but a spiritual one'; so too already in 1905 papers on "The Seven Deadly Sins of Tariff Reform" and "United Britain" (ZP 136.7–8, 159).
117. Zimmern's claim that the Round Table 'popularized' the usage is exactly echoed by May, "Introduction", 5.
118. Cf. Kendle, *The Round Table Movement*, 171; McIntyre, *The Britannic Vision*, 85.

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