

*Dorothy
and
Jack*

The Transforming
Friendship of
Dorothy L. Sayers and C. S. Lewis

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Timeline

Note: There may have been more meetings between C. S. Lewis and Dorothy L. Sayers than we're aware of. The ones listed here are those mentioned in their correspondence or by other sources.

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- 1893 • June 13: Dorothy Leigh Sayers is born to Rev. Henry and Helen Sayers in Oxford, England.
 - 1898 • January: Dorothy moves with her family to Bluntisham.
 - 1898 • November 29: Clive Staples “Jack” Lewis is born to Albert and Flora Lewis in Belfast, Ireland.

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- 1905** ● Jack moves with his family to the outskirts of Belfast, to a house called Little Lea.
- 1908** ● August 23: Flora Lewis dies of cancer.
● September: Jack is sent to Wynyard School in Watford, Hertfordshire, England, with his older brother, Warren.
- 1909** ● January 17: Dorothy is sent to the Godolphin School in Salisbury, England.
- 1910** ● March 23: Dorothy is confirmed with her Godolphin School class at Salisbury Cathedral.
● September: Jack is sent to Campbell College, Belfast, Ireland.
- 1911** ● Jack is sent to school at Cherbourg House, Malvern, England.
- 1912** ● Jack loses his childhood faith.
● October 11: Having won a scholarship, Dorothy begins her studies at Somerville College, Oxford.

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- 1913** ● September: Jack is sent to school at Malvern College, Malvern, England.
- 1914** ● September 19: Jack begins his studies with W. T. Kirkpatrick at Great Bookham.
● December 6: Jack is confirmed at St. Mark's Church near Belfast.
- 1915** ● June: Dorothy finishes her college course with first-class honors in French.
- 1916** ● January 18: Dorothy begins a teaching job in Hull.
● December 28: Dorothy publishes her first book, *Op. 1*.
- 1917** ● April 26: Having won a scholarship, Jack arrives at University College, Oxford, to begin his studies and his military training.
● April 27: Dorothy arrives back in Oxford, to begin work at Blackwell Publishing on May 1.
● April 30: Jack joins the Officers' Training Corps.
● November 29: Jack arrives at the French front.

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- 1918** ● April 15: Jack is wounded at the Battle of Arras.
- 1919** ● March: Jack publishes his first book, *Spirits in Bondage*.
- September: Dorothy takes a position as assistant to Eric Whelpton at L'Ecole des Roches in Normandy, France, which lasts about a year; she spends the next few years after that in various teaching jobs in England.
- December: Jack is officially discharged from the army.
- 1920** ● October 14: Dorothy is awarded BA and MA degrees from Oxford (among the first women to receive degrees there).
- 1921** ● June: Jack takes up residence with Mrs. Janie King Moore, mother of his late army friend Paddy Moore, and her daughter, Maureen.
- 1922** ● May: Dorothy begins work at S. H. Benson's advertising agency in London, where she remains for nine years.


- 1923 ● Dorothy publishes *Whose Body?*, her first novel and the beginning of her highly successful Lord Peter Wimsey series.
- March (or thereabouts): Dorothy becomes pregnant by Bill White.
- 1924 ● January 3: Dorothy gives birth to her son, John Anthony White (eventually known as Anthony Fleming).
- January 31: John Anthony is sent to live with Dorothy's aunt and cousin, Amy and Ivy Shrimpton.
- 1925 ● May 20: Jack is elected a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
- 1926 ● April 13: Dorothy marries Oswald Atherton "Mac" Fleming.
- 1929 ● Trinity Term (the Oxford term following Easter): Jack embraces theism.
- September 25: Albert Lewis, not long after being diagnosed with colon cancer, dies of cardiac arrest in Belfast.

- 1930 ● October: Jack, his brother Warren, and Mrs. Moore jointly purchase The Kilns, a house in Oxford, which they move into on October 10.
- 1931 ● September 28: About a week after a long talk on the subject with J. R. R. Tolkien and Hugo Dyson, Jack converts to Christianity.
- 1932 ● December 21: Warren Lewis retires from the army.
- 1933 ● The Inklings begin to meet regularly at The Eagle and Child pub in Oxford and at Jack's rooms in Magdalen College.
- 1941 ● June 25: First mention of Jack in one of Dorothy's letters (repeated references to *The Problem of Pain*).
- Dorothy publishes *The Mind of the Maker*, in which she quotes Jack.
- December 23: First mention of Dorothy in one of Jack's letters (thoughts on *The Mind of the Maker* and *Gaudy Night*).

- 1942 ● Early April: Dorothy writes her first letter to Jack.
- Sometime in April: Jack first writes to Dorothy.
- June 2 or 3: Probably the date of Dorothy and Jack's first meeting, in Oxford.
- 1944 ● November or December: Dorothy begins translating Dante's *Divine Comedy*, a project that will occupy her for the rest of her life.
- 1945 ● May 15: Charles Williams, a friend of both Jack and Dorothy, dies at the Acland Hospital in Oxford.
- May 17: Jack asks Dorothy to contribute to the memorial volume *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, to be edited by himself.
- 1947 ● December 4: *Essays Presented to Charles Williams* is published by Oxford University Press.
- 1949 ● Mid-August: Jack hosts a party for Dorothy while she is at Oxford to lecture on Dante for the Summer School of Italian Studies.

- October: Last regular meeting of the Inklings.
- November 16: Dorothy's translation of Dante's *Inferno*, the first volume of *The Divine Comedy*, is published by Penguin Classics.
- 1950 ● January: Joy Davidman Gresham writes her first letter to Jack.
- June 9: Mac Fleming dies at home in Witham of a cerebral hemorrhage.
- 1951 ● January 12: Janie King Moore dies at the Restholme Nursing Home in Oxford of influenza.
- 1952 ● August: On a visit to England, Joy meets Jack and Warren.
- 1954 ● February 18 (or thereabouts): Dorothy visits Jack at Oxford and meets Warren (possibly for the first time).
- October 24: Jack and Dorothy debate G. S. Frazer at St. Anne's House, Soho, London, over Kathleen Nott's book *The Emperor's Clothes*; Dorothy and Joy Davidman meet at the debate.

- November 29: Having accepted the Chair of Medieval and Renaissance Literature at Cambridge University, Jack delivers his inaugural lecture there on his fifty-sixth birthday.
- 1955 ● Dorothy's translation of the *Purgatorio*, the second volume of the *Divine Comedy*, is published by Penguin Classics.
- May 10: Jack and Dorothy cosign a letter to the *Times* of London to call attention to the tenth anniversary of Charles Williams's death.
- 1956 ● April 23: Jack and Joy undergo a civil marriage to allow Joy and her children to stay in England.
- May 9 (or thereabouts): Jack and Dorothy meet for lunch at Cambridge.
- October 18: Joy breaks her leg and is taken to the hospital, where she is diagnosed with cancer.
- December 24: Jack informs Dorothy of his marriage to Joy.
- 1957 ● March 21: Jack and Joy undergo a second (religious) marriage service in the hospital.

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- June 25: Jack tells Dorothy of the second marriage service.
 - December 17: Dorothy dies at home in Witham of a coronary thrombosis.
 - 1958** ● January 15: Jack's tribute, "A Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers," is read by George Bell, Lord Bishop of Chichester, at Dorothy's memorial service at St. Margaret's Church, London.
 - 1960** ● July 13: Joy dies at the Radcliffe Hospital in Oxford of cancer.
 - 1963** ● November 22: Jack dies at The Kilns of kidney failure.

Notes

Introduction

1. Lewis to Dorothy L. Sayers, December 14, 1945, *The Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, vol. 2, ed. Walter Hooper, *Books, Broadcasts, and the War 1931–1949* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), 682.

2. Sayers to C. S. Lewis, May 13, 1943, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, vol. 2, ed. Barbara Reynolds, *1937 to 1943: From Novelist to Playwright* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 413.

3. Barbara Reynolds, "C. S. Lewis and Dorothy L. Sayers," remarks made at the C. S. Lewis Summer Institute, Cambridge, 1998, repr. in *C. S. Lewis Remembered*, ed. Harry Lee Poe and Rebecca Whitten Poe (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 195–96.

4. Justin Phillips, *C. S. Lewis at the BBC: Messages of Hope in the Darkness of War* (London: HarperCollins, 2002), 199–200.

5. C. S. Lewis, *The Four Loves*, in *The Inspirational Writings of C. S. Lewis* (New York: Inspirational Press, 1994), 246.

6. Aimee Byrd, *Why Can't We Be Friends?: Avoidance Is Not Purity* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 2018), 35.

Chapter 1 "No Mean City"

1. See Luke Barratt, "Oxford in World War I," *Cherwell*, July 28, 2014, <http://cherwell.org/2014/07/28/oxford-in-world-war-i/>.

2. Lewis to Albert Lewis, April 28, 1917, *The Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, vol. 1, ed. Walter Hooper, *Family Letters 1905–1931* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2004), 295.

3. Sayers to Henry and Helen Sayers, April 28, 1917, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, vol. 1, ed. Barbara Reynolds, 1899 to 1936: *The Making of a Detective Novelist* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 129.
4. Dorothy L. Sayers, "My Edwardian Childhood," in *Dorothy L. Sayers: Child and Woman of Her Time, A Supplement to the Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, ed. Barbara Reynolds (Cambridge: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 2002), 3.
5. Dorothy L. Sayers, *Gaudy Night* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1993), 30.
6. Sayers, *Gaudy Night*, 287. "Restoring a lost breathing," in a nutshell, refers to rediscovering how a word in a given language used to be pronounced.
7. C. S. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, in *The Inspirational Writings of C. S. Lewis* (New York: Inspirational Press, 1994), 101.
8. George Sayer, *Jack: A Life of C. S. Lewis* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1994), 120.
9. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 108.
10. C. S. Lewis, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (New York: HarperTrophy, 1978), 131.
11. Joseph Loconte, *A Hobbit, a Wardrobe, and a Great War* (Nashville: Nelson, 2015), 169.
12. Wilfred Owen, "Anthem for Doomed Youth," *The Poems of Wilfred Owen*, ed. Jon Stallworthy (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986), <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/47393/anthem-for-doomed-youth>.
13. Loconte, *A Hobbit, a Wardrobe, and a Great War*, 101.
14. Loconte, *A Hobbit, a Wardrobe, and a Great War*, 101.
15. Barbara Reynolds, editor's note, in *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:91.
16. See page 20 of Barbara Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul* (1993) for a photo of teenage Dorothy in full costume as Athos, complete with wig, mustache, and plumed hat. The original photo is in the Marion E. Wade Center.
17. Sayers to Henry and Helen Sayers, August 3, 1914, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:93.
18. Dorothy L. Sayers, *Whose Body?* (New York: HarperPaperbacks, 1995), 142.
19. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 37.
20. Alan Jacobs, *The Narnian: The Life and Imagination of C. S. Lewis* (New York: HarperOne, 2005), 356.
21. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 89.

22. The complete letter is not included in the first volume of *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, though it is mentioned (p. 35). This quote is taken from Barbara Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1993), 39. There, Reynolds says the letter was undated, but when she mentions it in the *Letters*, she gives it a date of February 13, 1910.

23. Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 39.

24. Sayers to Henry and Helen Sayers, March 23, 1910, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:40–41.

25. Sayers to Ivy Shrimpton, April 15, 1930, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:306.

26. Sayers, “Cat o’Mary,” in *Dorothy L. Sayers: Child and Woman of Her Time*, 117.

27. As evidence of this, Dorothy once recorded that someone had actually written to ask her, “Could you please tell me the title of the book in which Lord Peter rescues you from being condemned for murder.” See Sayers to Barbara Reynolds, April 15, 1955, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, vol. 4, ed. Barbara Reynolds, *1951 to 1957: In the Midst of Life* (Cambridge: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 2000), 225.

28. Reynolds, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:113.

29. Sayers to Henry and Helen Sayers, undated but marked third week in February 1909, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:18.

30. G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy: The Romance of Faith* (New York: Image Books, 1990), 101.

31. Sayers to Mrs. G. K. (Frances) Chesterton, June 15, 1936, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:394.

32. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 100.

33. Joseph Pearce, “Chesterton, Tolkien and Lewis in Elfland,” *The Imaginative Conservative*, July 15, 2015, <http://www.theimaginativeconservative.org/2015/07/chesterton-tolkien-and-lewis-in-elfland.html>.

34. See Sayer, *Jack*, 143, and Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 81, for publication dates and other details.

35. Sayers, “Desdichado,” *Catholic Tales and Christian Songs* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919), <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/sayers/cathtales/dls-cathtales.html>. Ellipses in original.

36. See Bryana Johnson, “Desdichado,” *Having Decided to Stay*, October 22, 2012, <https://bryanajohnson.com/2012/10/22/desdichado/>. (Having never read *Ivanhoe* myself, I owe Johnson a debt of thanks for identifying the origin of the name!)

37. C. S. Lewis [Clive Hamilton, pseud.], "Satan Speaks," *Spirits in Bondage* (London: Heinemann, 1919), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2003/2003-h/2003-h.htm>.

Chapter 2 "A High Wind"

1. Lewis to the editor of *Encounter*, January 1963, *The Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, vol. 3, ed. Walter Hooper, *Narnia, Cambridge, and Joy, 1950–1963* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 1400.

2. See editor's note on Lewis to Sayers, October 23, 1942, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:514.

3. See Phillips, *C. S. Lewis at the BBC*, 203.

4. See Crystal Downing, "Dorothy Sayers Did Not Want to Be a Prophet," *Christianity Today*, May 18, 2018, <https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2018/june/dorothy-sayers-reluctant-prophet.html>.

5. George M. Marsden, *C. S. Lewis's Mere Christianity: A Biography*, in *Lives of Great Religious Books* series (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 25.

6. Sayer, *Jack*, 273–74.

7. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 125.

8. Philip Zaleski and Carol Zaleski, *The Fellowship: The Literary Lives of the Inklings* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2015), 176.

9. Lewis to Arthur Greeves, October 18, 1931, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 1:977.

10. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 125.

11. See Sayers to the Sister Superior of The Hostel of God, June 25, 1941, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 2:265; and Sayers to Amy Davies, November 26, 1941, 2:325, for Sayers's first two mentions of Lewis in her correspondence.

12. See Lewis to Greeves, December 23, 1941, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:505.

13. J. R. R. Tolkien to Christopher Tolkien, May 25, 1944, *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. Humphrey Carpenter with Christopher Tolkien (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 82.

14. Catherine Kenney, *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1990), 249.

15. Phillips, *C. S. Lewis at the BBC*, 7.

16. Hooper, editor's note, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:514.

17. Lewis to Sayers, undated but marked April 1942, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:515.

18. See Lewis to Arthur Greeves, February 7, 1917, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 1: 274, for Lewis's own explanation of the term.
19. Lewis to Mary Van Deusen, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:108.
20. For details about Bill White and his wife (referred to only as "Mrs. White" by Barbara Reynolds) and about the episode in general, see "Appendix: Particulars of the Birth of John Anthony," in *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 2:437–41.
21. Sayers to John Cournos, August 22, 1924, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:216.
22. Sayers to Cournos, 1:217.
23. Sayers, *Strong Poison* (New York: HarperPaperbacks, 1995), 43.
24. Sayers to Ivy Shrimpton, January 27, 1924, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:208.
25. Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 141–2.
26. Sayers to Cournos, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:215.
27. Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 154.
28. Dorothy L. Sayers, *Clouds of Witness and The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 196.
29. Lewis to Sayers, undated but marked April 6, 1942, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:516.
30. Lewis to Sayers, October 23, 1942, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:533.
31. Christine A. Colón, *Writing for the Masses: Dorothy L. Sayers and the Victorian Literary Tradition*, in Routledge Studies in Twentieth-Century Literature series (New York: Routledge, 2018), 155.
32. Sayers to Lewis, May 13, 1943, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 2:410.
33. Sayers to Lewis, May 13, 1943, 2:410.
34. Sayers to Lewis, May 13, 1943, 2:411.

Chapter 3 "Hey! Whoa!"

1. Marjorie Lamp Mead, conversation with the author at the Marion E. Wade Center, January 10, 2018.
2. See Lewis to Sayers, March 18, 1943, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:564.
3. Lewis to Sayers, May 30(?), 1943, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:577.
4. Sayers to Lewis, December 3, 1945, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, vol. 3, ed. Barbara Reynolds, *A Noble Daring: 1944 to 1950* (Cambridge: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 1998), 177.

5. Lewis to Brother George Every, SSM, February 4, 1941, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:469; Sayers to Barbara Reynolds, December 21, 1955, 4:264.

6. Zaleski and Zaleski, *Fellowship*, 354.

7. Davidman to Chad Walsh, January 27, 1950, *Out of My Bone: The Letters of Joy Davidman*, ed. Don King (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 115.

8. Sayers to Lewis, July 3, 1945, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:154.

9. Lewis to Sayers, July 6, 1945, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:663.

10. Sayers to Lewis, July 7, 1945, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:155.

11. Grevel Lindop, *Charles Williams: The Third Inking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 404–5.

12. This letter is not included in Lewis's collected letters, but is quoted by Barbara Reynolds, editor's note in *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:155.

13. Although this should not be discounted. The conflict throws fresh light, for instance, on Jack's famous 1948 debate with Elizabeth Anscombe over his argument, in his book *Miracles*, that naturalism is self-refuting. The common perception has been that Jack felt "defeated" and, consequentially, "spiritually deflated," and he did in fact go back and alter the relevant portion of *Miracles*. But this speculation about his feelings does not seem likely to be true. As Dr. Crystal Hurd points out, simply rethinking his argument was hardly evidence of "resentment," and he continued to interact on a friendly basis with Anscombe and even recommended her as his successor as president of the Oxford Socratic Club. This interpretation seems far likelier to be true when one knows of his friendship with Sayers; any man who had made it through a conflict with her was hardly likely to be thrown by a polite and respectful debate with a young female scholar! For more on the Anscombe-Lewis debate, see Dr. Crystal Hurd, "Iron Sharpens Iron: Elizabeth Anscombe," Week Five in the C. S. Lewis and Women series, July 1, 2013, CrystalHurd.com, <http://crystalhurd.com/iron-sharpens-iron-elizabeth-anscombe/>.

14. Lewis to Sayers, July 23, 1946, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:721–22.

15. This letter is not in Sayers's collected letters or in the Marion E. Wade Center, but is mentioned by Barbara Reynolds, editor's note, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:252.

16. Lewis to Sayers, July 29, 1946, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:728.

17. "The last temptation is the greatest treason: to do the right deed for the wrong reason." T. S. Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral*, part I. See note 3, Sayers to Lewis, July 31, 1946, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:253.

18. Sayers to Lewis, July 31, 1946, 3:253.
19. Sayers to Lewis, July 31, 1946, 3:252–4.
20. Sayers to Lewis, July 31, 1946, 3:254.
21. Lewis to Sayers, August 2, 1946, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:730.
22. Sayers to Lewis, August 3, 1946, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:255–57.
23. Lewis to Sayers, August 7, 1946, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:731.
24. Sayers to Lewis, August 8, 1946, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:258–60.
25. Lewis to Sayers, December 29, 1946, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:749.
26. C. S. Lewis, “On Three Ways of Writing for Children,” in *On Stories and Other Essays on Literature*, ed. Walter Hooper (San Diego: Harvest/HBJ, 1982), 41–42.
27. Kathleen Lea, “Memories of Lewis as a Colleague,” *The Chesterton Review*, vol. 27 no. 4 (November 1991): 400. Emphasis in original.

Chapter 4 “A Complete Blank”

1. Lewis to Sayers, July 13, 1948, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:860–61.
2. Kathryn Wehr, “Disambiguation: Sayers as a Catholic,” VII: *Journal of the Marion E. Wade Center*, vol. 33 (2016): 7–17.
3. Sayers to Lewis, July 19, 1948, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:387.
4. Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 358.
5. Sayers to Lewis, July 19, 1948, 3:387–88.
6. See Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 354.
7. Lindop, *Charles Williams*, 404.
8. Sayers to Lewis, May 24, 1945, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:148.
9. Diana Pavlac Glyer, *The Company They Keep: C. S. Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien as Writers in Community* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2007), 172.
10. For an in-depth look at Sayers’s circle of female friends, see Mo Moulton, *The Mutual Admiration Society: How Dorothy L. Sayers and Her Oxford Circle Remade the World for Women* (New York: Basic Books, 2019).
11. Sayers to Charles Williams, August 16–17, 1944, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:49.
12. Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 244.

13. Sayers to John Wren-Lewis, March 1954, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:138.
14. Sayers, *Gaudy Night*, 179–80.
15. Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen, *A Sword between the Sexes?: C. S. Lewis and the Gender Debates* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2010), 38.
16. Dorothy L. Sayers, “Are Women Human?” in *Are Women Human?: Astute and Witty Essays on the Role of Women in Society* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 34.
17. Jacobs, *The Narnian*, 255.
18. Dr. Joy Jordan-Lake, “‘She Is One of the Great Ones.’ The Radical World of *The Great Divorce*,” in *Women and C. S. Lewis: What His Life and Literature Reveal for Today’s Culture*, ed. Carolyn Curtis and Mary Pomeroy Key (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2015), 121.
19. Alister McGrath, “On Tolkien, the Inklings—and Lewis’s Blindness to Gender,” in *Women and C. S. Lewis*, 83.
20. See Van Leeuwen, *Sword between the Sexes?*, 99 n. 52, in which she points out that Jack and Warren differed on this point.
21. Dr. David Downing, conversation with the author, July 19, 2018.
22. Van Leeuwen, *Sword between the Sexes?*, 37.
23. Van Leeuwen, *Sword between the Sexes?*, 104.
24. See, for instance, his letter to his former pupil Mary Shelley Neylan, quoted by Van Leeuwen in *Sword between the Sexes?*, 118–19.
25. C. S. Lewis, “Membership,” in *The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, ed. Walter Hooper (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 128.
26. Lewis, “Membership,” 128.
27. Lewis, “Membership,” 126.
28. Lewis to Margaret Fuller, April 8, 1948, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:849. See also “Don vs. Devil,” *TIME*, September 8, 1947, <http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,804196-1,00.html>. Interestingly, Sayers is mentioned in the article as a fellow member of “a whole school of literary evangelists,” and quoted at some length on the subject of society’s renewed interest in Christianity.
29. Van Leeuwen, *Sword between the Sexes?*, 110.
30. Sayers to John Wren-Lewis, March 1954, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:143.
31. C. S. Lewis, “Equality,” in *Present Concerns*, ed. Walter Hooper (San Diego: Harcourt, 1986), 17.
32. Lewis, “Membership,” 128.
33. Byrd, *Why Can’t We Be Friends?*, 191.
34. Van Leeuwen, *Sword between the Sexes?*, 255.

35. Lewis, *Four Loves*, 249.
36. Lewis, *Four Loves*, 252.
37. Mead, conversation with the author, January 10, 2018.
38. "Barbara Reynolds, Dante Scholar—Obituary," *The Telegraph*, June 29, 2015, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/11706348/Barbara-Reynolds-Dante-scholar-obituary.html>.
39. The original letter in which Sayers used the term appears to have been lost. But she reiterated the opinion in her next letter to Lewis on August 8, 1955, in *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:253.
40. Lewis to Sayers, August 5, 1955, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:638–39.
41. Sayers, *Gaudy Night*, 354.
42. Sayers to Reynolds, December 21, 1955, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:263–64.
43. Dr. Crystal Downing, email to the author, August 27, 2018.
44. Lewis to Sayers, October 23, 1942, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:534.
45. Sayers to Williams, August 16–17, 1944, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:45.
46. Sayers to Williams, August 16–17, 1944, 3:48.
47. John Milton, "Book Four, Lines 297–99," *Paradise Lost* (1667), <https://www.bartleby.com/4/404.html>.
48. Sayers, *Strong Poison*, 44.
49. Sayers to Reynolds, December 21, 1955, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:264.
50. Sayers to Lewis, August 5, 1946, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:256.
51. Lewis to Sayers, August 6, 1946, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:730.
52. Sayers to Lewis, August 8, 1946, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:260.
53. Sayers to Mrs. Robert Darby, May 31, 1948, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:375.
54. Sayers to Cournos, October 27, 1924, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1:217–18.
55. Sayers to Lewis, August 12, 1946, in the Marion E. Wade Center collection, accessed January 6, 2018.
56. C. S. Lewis, *A Grief Observed* (New York: Bantam Books, 1976), 56.
57. Lewis to Florence "Michal" Williams, May 22, 1945, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:653.

58. Sørina Higgins, "An Introduction to Charles Williams," *The Oddest Inkling*, June 5, 2013, <https://theoddestinkling.wordpress.com/2013/06/05/intro/>.

59. Lindop, *Charles Williams*, 320.

60. Colin Duriez, *Tolkien and C. S. Lewis: The Gift of Friendship* (Mahwah, NJ: HiddenSpring, 2003), 119.

61. Zaleski and Zaleski, *Fellowship*, 269.

62. Sayers to Barbara Reynolds, December 21, 1955, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:264.

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64. Sayers to Rev. Dom Christopher Fullman, O.S.B., December 6, 1950, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:527.

65. Sayers to John Wren-Lewis, marked Good Friday, March 1954 (although Good Friday that year was actually in April), *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:143.

66. As quoted by Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 384, note on page 353.

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68. Sayers to Lewis, March 5, 1954.

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70. Lindop, *Charles Williams*, 337.

71. Zaleski and Zaleski, *Fellowship*, 282. Brackets are theirs.

72. Zaleski and Zaleski, *Fellowship*, 279.

73. Lewis, *Four Loves*, 255.

74. Mead, conversation with the author, January 10, 2018.

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76. Lindop, *Charles Williams*, 360.

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Chapter 5 “Sister Dinosaur”

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2. Lewis to Sayers, June 5, 1947, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:779.
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5. Lewis to Sayers, June 12, 1954, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:489.
6. Lewis to Sayers, December 28, 1949, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:1014.
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11. Lewis to Sayers, December 27, 1954, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:548.
12. Sayers to Lewis, December 29, 1954, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 4:198.
13. Lewis to Sayers, January 1, 1949, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:902.
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17. Lindop, *Charles Williams*, 309.
18. Lewis to Williams, March 23, 1936, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:186–87. Quoted by Glycer in *Company They Keep*, 83.
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22. See, for instance, Lewis to Sayers, July 29, 1946, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 2:729.
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2. Davidman to William Lindsay Gresham, October 29, 1954, *Out of My Bone*, 223.
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11. Lewis to Sayers, June 25, 1957, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:861.
12. Lewis to Sayers, June 25, 1957, 3:861–62.
13. Lewis to Sayers, July 1, 1957, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:863.
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16. Lewis to Sayers, June 25, 1957, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:862.
17. Lewis to Sayers, July 1, 1957, 3:864.
18. Jacobs, *Narnian*, 285.
19. Sayers to Lewis, July 3, 1957, in the Marion E. Wade Center collection, accessed January 10, 2018.

Chapter 7 “A Friend, Not an Ally”

1. Lewis, “Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers,” 94.
2. Crystal Downing and David C. Downing, “Douglas Gresham Interview—Part 3,” *The Wade Center Podcast*, season 1, episode 1, Marion E. Wade Center, December 6, 2018, <http://wheaton.edu/listen/wade-center-podcast>. Douglas Gresham reiterated this story when I met him in person at The C. S. Lewis Influence and Relevance Today conference in Montreat, North Carolina, November 2019. See also Glycer, *Company They Keep*, 23, n. 21: “[Joy] Davidman’s son Douglas Gresham has noted, ‘Dorothy Sayers and Jack (and my mother) were good friends, and one of the rare times I saw Jack deeply upset (other than his grief for my mother) was when he received the news that Dorothy had died’ (MereLewis Listserve Archives, 27 June 1996 14:47:41).”
3. Byrd, *Why Can’t We Be Friends?*, 176.
4. Anthony Fleming, as quoted in Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 346.
5. Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 244.
6. Hooper, preface, in C. S. Lewis, *On Stories and Other Essays in Literature*, xx.
7. Hooper, editor’s note, in *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:915.
8. Lewis to Fleming, January 21, 1958, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:915.
9. Lewis, “Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers,” 91.
10. Lewis, “Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers,” 91–92.

11. Lewis, "Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers," 92.
12. Lewis, "Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers," 92.
13. Lewis, "Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers," 92.
14. See Sayers to Lewis, August 12, 1946, in the Marion E. Wade Center collection, accessed January 6, 2018.
15. Lewis, "Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers," 93.
16. Lewis, "Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers," 93.
17. Lewis, "Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers," 95.
18. See Lewis to Fleming, January 21, 1958, *Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis*, 3:915.
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21. Lewis to Charles Moorman, May 15, 1959, 3:1049.
22. Glyer, *Company They Keep*, 71.
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26. Sayers, "The King Comes to His Own," Scene One.
27. Sayers, "The Human-Not-Quite-Human" in *Are Women Human?*, 68.
28. Sayers to Brother George Every, SSM, July 10, 1947, *Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 3:315.