

DOROTAY
A BIOGRAPHY
L. SAYERS

*Death, Dante, and
Lord Peter Wimsey*

COLIN DURIEZ



Dorothy L. Sayers: A chronology

- 1713 Great sluice burst at Denver in the Fens (inspiration for the flood in Sayers' *The Nine Tailors*).
- 1854 Birth of Henry Sayers, Tittleshall, Norfolk. Son of Revd Robert Sayers.
- 1879 Opening of Somerville Hall (later renamed Somerville College), Oxford.
Henry Sayers obtains a degree in Divinity from Magdalen College, Oxford.
- 1880 Henry Sayers ordained as minister of the Church of England in Hereford.
- 1884 Henry Sayers becomes headmaster of the Christ Church Choir School.
- 1892 Henry Sayers and Helen Mary ("Nell/Nelly") Leigh marry.
- 1893 Dorothy Leigh Sayers born on 13 June, in the old Choir House at 1, Brewer Street, Oxford. Christened by Henry Sayers, 15 July, over the road in Christ Church Cathedral.
- 1894 BA qualifications opened to women in England, but without the award of a university BA degree.
- 1897 Henry Sayers accepted the living of Bluntisham-cum-Earish in East Anglia as rector.
- 1906 Dorothy discovers Alexander Dumas' influential *The Three Musketeers* at the age of thirteen.
- 1908 On approaching her sixteenth birthday, Dorothy's parents decided to send her to boarding school. Dorothy is taken to see Shakespeare's *Henry V* in London.

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- 1909 Sent to the Godolphin School in Salisbury, 17 January, as a boarder.
- 1910 Dorothy pressured into being confirmed as an Anglican at Salisbury Cathedral.
- 1911 Dorothy comes first in the country in the Cambridge Higher Local Examinations, gaining distinctions in French and Spoken German. Nearly dies from the consequences of measles; sent home to recover.
- 1912 Kept at home for final term for fear of a “scarlet fever scare” at the school.
Wins a significant Gilchrist scholarship to Somerville College, Oxford.
Goes up to the college in October.
- 1914 Summer trip to the Continent which becomes dangerous; hastily returning as First World War begins.
- 1915 Gains a first-class award in modern (medieval) French, but as a woman does not qualify for receiving a degree.
Begins reading detective fiction.
- 1916 Makes an attempt at teaching French in Hull, in the autumn term.
Op. I published – a small volume of poems published by Blackwell’s of Oxford.
- 1917 Leaves school teaching; begins an editing post in Oxford as an intern at Blackwell’s Publishers, under Basil Blackwell, and funded by her father.
- 1918 Eric Whelpton in Oxford.
Captain “Mac” Fleming leaves the army with the war over.
Women over thirty receive vote in Britain.

- Sayers' *Catholic Tales and Christian Songs*, a second book of verse, is published.
- 1919 Fleming's book, *How to See the Battlefields* is published. He becomes a Fleet Street journalist and photographer.
Sayers leaves Blackwell's.
Goes to France to work with Eric Whelpton in Ecole des Roches in Normandy.
- 1920 Sayers returns to England in September.
Teaches temporarily in London; tries her hand at detective stories, with the sudden emergence of Lord Peter Wimsey.
Receives University of Oxford BA and MA in Modern Languages – among one of first groups of women to receive them.
- 1921 Meets Russian American writer and translator John Cournos; falls in love with him.
Finishes her first Peter Wimsey novel *Whose Body?* with no publisher as yet.
Moves into a flat at 24, Great James Street, in the Bloomsbury area of London.
- 1922 Gets a literary agent, almost certainly with the help of John Cournos.
Begins at S.H. Benson's Advertising Agency in Kingsway as a copywriter and "ideas man".
Starts writing *Clouds of Witness*.
Whose Body? is taken by a US publisher via her agent.
Relationship with Cournos ends; he moves to US.
Sayers meets Bill White.

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- 1923 *Whose Body?* published in US and then later in UK. Accidentally conceives in April; father is Bill White. Takes a carefully planned brief leave of absence from Benson's in November.
- 1924 Gives birth in secrecy to her son, John Anthony, on 3 January.
Hastily arranges for her older cousin Ivy Shrimpton to foster him.
In April, ends relationship with Bill White, learning he is married.
Discovers Courson has married a crime writer in US, Sybil Norton.
- 1925 "Mac" Fleming's divorce becomes final and he courts Sayers.
- 1926 *Cloud of Witnesses* published.
Marries Oswald "Mac" Atherton Fleming, 13 April. Fleming joins Sayers in her small London flat at 24, Great James Street.
- 1927 *Unnatural Death* published (*The Dawson Pedigree* in US).
- 1928 Henry Sayers dies suddenly.
Sayers' mother, and her elderly sister Mabel, move to Witham, Essex; Sayers and Mac keep on the London flat.
Edits the first series of *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery, and Horror* (Gollancz), called *The Omnibus of Crime* in US.
The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club, and *Lord Peter Views the Body* published. The Detection Club starts to form.

- 1929 Sayers' mother dies.
Tristan in Brittany published.
Acquires a new London agent, David Higham.
Leaves employment at Benson's to focus on writing.
- 1930 Prepares for a BBC Radio series, *The Scoop*, along with the Detection Club.
The Documents in the Case, with coauthor, Robert Eustace, published.
Sayers and Mac holiday in Galloway.
Strong Poison published: introduces Lord Peter's love interest, Harriet Vane.
- 1931 *Five Red Herrings* published (*Suspicious Characters* in US).
Researches campanology for a new mystery novel.
The Floating Admiral published (with Detection Club members, including G. K. Chesterton, Agatha Christie, and Ronald Knox) as well as *The Scoop* written jointly by members of the Detection Club, including Agatha Christie and E.C. Bentley.
- 1932 Works on *My Edwardian Childhood*, never finished.
Have His Carcase published.
- 1933 *Murder Must Advertise* and *Hangman's Holiday* published.
Decisions about marriage and son are made during brief motoring holiday with Muriel St Clare Byrne.
- 1934 *The Nine Tailors* published.
Attends a Somerville Gaudy (a reunion for its alumni).
Sayers and Mac informally adopt Anthony in December, aged 10.
Anthony remains in the care of Ivy Shrimpton.
- 1935 Sayers completes *Busman's Honeymoon* playscript with Muriel St Clare Byrne. *Gaudy Night* published.

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- 1936 Works on *Thrones, Dominations* (completed posthumously by Jill Paton Walsh).
Completes book adaptation of *Busman's Honeymoon*.
Play of *Busman's Honeymoon* opens in the West End of London, runs for nine months.
Privately prints *Papers Relating to the Family of Wimsey*.
- 1936 Hires first secretary.
Charles Williams persuades the Canterbury Festival to commission a play from her.
- 1937 Play and novel, *Busman's Honeymoon* published.
Completes *The Zeal of Thy House* and presents the play at Canterbury.
Visits Venice with close friend Marjorie Barber.
- 1938 Sayers researches material for a biography of Wilkie Collins (never completed).
Manages a tour of *The Zeal of Thy House*.
Anthony Fleming starts boarding school at Malvern College.
Val Gielgud produces *He That Should Come* for BBC Radio's *Children's Hour* at Christmas, on the Nativity.
- 1939 *The Devil to Pay* (on Faustus) is performed at the Canterbury Festival; published in June.
In the Teeth of the Evidence and Other Stories published.
- 1940 Receives proposal from Revd Dr James W. Welch, Director of Religious Broadcasting BBC, for a series on the life of Christ.
Starts the *Bridgeheads* series (*The Mind of the Maker* to be its first publication).
Love All is performed in London.
Begins radio scripts for installments of a major BBC project, *The Man Born to Be King*.
Begin Here is published.

- Starts working on a new passion, the poetry of Dante Alighieri, with strong encouragement from Charles Williams.
- 1941 Val Gielgud agrees to produce *The Man Born to Be King* for the BBC. It is broadcast from 21 December 1941 to 18 October 1942.
Sayers connects with Father Patrick McLaughlin at St Anne's Church, Soho, in his concern to reach out to "thinking Pagans".
The Mind of the Maker published.
- 1942 Anthony Fleming wins a history scholarship to Balliol College, Oxford.
Sayers writes to C.S. Lewis suggesting he writes for her new *Bridgeheads* series; their first known meeting takes place over lunch.
- 1943 *The Man Born to Be King* published; numerous reprints during wartime economy printing and after. Reluctantly refuses a doctorate of divinity offered by the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1944 In Chichester with T.S. Eliot at a September conference on religion and the arts, along with architects, painters, and sculptors.
Joins St Anne's House Advisory Council.
Begins translating Dante's *Inferno* (*Hell*).
Lichfield Cathedral commissions *The Just Vengeance*.
- 1945 Penguin Books offer a contract for translation of *The Divine Comedy*.
Sayers contributes a chapter on Dante to *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, edited by C.S. Lewis.
- 1946 Lectures at the Oxford Summer School of Italian Studies.
Anthony Fleming finds out that Sayers is his mother.

- The Just Vengeance* performed at Lichfield Festival.
Unpopular Opinions (with twenty-one essays) published.
Meets scholar Barbara Reynolds, whom she befriends.
- 1947 Mac suffers deterioration of health.
Essays Presented to Charles Williams published.
- 1948 *Four Sacred Plays* published.
Completes her translation of Dante's *Hell (Inferno)*.
Anthony Fleming is awarded first-class honours degree in PPE (Politics, Philosophy, and Economics) at Balliol College, Oxford.
Sayers starts work on *The Emperor Constantine* (for Colchester Cathedral Festival), and starts her translation of *Purgatory*.
- 1949 *Creed or Chaos?*, a collection of seven of her essays, published.
Penguin Classics publishes her translation of *Hell (Inferno)*.
- 1950 Mac Fleming is taken into hospital in April.
Sayers awarded Honorary Doctor of Letters by the University of Durham in May.
Mac dies of a stroke on 9 June.
- 1951 Performance of *The Emperor Constantine* at Colchester Festival, which is soon published.
- 1952 Appointed churchwarden at St Thomas's Church, Regent Street, London. Serves for the remaining years of her life.
- 1953 Involved in the restoration of St Thomas's Church.
- 1954 Kathleen Nott attacks Sayers and other Christian apologists in her *The Emperor's Clothes*.
Sayers completes the translation of *Purgatory* from *The Divine Comedy*.

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- 1955 *Introductory Papers on Dante* published.
Translation of Dante's *Purgatory* published.
Temporarily puts aside her work on Dante's *Paradise* to translate the medieval *The Song of Roland*.
- 1957 Article, "Christian Belief about Heaven and Hell", appears in the *Sunday Times*.
Becomes a godmother to her adult friend (and later, editor and biographer), Barbara Reynolds.
Dies suddenly, Tuesday 17 December, just after returning home to Witham from a brief visit to London.
- 1962 Penguin Classics publishes *Paradise*, completed by Barbara Reynolds after death of Sayers.
- 1973 Sayers' short story, "Striding Folly", published in a book collection with "Tallboys" and "The Haunted Policeman".
- 1975 Janet Hitchman's *Such a Strange Lady*, published.
This is the first biography of Sayers, and it revealed the secret that Sayers was the mother of Anthony Fleming.
- 1976 Formation of The Dorothy L. Sayers Society.

Appendix

Charles Williams' review of *The Nine Tailors* by Dorothy L. Sayers

“The new Sayers” is not merely admirable; it is adorable. There were, in Miss Sayers’s more recent books, signs that a strange element was struggling to be free. In one this element seemed like philosophy; in one like fantasy. It has now become perfectly freed itself, and become perfectly united with her other capacities. *The Nine Tailors* is consequently not a tale of murder, but an experience of life. There is a murder, and there is detection; there is Lord Peter Wimsey. The surroundings are the Fen country; church bells, with all the art of their ringing; a vicar and the villagers; dykes, and the breaking of dykes, and a flood. Laughter and pity and terror, clarity and mystery, inform all these things, and as Miss Sayer’s perfect mastery moves on to its climax in the tower of the church where the refugees, admirably ordered by a mortal and immortal ritual, find shelter, the book becomes in itself a kind of judgment. The powers of earth and air denounce and encourage, and below them lies the wide sweep of waters. There is nothing supernatural – unless indeed we and our life and all our art are supernatural, as some have

held. But it is the reflection of our dark and passionate life itself which those waters hold and those bells proclaim. It is a great book.

News Chronicle, 17, January 1934, p. 4.

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Notes

Chapter 1

- ¹ Letter from William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Dorothy L. Sayers, 4 September 1943, quoted in *From the Reformation to the Permissive Society: A Miscellany in Celebration of the 400th Anniversary of Lambeth Palace Library*, by Melanie Barber, Gabriel Sewell, Stephen Taylor (Martlesham, Ipswich: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), p. 577.
- ² When writing about Sayers as a child in her school days and before, I generally use “Dorothy”. For a while as an infant she was known as “Dossie” – from her first attempt to say her own name. “Dorothy” means “God’s gift”, and her parents would most likely have been aware of the meaning when they named her. Her friends, including C.S. Lewis and Charles Williams, called her “Dorothy”. Other friends called her “DLS”.
- ³ Letter from William Temple, *ibid.*
- ⁴ Letter to DLS from Charles Williams, 13 August 1943, housed in The Wade Collection of letters of Charles Williams. Williams’ point is rather similar to a challenge he made to his friend C.S. Lewis over his propensity to intellectually argue the case for Christianity, as in his book, *The Problem of Pain* (see Colin Duriez, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography of Friendship* [Oxford: Lion Books, 2013], p. 175). This reflects Williams’ strong affinity with the influential Danish Christian philosopher, Søren Kierkegaard, who many regard as the father of existentialism and who perhaps helped to seed post-modernism.
- ⁵ Her later review in 1955 of C.S. Lewis’ memoir, *Surprised by Joy*, affirms the importance of the feeling of longing or sweet desire (*Sehnsucht*) in Lewis’ road to God and then conversion to Christ, her response suggesting that her Christian belief did have emotional as well as intellectual depth (see DLS, “Christianity Regained”, *Time and Tide*, 1 October 1955).

⁶ She was eventually awarded an honorary doctorate in letters from the University of Durham. If she had accepted the Lambeth doctorate in theology, she would have been the first woman to receive one, a fact of which she was very much aware. There are many parallels between Sayers and C.S. Lewis, one of which is that he declined the honour of being made an OBE in December 1951 on the grounds that he did not wish to be associated in his beliefs with the Conservative government of the time, in his position as a well-known defender of Christianity.

⁷ Acts 21:39.

⁸ The memoir is *My Edwardian Childhood* and the novel *Cat o' Mary*. Her biographers, James Brabazon and also Barbara Reynolds (friend and Italian scholar), both demonstrate that the novel closely follows Dorothy's early life, changing the names of people and places that are easily identified. The memoirs are published together in *Dorothy L. Sayers: Child and Woman of Her Time, Volume Five (A Supplement to the Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers)*, (The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, Cambridge: Carole Green Publishing, 2002).

⁹ Margaret Leigh, *The Fruit in the Seed* (London: Phoenix House, 1952). This would have been the famous "Alfred Jewel", referring to King Alfred the Great.

¹⁰ The borough of Greenwich lies on the banks of the River Thames in London.

¹¹ The local name for the River Thames.

¹² I've not been able to ascertain which of the town centre streets accommodated the dentist's surgery. For an account of such memories see Sayers' unfinished memoir, *My Edwardian Childhood*, and incomplete novel, *Cat o' Mary* in Reynolds, *Supplement to the Letters*, vol. 5.

Chapter 2

¹ William Shakespeare, *As You Like It* (1623), Act 2, Scene 7.

² Associated with the sport of bandy, which was played on ice, here using frozen floodwater.

- ³ British History online, *A History of the County of Huntingdon: Volume 2*. Originally published by Victoria County History, London, 1932, pp. 153–58, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol2/> (last viewed 17 April 2020).
- ⁴ Leigh, *The Fruit in the Seed*, pp. 32–33.
- ⁵ DLS, “The Fen Floods: Fiction and Fact”, *The Spectator*, 2 April 1937, p. 611. <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/2nd-april-1937/7/the-fen-floods-fiction-and-fact> (last viewed 17 April 2020). Though after graduation at Somerville College Dorothy no longer lived permanently in the Fen country, but in Oxford, London, and other places, she is here locating her home as with her parents. When her father died in 1928 her mother automatically lost the tied house at Christchurch in the Fens, and came to live with Sayers in Witham, Essex.
- ⁶ Leigh, *The Fruit in the Seed*, p. 32. From Sayers’ accounts and fictional portrayals of parsons, Henry comes over as more hardworking and conscientious than Margaret Leigh’s thumbnail sketch of him.
- ⁷ Leigh, *The Fruit in the Seed*, p. 32.
- ⁸ Leigh, *The Fruit in the Seed*, p. 33.
- ⁹ Climate change is likely to dramatically alter the region as sea-levels rise. For the enormous impact of sea-level in the North Sea on East Anglia, see A.E. Trueman, *Geology and Scenery in England and Wales* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, revised edition, 1971), p. 143. Sayers points out the dangerous nature of the North Sea for the Fen country in DLS, “The Fen Floods: Fiction and Fact”.
- ¹⁰ DLS, “The Fen Floods: Fiction and Fact”.
- ¹¹ DLS, “The Fen Floods: Fiction and Fact”.
- ¹² Leigh, *The Fruit in the Seed*, p. 33.
- ¹³ The classic children’s story, Philippa Pearce’s *Tom’s Midnight Garden* (1958), is set near this area. The story tells how, in the particularly cold winter of 1895 (when Dorothy was two), Tom and his friend Hatty skated along frozen rivers to Ely on local skates called Fen runners (used in bandy matches).
- ¹⁴ Percival Leigh, *Comic Latin Grammar* (Fleet Street, London: Charles Tilt, 1840), p. 6.

- ¹⁵ Leigh, *Comic Latin Grammar*, p.6.
- ¹⁶ The medieval foundation of learning, where the three “roads” of grammar, rhetoric, and logic meet.
- ¹⁷ See DLS, “The Lost Tools of Learning” in *The Poetry of Search and the Poetry of Statement* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963), p.165.
- ¹⁸ See *Cat o’Mary*, in Reynolds, *Supplement to the Letters*, vol. 5, pp. 65–66.
- ¹⁹ *Cat o’Mary*, in Reynolds, *Supplement to the Letters*, vol. 5, p. 67.
- ²⁰ *Cat o’Mary*, in Reynolds, *Supplement to the Letters*, vol. 5, p. 67.
- ²¹ See chapter 5.
- ²² From *The Godolphin Book: 1726–1926*; see godolphin.org.
- ²³ See DLS, *Whose Body?* (1923), chapter 5.
- ²⁴ Katherine is Oxford-born and her pride in this was life-long, along with her father being head of the Choir School at Wolsey College for Christ Church in the novel.
- ²⁵ Miss White helped Dorothy in her studies for a scholarship by sending lessons in French literature by post.
- ²⁶ Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board Higher Certificate Examinations.

Chapter 3

- ¹ Vera Brittain, *The Women at Oxford: A Fragment of History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 123. Brittain quotes from Vera Farnell: *A Somervillian Looks Back* (privately printed by the Oxford University Press, 1948).
- ² Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p. 123, quoting Vera Farnell’s memoirs of Somerville College.
- ³ Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p. 123.
- ⁴ Legally, the courses at Somerville had been thoughtfully set up so that if the university in the future chose to confer degrees to women, graduates could receive them retrospectively, as Dorothy in fact did in 1920. There was however no assurance in 1912 that this change would happen, because of a deep-set cultural fear of women’s emancipation.

- ⁵ See <https://www.some.ox.ac.uk/about-somerville/history/> (last viewed 10 February 2020).
- ⁶ Mary Somerville recollected: “Nothing has afforded me so convincing a proof of the unity of the Deity as these purely mental conceptions of numerical and mathematical science... the Differential Calculus... [and] the Higher Algebra, all of which must have existed in that sublimely omniscient Mind from eternity.... Age has not abated my zeal for the emancipation of my sex from the unreasonable prejudice too prevalent in Great Britain against a literary and scientific education for women.... The warmth with which [William] Somerville [her husband] entered into my success deeply affected me; for not one in ten thousand would have rejoiced at it as he did.” (Quoted in “Luminary of Science: Mary Somerville” in *Somerville Magazine*, 2015, p. 17. <http://www.some.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Somerville-Magazine-2015-pages.pdf> (last viewed 10 February 2020).
- ⁷ To explore this even in an introductory way would take a whole book in itself. There are a number of scholarly studies – monographs and books – of DLS’s thought, in terms of gender study, feminism, insights into human creativity, the defining essence of the human being, the nature of work, social and cultural understanding, the impact of war, popular theology, medievalism, and Christian apologetics.
- ⁸ See DLS, “The Lost Tools of Learning”, in *The Poetry of Search and the Poetry of Statement*, p. 166; “amo, amas, amat” is from the conjugation of the verb “to love”.
- ⁹ Amphyllis Middlemore was only at Somerville for four terms before leaving for home-based accommodation for women in education under the Society of Home-Students in January 1914. The history of the Society of Home-Students is given at: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol3/pp351-353> (last viewed 15 February 2020).
- ¹⁰ For a connection between the MAS and the Somerville College novelists, see Susan J. Leonardi’s extensive study, *Dangerous by Degrees: Women at Oxford and the Somerville College Novelists* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989), pp. 51 ff.

- ¹¹ According to Ralph E. Hone, quoting Charis Frankenburg, in *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Literary Biography*, p. 17.
- ¹² Hone, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, p. 144.
- ¹³ Hone, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, p. 17.
- ¹⁴ Barbara Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul* (Dorothy L. Sayers Society, Cambridge: Carole Green Publishing), p. 69.
- ¹⁵ Account of the revelation to the *Daily Express* journalist given by Hone in *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Literary Biography*, pp. 32, 68–69.
- ¹⁶ *Women and a Changing Civilisation*, p. 56; quoted in Leonardi, *Dangerous by Degrees*, pp. 57–58.
- ¹⁷ See Leonardi's *Dangerous by Degrees*.
- ¹⁸ Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth*, p. 213.
- ¹⁹ See DLS, "Eros in Academe" in *Oxford Outlook*, I (June 1919), pp. 110–115.
- ²⁰ See chapter 5.
- ²¹ See Leonardi's *Dangerous by Degrees*.
- ²² The school is beautifully explored in Leonardi's *Dangerous by Degrees*. Other notable writers who were not novelists as such came out of Somerville, such as Sayers' cousin Margaret Leigh.
- ²³ Doreen Wallace's *The Tithe War*, was published 1934, a year before Sayers' *Gaudy Night*.
- ²⁴ A.L.P. Norrington, *Blackwell's 1879–1979: The History of a Family Firm* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p. 63.
- ²⁵ Quoted by Hone, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, p. 25.
- ²⁶ Leonardi, *Dangerous by Degrees*, p. 57.
- ²⁷ DLS letter to her parents, 21 May 1913.
- ²⁸ Quoted in James Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), p. 54.
- ²⁹ George Saintsbury, introduction in *Tristan in Brittany* (London: Ernest Benn, 1929), p. xxvii.
- ³⁰ See Barbara Reynolds, *The Passionate Intellect: Dorothy L. Sayers' Encounter with Dante* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2005), pp. 219–20.
- ³¹ See C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (1936) on Chaucer's *Troilus* in chapter 4, "Chaucer", and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* in chapter 7, the latter depicting "the final struggle between the romance of marriage and the romance of adultery".

- ³² Brittain had heard just that day of Victor Richardson's meningitis, from which he recovered. He was blinded in combat at Vimy Ridge in April 1917, dying from his wounds after two months. Vera Brittain's fiancé Roland Leighton died in action in December 1915, as did her brother Edward, June 1918. She tells their story in *Testament of Youth* (1933). A film of the same name, based on her book and diary, appeared in 2014.
- ³³ Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth*, p. 186.
- ³⁴ Brittain, *The Women at Oxford* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 123.
- ³⁵ It was later turned into Dorothy Sayers' novel of the same name, about the immediate aftermath of the marriage of Lord Peter and detective Harriet Vane, and much more. See chapter 8.
- ³⁶ Rachel Trickett, "David as Tutor" in Hannah Cranborne (ed.), *David Cecil: A Portrait by his Friends* (Wimborne, Dorset: The Dovecote Press, 1990), p. 79.
- ³⁷ See DLS, "Preface" to Chesterton's play, *The Surprise*, London, 1952, quoted in Alzina Stone Dale, *Maker and Craftsman: The Story of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1978), p. 37.
- ³⁸ DLS letters to her parents, 17–18 May 1914.
- ³⁹ DLS letters to her parents, 17–18 May 1914.
- ⁴⁰ Quoted in Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth*, p. 213.
- ⁴¹ Leigh, *The Fruit in the Seed*, p. 59.
- ⁴² More details about war-time nursing can be found in Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* and *Chronicle of Youth*.
- ⁴³ Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p. 123.
- ⁴⁴ David Coomes, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Careless Rage for Life* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1992), p. 55.
- ⁴⁵ From a brief plot summary (student author unknown) quoted in Janet Hitchman, *Such a Strange Lady: A Biography of Dorothy L. Sayers (1893–1957)* (London: NEL Paperback, New English Library, 1976), p. 37.
- ⁴⁶ "The Bicycle Secretary's Song" includes the long "little list", snippets of which are here quoted. The song is only to be found in the typewritten script used by the student performers; it has never been published in full, to my knowledge. Stanzas from "The

Bicycle Secretary's Song" are quoted in Coomes, *A Careless Rage for Life*, pp. 55–56, and Janet Hitchman's *Such a Strange Lady: A Biography of Dorothy L. Sayers* (New York: Harper and Row), p. 22.
⁴⁷ Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth*, p. 263.

Chapter 4

- ¹ A.L.P. Norrington, *Blackwell's 1879–1979*, p. 63.
- ² As far back as January 1914, in a letter to her parents, she mentions a "ghost craze" sweeping Somerville, and that M.R. James' *Ghost Stories of an Antiquary* (1911) was in the College library, "very nice and nasty!"
- ³ "Outside the Classroom" in D.H.R. by Member of Staff 1916–1935 B.H.S; 1935–1957 T.H. See https://www.flickr.com/photos/alwyn_ladell/18227747831/in/album-72157653224505489 (last viewed 18 February 2020).
- ⁴ Charis Frankenburg wrote the autobiographical, *Not Old Madam, Vintage* (Lavenham, Suffolk: Galaxy Press, 1975).
- ⁵ "Mr Geoffrey Pyke: Fearless Innovator", *The Times* obituary, 26 February 1948.
- ⁶ The Godolphin School Old Girls [sic] News, Christmas 1915, <https://godolphinww1.com/tag/salisbury-infirmarary/> (last viewed 17 March 2017).
- ⁷ See *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction*, http://www.sf-encyclopedia.com/entry/jaeger_muriel (last viewed 18 February 2020).
- ⁸ In DLS, *In the Teeth of the Evidence and Other Stories* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939).
- ⁹ A well-known example of this kind of poem is Tolkien's "Lay of Leithian" (concerning Beren and Lúthien). Never completed, the poem was published after Tolkien's death, in *The Lays of Beleriand* (1985), one of the volumes of "The History of Middle-earth". He began writing the poem during the First World War.
- ¹⁰ See letter from J.R.R. Tolkien to Christopher Tolkien, 6 October 1944, in Humphrey Carpenter (ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), pp. 94–96.
- ¹¹ DLS letter to her parents, written in Hull around 30 January 1936 (exact day of writing is unknown).

- ¹² The letter was written to Muriel Jaeger.
- ¹³ For more on the Inklings, see my *The Oxford Inklings: Lewis, Tolkien, and Their Circle* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2015).
- ¹⁴ They met while Dorothy Sayers was working for Blackwell's, and Doreen Wallace a second-year student at Somerville.
- ¹⁵ See Hitchman, *Such a Strange Lady*, p. 51.
- ¹⁶ Hone, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, p. 31.
- ¹⁷ Hone, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, pp. 31–32.
- ¹⁸ Hone, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, p. 32.
- ¹⁹ Hitchman's view is endorsed by DLS' biographer and close friend, Barbara Reynolds.
- ²⁰ In February 1919.
- ²¹ Norrington, *Blackwell's 1879–1979*, p. 61
- ²² Norrington, *Blackwell's 1879–1979*, p. 63. Basil Blackwell mistakenly remembered the length of Dorothy's employment. It was about two years, not three, with Dorothy leaving around June 1919.
- ²³ DLS had been greatly influenced in reading Chesterton's *Orthodoxy* while at school.
- ²⁴ G.K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*, chapter 6.
- ²⁵ My thanks to my friend the late David Porter, who brought the Maynard controversy to my attention while we were writing *The Inklings Handbook* together (2001). See also Reynolds, *Her Life and Soul*, pp. 81–82, and Grevel Lindop, *Charles Williams: The Third Inking* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 73–75.
- ²⁶ Both reviews by Maynard were for G.K. Chesterton's *The New Witness*.
- ²⁷ Adapted from Colin Duriez and David Porter, *The Inklings Handbook*, pp 155–56. Used by permission.
- ²⁸ See Eric Whelpton, *The Making of a European* (London: Johnson Publications, 1974), p. 128.
- ²⁹ Whelpton, *The Making of a European*, pp. 141 ff.
- ³⁰ See Malcolm Graham, *Oxford in the Great War* (Barnsley, S. Yorks.: Pen & Sword Military, 2014), p.141.
- ³¹ Vera Brittain describes the award ceremony of 14 October 1920 in her *The Women at Oxford*, p. 155–57.

³² Mary Abbott, *Family Affairs: A History of the Family in Twentieth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 12.

Chapter 5

¹ W. Somerset Maugham, *The Summing Up* (London: Random House, Vintage, 2010), pp. 216–17.

² Sayers' letter to her parents, 2 November 1919.

³ See her introduction in DLS (ed.), *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery, and Horror*, vol. 1 (London: Victor Gollancz, 1928).

⁴ Letter to John Cournos, 27 October 1924

⁵ Doreen Wallace is acknowledged by DLS' first biographer, Janet Hitchman, as a source of help in writing *Such a Strange Lady* (1975), to whom the book is dedicated.

⁶ Quoted in Hitchman, *ibid.*, p. 54.

⁷ DLS, *Gaudy Night*, opening of Chapter 1.

⁸ There is no specific information on how Cournos and DLS met, but it is possible that 44, Mecklenburgh Square played some part in their coming into contact, and their restrained love affair. *Square Haunting* (2020) by Francesca Wade throws some new light on the cultural and social importance of the Square in that period.

⁹ "Art and Ardor in World War One: Selected Letters from H.D. to John Cournos", Donna Krolik Hollenberg (ed.), *The Iowa Review*, vol. 16, Issue 3, Fall: H.D. Centennial Issue, 1986.

¹⁰ The letters can be found in Barbara Reynolds (ed.), *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers 1899–1933; the Making of a Detective Novelist*, pp. 215–41.

¹¹ H.D. describes his room in her *Bid Me to Live*.

¹² Later, Lady Ottoline Morrell moved to London and continued hosting gatherings of members of the Bloomsbury Group. Cournos also met Yeats in Oxford city, in 1920; Yeats told him he liked his recent novel, *The Mask*, and invited Cournos to his house in Broad Street (John Cournos, *Autobiography*, p. 33). The following year Yeats invited a youthful C.S. Lewis to his house; Lewis vividly described the furnishings and odd ramblings of the wizard-like poet (Walter Hooper, ed., *C.S. Lewis: Collected Letters, Vol. I, Family Letters 1905–1931*; London: HarperCollins, 2000, pp. 530–32).

- ¹³ John Courmos, *Hear, O Israel* (London: Methuen, 1938), Chapter XXV, p. 147.
- ¹⁴ Sayers' letter to her parents, 18 January 1922.
- ¹⁵ John Courmos, *Autobiography*, p. 332.
- ¹⁶ After Courmos' death in 1966, his stepson Alfred Satterthwaite wrote a long, fair, and insightful article about his stepfather's life, "John Courmos and 'H.D.,'" in *Twentieth Century Literature*, vol. 22, No. 4 (December 1976), pp. 394–410.
- ¹⁷ Possibly named after John Courmos.
- ¹⁸ Sayers' letter to parents, 18 December 1922.
- ¹⁹ The infant was first called John Anthony White, employing his father's surname, but later he was called John Anthony Fleming, sometime after Sayers married "Mac" Oswald Atherton Fleming in 1926.
- ²⁰ See *Cat o' Mary* in Reynolds, *Supplement to the Letters*, vol. 5, p. 140.
- ²¹ His birth name was Arthur, but at some point he started to use "Atherton" instead.
- ²² Atherton Fleming, *The Gourmet's Book of Food and Drink* (London: John Lane, 1933).
- ²³ Capt. Atherton Fleming, *How to See the Battlefields*, from chapter 3, "The Somme and Cambrai" (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1919), pp. 44–45.
- ²⁴ The pub was located at 67, Fleet Street, but closed down in 1971.
- ²⁵ Sayers' letter to Ivy Shrimpton, 15 March 1926.
- ²⁶ See Janet Hitchman, *Such a Strange Lady*.

Chapter 6

- ¹ In *Basil*, in *Complete Works of Wilkie Collins: Novels, Short Stories, Plays and Memoirs* (e-artnow, 2015; contact info@artnow.org; ISBN 978-80-268-3757-2; Apple Books), p. 5193.
- ² See Brian Sibley, *The Book of Guinness Advertising* (Enfield, Middlesex: Guinness Books, 1985).
- ³ "Dorothy L. Sayers", in Ian Brunskill (ed.), *Great Lives: A Century in Obituaries* (London: Times Books, 2007), pp. 168–70.

- ⁴ Quoted in theguardian.com, 11 June 2008: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/jun/11/dorothylsayers> (last viewed 20 April 2020).
- ⁵ Sayers' letter to her parents, 15 June 1922.
- ⁶ I am indebted to Seona Ford for this observation, noted in The Dorothy L. Sayers Society Bulletin, Spring 2018.
- ⁷ Campaigning began with Benson's on 28 September 1926, and ran until March 1933.
- ⁸ Quoted in Brabazon's *Biography*, p. 135.
- ⁹ The portrait and drawing are placed in the illustrations following p. 44 in Brabazon's *Biography*.
- ¹⁰ Brabazon's *Biography*, p. 135.
- ¹¹ Sibley, *The Book of Guinness Advertising*, p. 88.
- ¹² Sayers' letter to her mother, 12 July 1926.
- ¹³ In R.A. Bevan's obituary in *The Times*, 7 January 1975, R.D. Bloomfield, a former colleague, says: "Asked about the characters in this book [*Murder Must Advertise*] Bevan once said to me, 'Miss Meteyard was Dorothy herself.'"
- ¹⁴ Janet Hitchman, *Such a Strange Lady*, p. 59.
- ¹⁵ From "The Lost Tools of Learning", given as a lecture in 1947, and published as a pamphlet in 1948. Taken from Sayers' *The Poetry of Search and the Poetry of Statement*, p. 157.
- ¹⁶ James Brabazon, in his biography, writes that the house was known locally as Cocksparrow Hall, and that Ivy changed its name to The Sidelings. Today, however, there is a house called Cocksparrow Hall that stands as a neighbour to The Sidelings.
- ¹⁷ Janet Gyford, "Mike Wadhams and 'Cocksmiths' (22–26 Newland Street. Witham)", in *Essex Archaeology and History News*, no. 111, April 1991.

Chapter 7

- ¹ Sayers pointed out that the book of Susanna was one of the first detection stories. See Dorothy L., Sayers (Ed.) Introduction to *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery, and Horror*, vol. 1 (London: Victor Gollancz, 1928), p. 9.

- ² Cleveland Moffett, *Through the Wall* (1909), accessed via *Project Gutenberg*, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11373/11373-h/11373-h.htm> (last viewed 21 December 2020).
- ³ She perhaps had Sayers in mind when she offered this advice in her preface to *Ask a Policeman* – or was she thinking of her Belgian detective, Poirot?
- ⁴ It was read out by Bishop Bell, with whom Sayers had become well acquainted in later years. The extract is from Lesley Walmsley (ed.), “A Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers” in *C.S. Lewis: Essay Collection and Other Short Pieces* (London: HarperCollins, 2000), pp. 567–70.
- ⁵ DLS, *Whose Body?* (1923), *Clouds of Witness* (1926), *Unnatural Death* (1927) [in USA, titled *The Dawson Pedigree* (1928)], *The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club* (1928), *Lord Peter Views the Body* (1928), with *Strong Poison* (1930) in preparation, as well as a crime novel that did not feature Lord Peter, and which was co-authored with Robert Eustace: *The Documents in the Case* (1930).
- ⁶ Australian novelist, playwright, and historian, born 1897. After Simpson’s untimely death in 1940, Sayers wrote a tribute to her in *The Fortnightly* (London: Chapman and Hall), vol. 155, January 1941, pp. 54–59.
- ⁷ Later he wrote as Francis Iles, as in his *Malice Aforethought* (1931).
- ⁸ In her preface to *Ask a Policeman*, in which six members of the club collectively created a mystery serial, Christie praises Anthony Berkeley as founder of the flourishing the “Detective [sic] Club”.
- ⁹ G.K. Chesterton, “The Detection Club” in *Strand Magazine*, 1933, p. 462, quoted in “Seventy Years of Swearing Upon Eric the Skull: Genre and Gender in Selected Works by Detection Club Writers Dorothy L. Sayers and Agatha Christie” – a dissertation submitted to Kent State University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Monica L. Lott, May 2013.
- ¹⁰ She knew the talented Victor Gollancz well as an editor with her publisher Benn, who subsequently set up his own, highly successful, publishing house.

- ¹¹ DLS (ed.), *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery, and Horror*, vol. 1 (London: Victor Gollancz, 1928), pp. 9–10. A majority of the five tales concern his detective, Chevalier C. Auguste Dupin (the forerunner of sleuths such as Sherlock Holmes and Lord Peter Wimsey), and are: “The Murders in the Rue Morgue” (1841), “The Mystery of Marie Rogêt” (1842), “The Purloined Letter” (1844), “The Gold Bug” (1843) and “Thou Art the Man” (1844).
- ¹² From “The Vindictive Story of the Footsteps that Ran” in *Lord Peter Views the Body* (1928), broadcast 10 January 1939, at 7:30 p.m.; the play was written and produced by John Cheatele.
- ¹³ P.D. James, *Talking About Detective Fiction* (Oxford and London: Bodleian Library and Faber and Faber, 2010), pp. 18–19.
- ¹⁴ This brought together a large group of collaborators which included: G.K. Chesterton, Canon Victor L. Whitechurch, G.D.H. and M. Cole, Henry Wade, Agatha Christie, John Rhode, Milward Kennedy, Sayers, Ronald Knox, Freeman Wills Crofts, Edgar Jepson, Clemence Dane, and Anthony Berkeley.
- ¹⁵ Quoted in Maisie Ward, *Gilbert Keith Chesterton* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1944), p. 468.
- ¹⁶ Named *Suspicious Characters* in the US edition later that year.
- ¹⁷ This could perhaps be a sign of encroaching dementia.
- ¹⁸ See her cousin’s visits to Bluntisham in Sayers’ youth in chapter 2.
- ¹⁹ See James Brabazon’s *Biography*, p. 151. The biography was authorized by Sayers’ son, Anthony Fleming, after his relationship with DLS had been publicly revealed, for the first time, seventeen years after her death, with the publication of Janet Hitchman’s *Such a Strange Lady* in 1975. Sayers had wished that no biography of her would appear until fifty years after her death.

Chapter 8

- ¹ From Agatha Christie’s preface in *Ask a Policeman* by members of the Detection Club, Eightieth Anniversary Edition (London: Harper, 2013), p. xv.
- ² See Sayers’ letter to her publisher Victor Gollancz, 26 September 1935.

- ³ Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p. 124.
- ⁴ See chapter 3.
- ⁵ Sayers' letter to Muriel St Clare Byrne, 14 February 1935.
- ⁶ Sayers' letter to C.S. Lewis, date unknown.
- ⁷ Agatha Christie's preface in *Ask a Policeman*. In Martin Edwards' foreword to the edition, he comments that Agatha Christie wrote her preface "in 1945, at the request of the Ministry of Information, for publication in a Russian magazine. Presumably because she was confident that none of her peers in the Detection Club would come across her comments, she was quite candid".
- ⁸ In a letter to his son Christopher on 25 May 1944.
- ⁹ Ann Loades, "Dorothy L. Sayers", in Lindsay Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* (Detroit, USA: Macmillan Reference, vol. 12, second edition, 2005), p. 8142.
- ¹⁰ The play was published, and then included in *Famous Plays of 1937* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1937), pp. 285–428.
- ¹¹ Sayers' letter to Ivy Shrimpton, 21 August 1934. PTSD was common among survivors of conflict in the First World War. In her stories, Sayers has Lord Peter afflicted with likely symptoms of such stress.
- ¹² They apparently first met on the doorstep of a mutual London dentist's around October 1941 according to Sayers' letter to T.S. Eliot on 16 October 1941.
- ¹³ London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1939.
- ¹⁴ Ann Loades, "Dorothy L. Sayers", in Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 8142.
- ¹⁵ C.S. Lewis, "A Panegyric For Dorothy L. Sayers", in Lesley Walmsley (ed.), *C.S. Lewis*, pp. 567–70.
- ¹⁶ See chapter 4.
- ¹⁷ From the cover jacket of the first edition of *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, edited by C.S. Lewis (London: Oxford University Press, 1947). Sayers would be a leading contributor.
- ¹⁸ Published January 1934.
- ¹⁹ Quoted in Reynolds, *Her Life and Soul*, p. 242.
- ²⁰ Grevel Lindop, *Charles Williams*, pp. 97–98.

- ²¹ Blamires was under Lewis' tutorage at Oxford, and the two became friends. See Colin Duriez, *J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis: The Story of Their Friendship* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2003), pp. 73–74.
- ²² Quoted in translation by Sylvanius Urban, Gent., *The Gentleman's Magazine & Historical Chronicle*, Vol. 42 (London, 1772), p. 261.
- ²³ Sayers' letter to Laurence Irving, 26 February 1937.
- ²⁴ R.C. Moberly, *Atonement and Personality* (London: Murray, 1901), p. 174.
- ²⁵ John Thurmer, *A Detection of the Trinity* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1984), p. 49.
- ²⁶ From, DLS, "Is There a Definite Evil Power?" in Ronald Selby Wright (ed.), *Asking Them Questions: A Selection* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 49–52.

Chapter 9

- ¹ From Martin Edwards' foreword to *Ask a Policeman* (London: Harper, 2013, eightieth edition), p. xi.
- ² Lewis once commented in *Encounter* magazine that Sayers probably was unaware of the existence of the Inklings – an all-male circle of literary friends around Lewis. Charles Williams, a member of the group, however, wrote of a such a circle surrounding Lewis which met at Magdalen College. Sharing Sayers' humour and skill with literary allusion and play, Williams described Lewis in his correspondence with her as the King of Camelot. It was almost certainly clear to her that while Lewis was King of the Court, Williams would be Taliessin, the Welsh poet of Arthur's Court. Taliessin was a central figure in Williams' outstanding cycle of Arthurian poems. Williams told her that, at Magdalen, he had shared some of her delightful responses to reading Dante, found in her letters to him, with Camelot (letters which were to make up much of her essay in the posthumous tribute, *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*).

- ³ Ann Loades, preface to *Dorothy L. Sayers: The Christ of the Creeds & Other Broadcast Messages to the British People during World War II* (Hurstpierpoint, West Sussex: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 2008), p. v.
- ⁴ See Sayers' preface to *The Devil to Pay* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1930), p. 7.
- ⁵ J.R.R. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories" in C.S. Lewis (ed.) *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, p. 83.
- ⁶ Richard Baxter, *Church-history of the Government of Bishops* (1680).
- ⁷ Letter to DLS, 14 December 1945 in Walter Hooper (ed.), *C.S. Lewis: Collected Letters, Vol. II* (London: HarperCollins, 2004), p. 682.
- ⁸ See Walter Hooper, *C.S. Lewis: A Companion and Guide* (London: Harper Collins, 1996), pp. 33–34.
- ⁹ C.S. Lewis, *Miracles* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1947).
- ¹⁰ Sherwood E. Wirt, "An interview with C.S. Lewis", *Decision* magazine, September 1963.
- ¹¹ See Justin Phillips, *C.S. Lewis at the BBC: Messages of Hope in the Darkness of War* (London: HarperCollins, 2002), pp. 191–220; David Coomes, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Careless Rage for Life*; James Welch's foreword in DLS, *The Man Born to Be King* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1943); Val Gielgud, "Production Note", in *The Man Born to Be King*, pp. 41–42, and "British Broadcasting in War Time," in *Theatre Arts* periodical (New York: December 1943), pp. 708–14.
- ¹² Phillips, *C.S. Lewis at the BBC*, p. 191.
- ¹³ *The Times*, 27 December 1938.
- ¹⁴ Phillips, *C.S. Lewis at the BBC*, p. 215.
- ¹⁵ Val Gielgud, "British Broadcasting in War Time", in *Theatre Art* periodical, December 1943, p. 712.
- ¹⁶ Around this time, J.B. Phillips, a friend of C.S. Lewis', was translating the New Testament into contemporary English – his objective, like Sayers with her radio drama, was to present Jesus Christ as he was: a real human being of his time, as well as divine.
- ¹⁷ Sayers' letter to A.H. Ross, 19 December 1946.

- ¹⁸This is beautifully set out in a study by historian Mo Moulton in her group biography, *Mutual Admiration Society* (London: Corsair, 2019).
- ¹⁹James Brabazon, *Biography*, p. 184, where he states, “only two books actually appeared”, not revealing the name of the second. The second was in fact *Masters of Reality*, written by Una Ellis-Fermor (London: Methuen, 1942).
- ²⁰From Appendix: “Statement of Aims for the proposed *Bridgehead* [sic] series of books” in James Brabazon, *Biography*.
- ²¹Moulton, *Mutual Admiration Society*, p. 275.
- ²²See Reynolds’ chapter “Search or Statement?” in *The Passionate Intellect*.
- ²³See Reynolds, *Her Life and Soul*, p. 402.
- ²⁴See DLS, “...And Telling You a Story”, p. 1., in *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*.
- ²⁵Published by Ernest Benn, London, 1929.
- ²⁶Reynolds’ foreword in *The Divine Comedy: Paradise* (Dorothy L. Sayers and Barbara Reynolds, trans.) (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 10.

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- ¹ From “A Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers” in C.S. Lewis, *On Stories and Other Essays on Literature* (New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Inc., 1982), p. 95.
- ² Quoted by Mo Moulton in *Mutual Admiration Society*, from James Brabazon’s biography of DLS.
- ³ Alzina Stone Dale (ed.), *Dorothy L. Sayers: The Centenary Celebration* (New York: Walker and Company, 1993), p. 20.
- ⁴ Hitchman, *Such a Strange Lady*.

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