

KEY TO SOME OF THE PERSONALITIES WHOSE NAMES APPEAR IN THE ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPTION OF THE CHICKERING EARLY-INSTRUMENT LOG-BOOK

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This list includes first owners, and others who are mentioned in the annotated transcription because of some connection with one or more of the instruments. The names are presented in alphabetical order¹

Tymoteusz Adamowski (1857–1943): viola da gamba 15. Polish-born violinist, who was a member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra from 1884 to 1907 and thereafter taught at the New England Conservatory until 1933.²

Maude Adams: lute 16. This is probably Maude Ewing Adams Kiskadden (1872–1953), American actress, whose stage name was Maude Adams. She was most celebrated for her leading role in J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*.³

Richard Aldrich (1863–1937): clavichord 3. Music critic for *The New York Times* from 1902 to 1923.⁴ The harpsichordist Putnam Aldrich (1904–1975) was his nephew.

Dr Joseph Humfrey Anger (1862–1913): clavichord 6. Professor of harmony at Toronto Conservatory of Music, and organist of Central Methodist Church, Toronto. Author of a number of works on harmony and music theory.⁵

Mrs S. S. Beman (Mary Howard Beman, 1860–1940): clavichord 24 and octavina 42. She was the wife of Solon Spencer Beman (1853–1914), Chicago architect. She was a keen amateur photographer and took first prize in a competition held in Boston in 1898.⁶

Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924): harpsichord 60. Italian conductor, pianist and composer, living in Berlin. The loan of a harpsichord by Chickering & Sons inspired him to include it on-stage in his opera *Die Brautwahl* (1912). The instrument was returned to Chickering's in 1924 after the composer's death, and was bought by Lotta Van Buren.⁷

Francis Henry Balfour Byrne (1871–1948): clavichords 2 and 4 (see also harpsichord 60). Byrne was the director of Chickering & Sons who in 1905 invited Dolmetsch to join the firm in order to supervise a department making early instruments. He was born in Bridgnorth, Shropshire and emigrated to the USA in 1883, presumably with his family.⁸ According to Mabel Dolmetsch, 'Being of Irish

¹ Where no specific source is given, the information here is derived from public-domain sources available on the internet.

² Thomas G. MacCracken, 'The Dolmetsch-Chickering Viols', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, Vol. 48 (2013–14), p. 47.

³ <http://www.ldsfilm.com/actors/MaudeAdamsBio.html> (accessed 10 April 2022); <http://www.trivia-library.com/a/famous-stage-actress-biography-of-maude-adams.htm> (accessed 10 April 2022).

⁴ See Larry Palmer, *Harpsichord in America*, Indiana University Press, 1989, pp. 18, 38.

⁵ See <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0000079> (accessed 29 March 2022). The surname 'Auger' in some other sources is a mistake; I thank Dr Brian Blood for drawing this to my attention.

⁶ 'Mrs S. S. Beman Wins Honors with a Camera', *The Chicago Sunday Tribune*, 9 January 1898.

⁷ Palmer, *Harpsichord in America*, p. 42.

⁸ See <https://www.familiesunearthed.com/reilly/byrne/francis-henry-balfour.htm> and <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Byrne-5980> (both accessed 21 May 2022).

extraction [he] was of a romantic turn of mind';⁹ perhaps an instance of this was that when Arnold and Mabel's son Rudolph was born, Byrne presented him with a fox-skin, as a fitting gift for an infant hero.¹⁰ He seems to have had both an artistic and a musical training. Later, as vice-president of Ampico (which from 1908 incorporated Chickering & Sons), he played an important part in the development of the Ampico player-piano and the production of piano rolls, recording the playing of such celebrated pianists as Sergei Rachmaninov and Arthur Rubinstein;¹¹ in 1916 he was elected first president of the newly-formed National Association of Music Roll Manufacturers of America.¹²

Charles Theodore Carruth (1851–1926): clavichord 1. Lecturer in the History of Art.

Mrs Oscar K. Cushing (Ina Griffin Cushing, 1856–1955): clavichord 20 and spinet 72. A supporter and benefactress of the San Francisco Conservatory, she was the wife of Oscar Kennedy Cushing (1865–1948), a San Francisco attorney.

Ernest Blaney Dane (1868–1942): clavichord 34, harpsichords 18 and 61, viol 15. Businessman and philanthropist; sometime treasurer of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.¹³

[Eugène] Arnold Dolmetsch (1858–1940): clavichord 19 and harpsichord 55. Pioneer in the performance and study of pre-nineteenth-century music, and in the revival of early instrument making. By the time he began work at Chickering's, he had already made at least eleven clavichords, a harpsichord, and three 'Beethoven pianos' in London. For a full biography, see the article 'Dolmetsch' in the *Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*¹⁴ and the works by Mabel Dolmetsch¹⁵ and Margaret Campbell.¹⁶ Among his grandchildren are the twins Jeanne-Marie Dolmetsch (1942–2018: treble viol 9) and Marguerite Mabel Dolmetsch (b. 1942: tenor viol 12).

Jules-Armand-Joseph Écorcheville (1872–1915): lute 13. French musicologist and collector of instruments and manuscripts.¹⁷

Nils Jonas Ericsson (1871–1933): viols 9 and 12. Swedish-born luthier and keyboard-instrument maker. He was Arnold Dolmetsch's principal assistant at Chickering & Sons. Mabel tells us that his job at Chickering's covering hammer-heads with felt was threatening his health, and Arnold felt he not only benefitted from his skill, but also had possibly saved his life by selecting him for his team.¹⁸ Ericsson loyally followed Dolmetsch and his family to Europe when the Chickering department was closed in 1911, and became Arnold's foreman at Gaveau. When that arrangement came to an end in 1914 he returned to the USA and rejoined the

⁹ Mabel Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1957, pp. 64–5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹¹ *The Music Trades*, Vol. 57, 15 March 1919, p. 40. Online at <http://books.google.com/books?id=1ZxQAAAAAYAAJ>. See also <https://www.georgeglazer.com/archives/maps/archive-nyc/byrnehorn.html> (both accessed 21 May 2022).

¹² *Music Trades Review*, Vol. 62, No 19 (6 May 1916), accessed 21 May 2022 at <https://mtr.arcade-museum.com/MTR-1916-62-19/27/>.

¹³ Private communication from Brian Blood. There is a reference to Dane in Thomas G. MacCracken, 'The Dolmetsch-Chickering Viols' (see note 2).

¹⁴ Margaret Campbell and Lance Whitehead, 'Dolmetsch' in Laurence Libin (ed.), *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second edition, Oxford University Press, 2014.

¹⁵ See note 5.

¹⁶ Margaret Campbell, *Dolmetsch: the Man and his Work*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1975.

¹⁷ https://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/e/ecorcheville_jules.html (accessed 10 April 2022).

¹⁸ Mabel Dolmetsch, *Recollections* (see note 9), p. 66.

staff of Chickering & Sons.¹⁹ Later he became curator of the Belle Skinner collection of musical instruments, and compiled the catalogue which was published in 1933 by her brother, William Skinner. It is from the introduction to that volume that we learn that Ericsson was ‘an expert maker of violins’.²⁰ He would therefore have been able and ready to work on the first group of bowed instruments; and at least two of the viols were substantially made by him.

George Eustis: clavichord 2. This would seem to be George Peabody Eustis (1864–1936), the son of George Eustis Jr. (1828–1872), a politician prominent on the Confederate side in the civil war. George Peabody Eustis had some connection to Venice, since he purchased an Italian picture there which eventually found its way into the Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida.²¹ He later changed his name to George Eustis Corcoran.²² I have been unable to establish his profession, if any.

Charles Henry Wheelwright Foster (1859–1955): octavina 39, viols 5, 7, 10 and 11. President of the Chickering company at the time the early instruments were made, and a keen supporter of the early-instrument venture. He was an enthusiastic amateur musician, and played the cornet and mandolin among other instruments. The first viola da gamba made at Chickering’s (No. 5) was presented to him, whereupon he taught himself to play it, and later performed on it in concerts. He also bought the first octavina to be made (No. 39). He visited the Dolmetsch family in Haslemere after their return to England, and acquired a Haslemere-made recorder, which he taught himself to play.²³

Alison Bozorth Fowle (1927–2008): viola da gamba 15. Pioneering American gambist.²⁴

Archer Gibson (1875–1952): harpsichord 53. Prominent organist in Baltimore and New York.²⁵

Henry Louis Gideon (1877–1955): harpsichord 58. Boston organist.

Richard Silvio Mario de Gozzaldi (1890–1982): clavichord 8. Born in Switzerland to an Austrian father and an American mother, when he purchased clavichord 8 he was a freshman student at Harvard University (class of 1913).²⁶ He later had a career in the U.S. army, and flew aeroplanes in the first World War.²⁷

William Churchill Hammond (1860–1949): clavichord 32. He was professor of music at Mount Holyoke College 1899–1937.²⁸

¹⁹ In 1924 he was among a group of Chickering employees honoured for long service, and he appears in a group photograph on p. 23 of the booklet *The Jonas Chickering Centennial Celebration*, Boston, Chickering & Sons, 1924.

²⁰ William Skinner, *The Belle Skinner Collection of Old Musical Instruments, Holyoke, Massachusetts: a Descriptive Catalogue*, published by the author, 1933, p. ix.

²¹ Object SN 636: see <https://emuseum.ringling.org/emuseum/objects/26242> (accessed 15 March 2022).

²² *Washington Post*, 6 January 1921, p. 14.

²³ Mabel Dolmetsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 83; Molly Warner, *The Musical Life of C. H. W. Foster*, privately published, 2013.

²⁴ Thomas G. MacCracken, ‘The Dolmetsch-Chickering Viols’, (see note 2), p. 45.

²⁵ See <https://www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio/Gibson-Archer.htm> (accessed 26 March 2022).

²⁶ Gregory Crowell, ‘Clavichord Customers at Chickering & Sons, 1906–1914’, *Clavichord International*, Vol. 16 No. 2 (November 2012), p. 45.

²⁷ Caroline Tickner: *New England Aviators 1914–1918*, Boston (Houghton Mifflin), 1919. A photo of Gozzaldi’s grave in Sparkman Hillcrest Memorial Park, Dallas TX can be accessed via www.ancestry.com (subscription required).

²⁸ See <https://aspace.fivecolleges.edu/repositories/2/resources/128> (accessed 26 March 2022).

William Howard Hart (1863–1937): clavichord 26. Distinguished American artist.

Lady Howard de Walden: harpsichord 55. This is Margherita Dorothy Scott-Ellis, née van Raalte (1880–1974), universally known as Margot. With her husband Thomas Evelyn, 8th Baron Howard de Walden (1880–1946), she hosted parties which ‘were famous for their music, their style, and the food served at them’.²⁹ Violet Gordon Woodhouse (harpsichord 55, octavina 70) and Dorothy Swainson (clavichord 36) were among her circle of friends.

Jenkins (no other details known): he or she designed the rose of virginal 13, or perhaps the wreath around the rose.

William Lyman Johnson (1869–1949³⁰): virginal 13. Author of works on the history of the Christian Science movement, musician and composer, especially of Christian Science hymns. He was a close friend of Arnold Dolmetsch during his last four years in Boston, and in an article published in 1946 he wrote about Dolmetsch’s work and visiting him and his family at home.³¹

Mrs Adrian H. Joline (Mary Elizabeth Joline née Larkin, 1853–1926): clavichord 35. She was the wife of Adrian Hoffmann Joline (1850–1912), New York lawyer, businessman, author, bibliophile and autograph collector.³² Mrs Joline gave her collection of musical instruments, presumably including the Chickering clavichord, to Barnard College NY in 1923.³³ In 1992, Barnard college gave the clavichord to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.³⁴

Frances Pelton Jones (1863–1946): harpsichord 57. Pioneer American harpsichord recitalist in the years following Dolmetsch’s departure from the USA.³⁵

Mrs Spencer Kellogg (Jane [Vedder] Kellogg née Morris, 1853–1927): harpsichord 54. Her husband, Spencer Kellogg (1851–1922) was the owner of a linseed oil factory. Apparently no connection with the inventor of Corn Flakes.

Alice Kelsey (*b.* 1882): viola da gamba 15. She was a young pupil of Dolmetsch’s.³⁶

Ralph Kirkpatrick (1911–1984): harpsichords 55, 57 and 60. American harpsichordist and clavichordist; author of a ground-breaking book on the composer Domenico Scarlatti and compiler of a catalogue of his works.

Richard Bennett Marshall: octavinas 65 and 67. See Edward Perry Warren, below.

²⁹ Jessica Douglas-Home, *Violet: the Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse*, London (Harvill Press), 1996, p. 191.

³⁰ My thanks to Stacy Teicher, research associate at Longyear Museum, Chestnut Hill MA, for help in establishing W. L. Johnson’s birth and death dates.

³¹ ‘The Harpsichord in America’ 1884–1946, *Harvard Musical Association Bulletin*, April 1946. See <https://www.classical-scene.com/2009/06/12/the-harpsichord-in-america-1884-%e2%80%93-1946/> (accessed 14 April 2022). Part of the article is quoted in Palmer, *Harpsichord in America*, pp. 28–9. In this article, Johnson mentions the virginal and also says he owned a ‘spinetto’ made at Chickering’s: I have not been able to identify the latter.

³² See <https://blog.mysentimentallibrary.com/2017/06/adrian-h-joline-author-autograph.html> (accessed 9 June 2022). Joline’s papers are deposited at New York Public Library, accession Nos. 42.M.22 and 40.M.152.

³³ ‘Mrs Joline Left Riches to Colleges’ in the *New York Times*, 12 October 1926, p. 17. I thank Gregory Crowell for drawing my attention to this article.

³⁴ See <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/503444> (accessed 27 July 22).

³⁵ Palmer, *Harpsichord in America*, pp. 36–9.

³⁶ Margaret Campbell, *Dolmetsch*, pp. 170–1.

[Amelia] Katherine Wisner McCluskey (1870-1929): psaltery 1. Teacher of drama, poet, actress and co-founder of the Phoenix Players in Phoenix AZ (now the Phoenix Theatre).³⁷ A picture exists of her in costume playing a psaltery – probably this one.³⁸

Thomas G. MacCracken (b. 1951): viola da gamba 15. Musician and organologist.

Mrs George L. Nichols (Mary Chickering Nichols, 1867–1933): clavichord 5. At the time of the Chickering Centennial Celebration (1923) she was the last surviving grandchild of Jonas Chickering, the founder of the firm.³⁹ She was married in 1887 to Captain John FitzHerbert Vernon Ruxton (1863–1892), an Irish immigrant to the USA, who was unfortunately killed in a point-to-point race at Brookline Country Club.⁴⁰ In 1893 she married –

George Livingston Nichols (1860–1932: husband of the above): octavinas 40 and 50. He was a businessman who joined the board of Chickering's in the 1890s;⁴¹ he had apparently given up that position by the time Dolmetsch began work there in 1906.

Frank Everett Peabody (1856–1918): clavichord 74, octavina 66. Businessman; *not* the 'Professor Peabody' mentioned in Mabel's *Recollections* as a particular friend of the Dolmetsch family and Arnold's recorder pupil. That was Francis Greenwood Peabody (1847–1936), theology professor at Harvard University.⁴²

Dr Frederick Peterson (1859–1938): clavichord 22. Psychiatrist, also published poet. From 1903, he was professor of psychiatry at Columbia University, New York.

Dr Saxton Temple Pope (1875–1926): virginal 15. Doctor, teacher, author and outdoorsman, with a particular interest in native American culture.⁴³

Franklin Haven Sargent (1856–1924): psaltery 3. Founder and first president of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts.⁴⁴

Edward Francis Searles (1841–1920): clavichord 7, harpsichord 17, octavina 41. Architect and interior designer.

Mrs S. MacD. Sheridan: spinet 75. This could be the tall, attractive singer referred to in Mabel Dolmetsch's *Recollections* as 'Mrs Sheridan'.⁴⁵ The spinet was repossessed in 1912 and sold to Mrs Jennie Sedgwick of Minneapolis.

Oscar George Theodore Sonneck (1873–1928): clavichord 37. Music historian. He was the head of the music division of the Library of Congress 1902–17, and also editor of *The Musical Quarterly*.

³⁷ See <https://www.phoenixmag.com/2019/12/26/100-years-of-encores/> (accessed 10 April 2022). See also <https://phoenixtheaterhistory.com/companies/phoenix-theatre-phoenix-little-theatre/> (accessed 11 April 2022).

³⁸ <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/191791238/amelia-katherine-mcclusky> (accessed 10 April 2022).

³⁹ *The Jonas Chickering Centennial Celebration* (booklet produced in 1924 by Chickering & Sons recording the centenary celebrations of the previous year), pp. 20–21. See also Frederick C. Torrey, *One Branch of the Chickering Family, and the Complete Ancestry of Mary Chickering Nichols*, Lakehurst NJ, 1919.

⁴⁰ Molly Warner, *The Musical Life of C. H. W. Foster*, privately published, 2013.

⁴¹ Cynthia Adams Hoover, 'Chickering' in Laurence Libin (ed.), *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second edition, Oxford University Press, 2014.

⁴² See Mabel Dolmetsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–9. I thank Dr Brian Blood for identifying the correct person.

⁴³ I thank Richard Troeger for correcting my reading of the name.

⁴⁴ See <https://digital.janeaddams.ramapo.edu/items/show/3185> (accessed 11 April 2022).

⁴⁵ Mabel Dolmetsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82.

Dorothy [Frances Edith] Swainson (1882–1959): clavichord 36. Pioneering English clavichord player and teacher, friend and pupil of Arnold Dolmetsch.⁴⁶

Frank Taft (1861–1947): harpsichord 16. Organist and composer. He was the organist of Wanamaker's store in Philadelphia (see below) and Art Director of the Aeolian Company. No price is given for the harpsichord; this may indicate that it was supplied to him gratis, perhaps because of the Wanamaker connection.⁴⁷

Harold Asa Thomas (1884–1953): clavichord 10. See Edward Perry Warren, below.

Mrs Bernard W. Trafford (Leonora Brooks Borden Trafford, 1873–1936): octavina 46. Her husband, Bernard Walton Trafford (1871–1942), was a prominent banker in Boston.

Lotta Van Buren (1877–1960): clavichord 10 and harpsichord 60. Harpsichord and clavichord recitalist in the years after Dolmetsch's departure from America. She began as a pianist; after studies in Germany, she became an enthusiastic Wagnerite, introducing his music to American audiences in a series of lecture-recitals. Then, after meeting Arnold Dolmetsch in Boston, she became an early-music pioneer, performing in public on clavichord, harpsichord, virginals and octavina, often in historical costume, and sometimes singing to her own accompaniment. She also played the viol and recorder.

She later became a restorer and maker of keyboard instruments, visiting the Dolmetsch workshops in Haslemere several times in the 1920s to learn the skills involved. She was by all accounts a conscientious restorer, for example going to great lengths to find hand-woven cloth of exactly the same weave and colour to replace damaged action cloths. She spent a whole year restoring the instruments in the Morris Steinert Collection for Yale University, and worked on other important collections such as the one at Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia. She also made at least one clavichord.⁴⁸

John Wanamaker (1838–1922): clavichord 30. Owner of a large department store in Philadelphia, where the Dolmetsch consort once gave a performance.⁴⁹ The clavichord he ordered from Chickering's in 1908 was returned unsold in 1911.

Edward Perry Warren (Ned Warren) (1860–1928): clavichord 4, spinet 73, octavinas 43, 44, 65, 67 and 71. Collector of art and antiquities, and author of works 'promoting an idealised view of homosexual relationships' (*Wikipedia*). Universally known as Ned Warren, he inherited enormous wealth from his father, who owned a paper mill and was among the first to make paper out of wood pulp instead of rags. Many of the antiquities now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts were originally found and purchased by him between 1892 and 1902, in collaboration with his friend John Marshall (1860–1928).

Warren occupied Lewes House in Lewes, Sussex from 1889, where he collected around him a group of cultured and like-minded male companions. In Lewes, he would have been a neighbour of the pioneer harpsichordist and clavichordist Violet Gordon Woodhouse (see below) when she was living at nearby Southover Grange (1901–6). I do not know whether they ever met; it seems unlikely, since for much of the relevant period Warren was absent from Lewes in Boston, where he also had a

⁴⁶ Lynne Mirrey, 'Pioneers of the English Clavichord-Playing Revival. 1: Dorothy Swainson', *British Clavichord Society Newsletter* 36 (October 2006), pp. 2–6.

⁴⁷ <https://www.organ-biography.info/> (accessed 26 March 2022).

⁴⁸ Palmer, *Harpsichord in America*, pp. 39–45. See also Dalyn Cook, 'Lotta Van Buren: Pioneering Performer, Educator and Restorer', *Clavichord International*, Vol. 23 No. 1 (May 2019), pp. 7–10.

⁴⁹ Mabel Dolmetsch, *Recollections.*, p. 82.

residence. It seems he met Dolmetsch there, since in a letter he refers to Arnold giving him 'a list of works by Purcell, Couperin etc. which he must buy for Lewes'.⁵⁰

According to Mabel Dolmetsch, Warren was a frequent (and talkative) visitor to the family in Cambridge MA, and also called on them in Fontenay-sous-Bois when Arnold was working at the Gaveau factory.⁵¹ Warren's clavichord playing is mentioned in a letter describing life at Lewes House:

Shortly after dinner one retired to one's study and reading; but when there were guests it was conversation and music, for Warren played the clavichord beautifully, or Thomas the piano.⁵²

Harold Asa Thomas (clavichord 10) was Warren's secretary and principal legatee. Cornelia Warren (octavina 71) was his sister. Richard Bennett Marshall (octavinas 65 and 67) may have been a relative of John Marshall.

Mary Phillips Webster (1858–1950): clavichord 9, harpsichord 52. Concert pianist, teacher and composer, she was active in the movement for women's suffrage.⁵³ Her obituary in the *Boston Globe* says she was 'formerly associated with [the] Chickering company', but does not say in what capacity.⁵⁴

Ralph Radcliffe Whitehead (1854–1929): clavichord 27. Potter. In 1903, together with his wife, the artist Jane Byrd McCall Whitehead (1858–1955), he founded 'Byrdcliffe', an Arts and Crafts colony in the Catskill mountains near Woodstock NY. He was visited there by the Dolmetsch family.⁵⁵

Arthur [Battelle] Whiting (1861–1936): clavichord 23, harpsichord 59. Concert pianist and composer, and one of the first (after Dolmetsch) to give public harpsichord recitals in the US.⁵⁶

Violet Gordon Woodhouse (1870–1948): harpsichord 55, octavina 70. Long-time English friend and pupil of Arnold Dolmetsch, and pioneer harpsichordist and clavichordist in Great Britain. She later acquired two clavichords made by Dolmetsch at the Gaveau factory in Paris, after his departure from Boston.⁵⁷

Latest update: 30 July 2022

⁵⁰ Quoted in Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: the Biography of a Connoisseur*, London (Christopher), 1941. Unfortunately the letter is quoted in indirect speech, and no date or details of the addressee are given.

⁵¹ Mabel Dolmetsch, *Recollections.*, pp. 96–7.

⁵² Harold Woodbury Parsons to Henry Francis, 14 March 1967; quoted in David Sox, *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren & The Lewes House Brotherhood*, London (Fourth Estate), 1991, p. 213.

⁵³ Larry Palmer, 'Autobiography of a Clavichord' in *The Diapason*, December 2015, pp. 12–13.

⁵⁴ *Boston Globe*, 2 April 1950, p. 63

⁵⁵ Mabel Dolmetsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–1.

⁵⁶ See Palmer, *Harpsichord in America*, pp. 32–6, and Mabel Dolmetsch, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁵⁷ See Jessica Douglas-Home, *Violet: the Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse*, London (Harvill Press), 1996.