The Collected Works & Commissioned Biography of Edward Perry Warren



Volume I Edited with an introduction and notes by Michael Matthew Kaylor

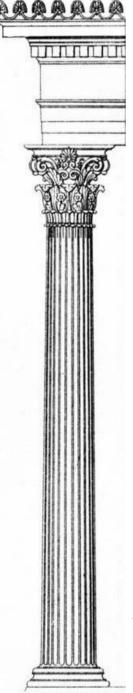
EDWARD PERRY WARREN

Collected Works & Commissioned Biography





EDWARD PERRY WARREN IN HIS EARLY THIRTIES



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VOLUME I

Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur by Osbert Burdett & E. H. Goddard

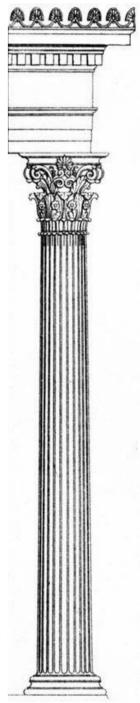
> "An Imaginary Conversation" by Osbert Burdett

A Tale of Pausanian Love by A. L. R. (Edward Perry Warren)

Edited with an introduction and notes by Michael Matthew Kaylor

With translations from the Greek and Latin by Mark Robert Miner

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The Collected Works and Commissioned Biography of Edward Perry Warren, in 2 volumes

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Volume I:

Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur by Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard, as published in 1941 by Christophers of London

- "An Imaginary Conversation," from *The Art of Living* by Osbert Burdett, as published in 1933 by Eyre & Spottiswoode of London
- A Tale of Pausanian Love by E. P. Warren, writing as "A.L.R." (for "Arthur Lyon Raile"), as privately printed in 1927, for the author, by the Cayme Press of Kensington, London

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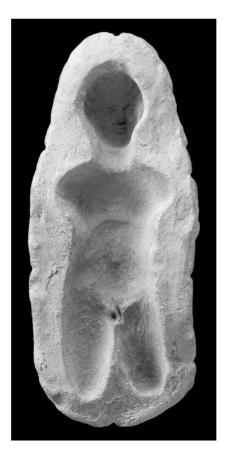
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MOULD FOR A YOUTH

Greek, South Italian, ca. 300 BCE Terra-cotta (No. 01.7940) The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Purchased by the MFA from Warren, 1901 [Not currently on view]

PREFACE

THE present Collected Works & Commissioned Biography arose from a realization that, despite their potential importance to a range of the Humanities, the writings of the Classical antiquities collector and connoisseur, the Uranian poet and philosopher Edward Perry Warren (1860-1928) had never been re-issued. Their rarity is only explicable in terms of the traditional societal imperative to ignore, dismiss, or decry the paederastic/homoerotic content and sensibility that these items compass and promote. While editing the 2009 Valancourt Books edition of Warren's Defence of Uranian Love, the major paederastic apologia in the language. I became acutely aware of the ingrained refusal-even among Classicists, archaeologists, art historians, literary scholars, and Gay Studies practitioners-to engage Warren historically, aesthetically, philosophically, biographically, morally, and practically. Like the erotic items he acquired for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Warren's writings have, for a century, been banished to absolute obscurity, hidden away in locked cabinets, and engaged, if at all, through hesitant nods or discreet footnotes ... or through obfuscations or lies of omission. The latter are the most disturbing, since they are usually couched in just enough truth to lend them apparent legitimacy.

Recently, Warren's role as eminent collector was duly acknowledged in "The Mythology of Desire," a feature in *Apollo* magazine in February 2012. In that article, Christine Kondoleon, the George D. and Margo Behrakis Senior Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, describes *Aphrodite and the Gods of Love*, "an exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston [that] explores the themes of beauty, love and sexual desire in the ancient world."¹ "The

¹ Christine Kondoleon, "The Mythology of Desire," *Apollo: The International Art Magazine*, Vol. CLXXV, issue 595 (February 2012), pp. 30-35 (The passage above is from its summary, on p. 30); the companion article devoted solely to Warren appears on p. 36. See also the following reviews of the exhibition: Sebastian Smee, "More to Aphrodite than Meets the

PREFACE

Mythology of Desire" and especially the supplemental article that follows it—"Edward Perry Warren (1860-1928)" observe that "many of these classical pieces, with their often overt erotic depictions of playful gods, were collected by the philanthropic gentleman scholar Edward Perry Warren." Warren was indeed philanthropic, was indeed a gentleman and a scholar . . . but what exactly lingers behind the rather bland dub "the philanthropic gentleman scholar"? The supplemental article decently answers this, accentuating that Warren, assisted by his lover John Marshall, "acquired some of the finest objects available at the end of the 19th century." This supplement also lauds the Boston Museum's recent boldness: "In the 'Aphrodite' show, Warren's penchant for erotic subjects is highlighted, in stark contrast to the treatment given to many of his acquisitions in the past, which were hidden away from public view."

This boldness is as important for Warren's rejuvenation as it is for the objects he collected. Thomas K. Hubbard, Professor of Classics at the University of Texas at Austin, describes Warren as "the most important American collector and connoisseur of Greek art, the man whose enthusiasm laid the foundation for the great collections of Boston and New York"; and Whitney Davis, the George C. and Helen N. Pardee Professor of Art History at the University of California at Berkeley, observes aptly that "Warren's contribution to the historiography of same-sex love has been vastly underestimated."¹ In terms of the Graeco-Roman antiquities that found their way across the Atlantic, particularly those that bespoke suspect desires, Warren was "*the* philanthropic gentleman scholar," and the emphasis here is vital: Warren has

Eye: Exhibit Explores Sexual Power," *The Boston Globe* (30 October 2011); H. A. Shapiro, "No Longer Banned in Boston," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. LXVI, issue 2 (2012), pp. 369-375. This exhibit later travelled to the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.

¹ Both quotations are from the dust cover of Michael Matthew Kaylor, edited, with an introduction and notes, Edward Perry Warren (writing as Arthur Lyon Raile), *A Defence of Uranian Love*, 3 volumes in 1, with translations from the Greek and Latin, notes, and an afterword by Mark Robert Miner, and with a foreword by William Armstrong Percy III (Kansas City, MO: Valancourt Books, 2009).

forever left his bold Uranian imprint on the America that, in Puritan fashion, has often scorned him, recognizing, consciously or not, that each of his collecting practices, acts of connoisseurship, poetical effusions, and philosophical claims "was truly a paederastic evangel," as he himself confessed.

As a literary historian, rather than a moral philosopher, I have scant skill or desire to consider, in any marked way, the validity of Warren's "paederastic evangelism." However, it is within my purview to address and perhaps rectify another cause of this present "underestimation": the general inaccessibility of his writings. While editing Warren's Defence of Uranian Love, I seriously considered expanding that project into the present Collected Works & Commissioned Biography, but ultimately decided that, given that Warren's Defence was his magnum opus, was the premier Uranian apologia, was selfcontained despite appearing originally in three volumes, and only survived as a privately printed edition of 50 copies, it warranted a volume all its own. While I still consider that decision apt, the gem of his writings, the Defence, nonetheless deserves an expanded setting and a fuller contextualization. both of which are provided by the present volumes.

His commissioned biographers Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard claimed that "Whether approved or disapproved as a man or a moralist, it was impossible not to respect the author [Warren]. That respect gives him a right to be heard."¹ Now, for the first time, readers outside of institutions such as the British Library can hear that author's voice in full, through his correspondence and other residues that constitute his commissioned biography *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (1941), through his conversation, as captured in Burdett's dialogue "An Imaginary Conversation" (1933), through his novel *A Tale of Pausanian Love* (1927), published for the first time, and his collection *The Wild Rose: A Volume of Poems* (1928), through his fairy-tale *The Prince Who*

¹ Osbert Burdett & E. H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (London: Christophers, 1941), p. 302 (in the present *Collected Works & Commissioned Biography*, Vol. I, p. 333). The present *Collected Works & Commissioned Biography of Edward Perry Warren* is henceforth abbreviated as either *Collected Works* or *CW*.

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Did Not Exist (1900) and his scathing scholarly article "The Scandal of the Museo di Villa Giulia" (1902), through his pamphlet Classical & American Education (1918) and his retelling of three obscure Greek legends in Alcmaeon, Hypermestra, Caeneus (1919), and through his magnum opus, the formidable apologia A Defence of Uranian Love (1928-1930). Whether one finds his claims convincing or exaggerated, his sentiments justified or vile, his appeals to Eros, "the unknown god of obsolete desire," prophetic or anachronistic, one will likely conclude, after a judicious reading, that Warren's is a bold and sophisticated voice, one that dares articulate what, for others, both past and present, has often been the proverbial "Love that dare not speak its name."

> MICHAEL MATTHEW KAYLOR Brno

December, 2012



FRAGMENT OF A DRINKING CUP (KYLIX)

Decorated in the manner of Antiphon Greek, Late Archaic Period, ca. 500 BCE Red-figure ceramic (No. 03.840) The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Purchased by the MFA from Warren, 1903 [Not currently on view]

EDWARD PERRY WARREN, who was usually addressed as "Ned," was an elitist blessed with intellect, breeding, and enough money to actualize his dreams.¹ This rare combination fostered in Warren a sense of self-sufficiency and an unapologetic eccentricity that certainly appears even more disconcerting today than it did during the Victorian and Edwardian periods.

Warren's sense of pride and privilege is perhaps best exemplified by the circumstances surrounding his revival of the Praelectorship in Greek at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.²

In Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren & The Lewes House Brotherhood (London: Fourth Estate, 1991), David Sox—who also supplied the entry for Warren in the Dictionary of National Biography—explains why Burdett and Goddard are the only source from which most of the primary biographical details regarding Warren can be gleaned: "Unfortunately, the sources used by Burdett and Goddard have largely disappeared, and for that reason both [Martin] Green and I have often had to rely on their version of events. It was, however, fortunate that Burdett and Goddard presented Warren's autobiographical fragment in its entirety and included a large amount of correspondence between Warren and Marshall" (p. x). See Goddard's "Preface," in Burdett & Goddard, Biography, in CW, Vol. I, p. 3.

Given the limited biographical material on Warren, the present introduction is heavily indebted to Burdett and Goddard, to a lesser extent to Sox and Green. For material on the Warren family and its American contexts, see Martin Green, *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens: A Boston Story*, *1860-1910* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989). Green describes Burdett and Goddard's biography as "one of the worst biographies known to man; being written in a fit, or series of fits, of absentmindedness" (p. xiii).

¹ "It was [his father Samuel D. Warren's] money that enabled Warren to live out his purpose and was the occasion of much that was most important and interesting in his life"—Osbert Burdett & E. H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (London: Christophers, 1941), p. 68 (in the present *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 78). The first three chapters of this commissioned biography are, in fact, the initial chapters of an unfinished autobiography begun by Warren and dated "1923." All subsequent references to Burdett & Goddard's *Edward Perry Warren* will accord with the pagination in the present collection.

² At Oxford, a Praelector is a tutor responsible for handling an Honours School in place of a Fellow, though he often has a Fellowship elsewhere.

In regard to Classics at Oxford, Warren hoped for "the 'fortification' of one college as a specially Greek College,"¹ and he set his eye on Corpus Christi College. Even before graduating from Oxford, Warren, who was soon to inherit a significant fortune, had already decided to establish a novel, post-graduate College specializing in Greats, or Classics:

Thus, when, soon after going down [from New College, Oxford,] in 1888, Warren was thinking about his postgraduate College, and investigating sites, it was in the district round Corpus that he was most interested ...

The scheme for the establishment and endowment of this College was seriously under consideration, but it met with much opposition, some from Conservatives in Oxford who resented a new idea, much from landowners, and a good deal from the members of the Warren family upon whom Warren would have had to draw for funds.²

Since his dream of a post-graduate College had been thwarted by the apathy or opposition of others, Warren later decided instead to provide an endowment for Corpus—a "scheme for the promotion of Classical Education by Tutors and Lecturers within the College, and the intention to provide for the College a sum of at least \$20,000."³ This prom-

E. P. Warren, *Classical & American Education* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1918): "[Of the more 'practical' sciences,] schoolmen are not loth to recognize their value, and many would welcome compulsory science in the preliminary examinations of Oxford. . . . But, when it is proposed to oust compulsory Greek and to allow the practical standard of the world to lead the University, there are, and there must be, objections" (in the present *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 240). "Humane letters, so far as they are unpractical, help to determine the end to which practical energy should be directed and so prevent nature from being 'subdued to that it works in like the dyer's hand" (ibid.; the quotation is from Shakespeare's Sonnet CXI). ¹ Burdett & Goddard, *Biography*, in *CW*, Vol. I, p. 398.

² Ibid., pp. 403-404. "Small welcome was given to [Warren's] offer to found and endow a college, mainly for the study of Greek sculpture, and [this lack of interest made it obvious that] the work for Greek art had to be done otherwise"—Rev. A. G. B. West, "Mr. E. P. Warren," *The Times* (5 January 1929), p. 14; reprinted in "Appendix IV," in *CW*, Vol. II.

³ See Burdett & Goddard, *Biography*, in *CW*, Vol. I, pp. 400-404; Green, *Warrens*, pp. 182-183—"In a letter of 1906 he assures Case that 'The clause is in my Will." The value of 20,000 in 1906 ≈ 10.2 million today.

ised endowment to Corpus Christi College—as well as his other benefactions to the College and his friendship with Thomas Case (1844-1925), Professor of Moral Philosophy and President of the College from 1904-1924—prompted Corpus to elect him, rather surprisingly, an Honorary Fellow in March 1915.¹

By November 1915, Warren had decided that the largest portion of this bequest should take the form of an endowment for reviving the College's Praelectorship in Greek. Although the amount the College received after Warren's death had dwindled from the anticipated \$30,000 to a mere \$13,000²—based on various financial circumstances at the time, specifically the Wall Street Crash of 1929—the College was nonetheless pleased with this generous endowment, pleased until the tangential stipulations placed upon it were fully grasped, stipulations that proved so problematic that the first appointment was not made until decades later:

Legal complications surrounding Warren's bequest meant that the post was not occupied until 1954 (by Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones)... Warren's will trust placed a number of restrictions on the Praelector intended to make sure that he had a close relationship to his students; the Praelector was to live in College, or, if married, he had to live in a College house and be available to students day and night *via* a tunnel under Merton Street; he was also forbidden to teach women (a clear indication of Warren's own gender preferences). All these restrictions were gradually removed by negotiation with the Privy Council; [Ewen Bowie, the third holder of the Praelectorship,]

¹ For an announcement of Warren's election as an Honorary Fellow, see "University Intelligence: Oxford, March 9," *The Times* (10 March 1915), p. 15. For period photographs of Corpus, see *CW*, Vol. I, p. cxlvii.

² The value of \$30,000 in 1915 \approx \$11.3 million today; \$13,000 in 1931 \approx \$3.3 million. In the present *Collected Works*, monetary value is "measured using the relative average income that would be used to buy a commodity" (known as the "Income Value"), as calculated *via* either "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to Present," or "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.K. Pound Amount, 1270 to Present" http://www.measuringworth.com (2013), by Samuel H. Williamson and Lawrence H. Officer, Professors of Economics at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

was the first Praelector to teach women and was obliged to retain formal living quarters in College until 1989.¹

That hypothetical tunnel, mentioned above but never built, garnered a brief article in 1950, in the magazine *Time:*

As an undergraduate . . . in the 1880s, Massachusettsborn Edward Perry Warren was bitterly annoyed by the 9 p.m. curfew. He was also annoyed by the fines for curfew stragglers, which sometimes ran as high as \$5 after midnight. Before he died in 1928, wealthy (from paper mills), eccentric Edward Warren sat down and wrote a 59-page Will. One among many bequests: a straightfaced offer of \$3,000 to Corpus Christi, provided College authorities would use the money to build a tunnel under the walls so that stragglers could get to bed without 1.) paying fines, or 2.) climbing walls. The Will allowed Corpus Christi officials 20 years to think it over.

Last week, after 22 years and still no sign of a tunnel, the money went by default to secondary legatees, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Bowdoin College. Corpus Christi officials were in a no-comment mood about the whole thing. The official attitude: the tunnel had always seemed rather unnecessary.²

When it came to what was "necessary," Warren almost always diverged from "the practical standard of the world," which is also displayed in another benefaction he made to Corpus, money with which was bought

a parcel of land adjoining the Corpus playing fields as a reserve for the bathers there. [Warren] was keen on

¹ Stephen Harrison and Simon Swain, Preface to *Severan Culture*, edited by Simon Swain, Stephen Harrison, and Jaś Elsner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. xxi-xxxiii (p. xxi). For why Corpus had to wait "for enough interest to accrue before they [could] appoint such a Praelector" (Green, *Warrens*, p. 232), see p. lxxx, footnote 2, of the present introduction.

² "No Tunnel," *Time* (Atlantic Overseas Edition), Vol. LV, issue 12 (20 March 1950), p. 27. See also J. R. Symonds, "Greece, Women, and the Tunnel: E. P. Warren and His Corpus Connection," *The Pelican Record* (Corpus Christi College, Oxford), Vol. XXXIX, number 2 (1994-1996), pp. 12-21. The value of \$3,000 in 1950 ≈ \$271,000 today.

MICHAEL MATTHEW KAYLOR

swimming because it afforded the one opportunity under modern conditions for the display and exercise of the naked human body, and for something like the atmosphere of the Palaestra.¹

Warren's various endowments, benefactions, and plans for Corpus—whether these were, in the end, handled in the fashion he had intended or not—truly reveal the sense of pride and privilege, the self-sufficiency and unapologetic eccentricity that came to define his life. Nevertheless, Warren should not be judged too harshly in this regard, since someone with *his* wealth could easily have squandered his life and fortune as a Late Victorian cultured playboy, as a wealthy Decadent aesthete. This Warren did not do:

In some ways Warren had lived lavishly. For much of his expenditure there was little apparent return. But he had spent a very large sum in benefactions of all kinds, upon himself comparatively little. He had gathered about him a considerable number of people whom he enabled to live a much fuller, in some cases a much wiser, life than they could otherwise have done. He had made himself patron and protector, guide and inspiration,—and among so many who were intolerant of one another, he was tolerant of all. In his own eyes his greatest achievements were his friendship with Johnny [Marshall] and the Classical collections in the American museums.²

¹ Burdett & Goddard, *Biography*, in CW, Vol. I, p. 402.

² Ibid., p. 90. "Although very well known to students of Greek archaeology, to museums and to a circle of intimates at Oxford where in 1915 he became an Honorary Fellow of Corpus, Warren had shunned publicity so long that his death on December 28th, 1928, might have passed unobserved, had not a few friends come forward to bear witness to his quality" (p. 91). His most prominent American obituary—"Edward Perry Warren; Archaeologist and Collector for Museums Dies in England," *The New York Times* (30 December 1928), p. 17—is little more than a notice.

Warren's vision of "the 'fortification' of one college as a specially Greek College" still survives at Corpus, where his endowment has encouraged accomplishments such as the following: In 1993, Ewen Bowie, the E. P. Warren Praelector in Classics from 1965-2007, became the first Director of Corpus Christi College's Centre for the Study of Greek and Roman Antiquity. Such a centre was Warren's principal dream for Corpus.



EDWARD PERRY WARREN & JOHN MARSHALL: with a St. Bernard

Photograph by Edward Reeves (1824-1905)¹ ca. late 1890s

¹ Edward Reeves had a local photography studio and office at 159 High St., in Lewes, East Sussex. He and his firm were set the task, when needed, of photographing the various items that Warren had collected, as well as taking occasional photographs of Lewes House and its members. However, in a letter from Lewes House, dated 19 September 1910 (Private collection), Warren relates to the Italian collector Tommaso "Tom" Virzi his own preference for the photographs of Frederick Hollyer (1837-1933), rather than the merely adequate photographs taken by his own staff or by the provincial firm of Edward Reeves: "In important cases I go to Hollyer ... for photos. He is famous, but rather expensive."

WARREN IN NEW ENGLAND

Clearly a man with such ideas and with such a soul would be a misfit in every way imaginable in New England society.¹

NED WARREN was born on 8 June 1860, at Waltham, Massachusetts, near Boston, the son of Samuel Dennis Warren (1817-1888), a wealthy paper-manufacturer,² and his wife Susan Cornelia Warren, *née* Clarke (1825-1901).³ Three years later, this family—which now included five children: Samuel Dennis (1852-1910), Henry Clarke (1854-1899), Cornelia Lyman (1857-1921), Edward "Ned" Perry (1860-1928), and

One of the peripheral benefits of his father's profession certainly had the potential to influence young Warren: "Papa was a paper-maker. These books [in the front library: 'well-bound and stately'] were, I fancy, sent to him as complimentary copies by the publishers to whom he had furnished paper. I acquired knowledge of the names of celebrated authors, but, being without guidance, I dipped into them at random" (Warren, in Burdett & Goddard, Biography, in CW, Vol. I, p. 15). See Green, Warrens, pp. 27-29-"Mr. [Samuel] Warren also appears on the edge of literary history by the way he intervened in the development of Houghton Mifflin, the Boston publishers." However, young Warren never became a "lover of reading": "Books. save my lesson books, I didn't read. There were at all events only two books that exercised any particular influence over me. Corinne [by Madame de Staël] was one, and the chief. Besides this there was Yeast by Charles Kingsley" (Warren, in Burdett & Goddard, Biography, in CW, Vol. I, p. 24). The above disinterest may, in retrospect, have proven beneficial: "Having his natural impulses-or as modern psychology might prefer to say, being born with a strong visual and tactile sense-Warren never fell into the common error of over-emphasis on the literary and philological side of the Classics. Just as it had been necessary for him to go to the length of wearing the toga [See p. 395], it was necessary also that he should rather grow into, than learn about, the Greek spirit" (p. 396).

¹ Burdett & Goddard, *Biography*, in CW, Vol. I, p. 77.

² For a photograph of Ned Warren's birthplace, see CW, Vol. II, p. 674.

³ "My mother . . . was not emotional; she maintained a grand considerate placitude" (ibid., p. 17). Nevertheless, she and Warren were particularly close: "I loved my mother very much, and was her favourite child. She could not, I think, help showing her preference, though it was against her principles to favour one child more than another" (p. 20).

Frederick Fiske (1862-1938)—moved to 67 Mount Vernon Street, in the elegant Beacon Hill area of Boston.¹

This house—designed in 1847 by George Minot Dexter, the architect who oversaw the construction of the Boston Athenaeum—became a family seat that suited their world of privilege, a world replete with tours of Europe, art collecting, lessons with prominent musicians, and prestigious schools. Of "these visits to Europe [that] gave me my only sense of real life,"² Warren recalls:

I was abroad in 1868, that is to say when I was eight years old, and again, I believe, in 1873. During the first visit, Pope Pius the Ninth blessed me from his carriage in the town, and in the Tuileries gardens, playing with my hoop, I ran into the Emperor Napoleon III, who took my impact very politely.³

These trips abroad fostered more than contact with prominent "social" figures:

The visit to Europe had no doubt a very important and lasting effect. I remember particularly the museums, and being left alone at my wish in the galleries of sculpture or plastic casts while the rest went to see the pictures. My interest in the sculpture was not wholly artistic. I cared mainly for the nude, male or female, the male as much as the female.... Of a piece with this was my desire to be a missionary. It was thought, I dare say, a very creditable ambition, but no one knew that I had chosen the career because the Indians wore no clothes.⁴

The human figure—whether sculptural or fleshy—never lost its appeal for Warren,⁵ as is evinced by the following passage

¹ For photographs of the Warren family house at 67 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, see *CW*, Vol. I, p. cxliv, and Vol. II, p. 679.

² Burdett & Goddard, *Biography*, in CW, Vol. I, p. 24.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵ "The fact that the connoisseur collects fragments of statues, handles them, and puts them together again, must also have imbued the work of the collector with an erotic glamour for [Warren] . . . Here again the intellectual activity of the connoisseur coincided with the voyeuristic pleasure