

Edward Perry Warren, an American in England

I visited Oxford in the autumn of 2024, during the exuberance of Freshers' Week. I had appointments at the Weston Library and New College Library to research my 19th-century cousin, Edward 'Ned' Perry Warren (1860–1928). Ned studied Classics at New College from 1883 to 1888. Here, he met fellow student John Marshall (1862–1928) from Liverpool, who became his partner in work and life. They became important collectors of Greek and Roman antiquities, and Ned was an author of books and poetry on Uranian (i.e., homosexual) themes.



John Marshall (left), Edward Perry Warren holding a sculpture, and Richard Fisher (right) at Lewes House, East Sussex

Photograph by Edward Reeves, late 1890s

Edward Reeves Photography W186B © Courtesy of Edward Reeves Photography

At the Weston Library's Special Collections, I was able to see the rare three-volume edition of *A Defence of Uranian Love*, Ned's *magnum opus* published at the end of his life under the pseudonym Arthur Lyon Raile. Volumes one and three were published in 1928, the year Ned died, and volume two was published two years later. (I had previously seen only a reprint of these in *The Collected Works & Commissioned Biography of Edward Perry Warren*, edited by Michael Matthew Kaylor and published in 2013.) The Bodleian Library has produced a scanned copy of the *Defence*, and made it available online.¹

¹ Arthur Lyon Raile, *A Defence of Uranian Love*, 3 vols (Privately printed, 1928–30): <https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/44OXF_INST/35n82s/alma990124018620107026>.

In between appointments, I went to the Ashmolean Museum to see antiquities that Ned donated to Oxford, both during his life and upon his death. The majority of his acquisitions were sold or given to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), which has almost 4,000 objects from him including his finest pieces such as The Bartlett Head of Aphrodite and the Boston Throne. He was also the source of a significant number of antiquities for New York's Metropolitan Museum, Bowdoin College Art Museum, the Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art, and the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Leipzig. Several other museums in America and Europe have pieces with an Edward Perry Warren provenance. Of the more than 100 objects he gave to Oxford, sixteen were currently on public display, works ranging from a clay Athenian grave amphora from around 725 BC to an Etruscan red-figure stamnos with images of Zeus, Ganymede, Eros, Athena, and Hermes.

Walking to New College Library, I noted 31 Holywell Street, a three-story stucco townhouse where Ned had lived, steps away from the college entrance. At the library, I was able to see several books relating to Ned:

- Arthur Lyon Raile (Ned's pseudonym), *The Wild Rose: A Volume of Poems* (London: David Nutt, 1909). I also saw the 1913 edition, published by Nutt, and 1928 edition, published by Duckworth. The book is dedicated to J. M. (John Marshall). The 1909 edition has a bookplate of Uranian scholar Timothy D'Arch Smith (b. 1936).
- Edward Perry Warren, *Alcmaeon, Hypermestra, Caenus* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919). Dedicated to Master T. Warren (Travis Warren, Ned's adopted son).
- New College Library, Oxford, MS 379: Arthur Lyon Raile, 'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo'. Manuscript written in hand calligraphy by T. G. Angell, September–October 1916. Acquired in 2022, it has a bookplate of Barry Humphries (comedian Dame Edna Everage).
- New College Library, Oxford, MS 380: Arthur Lyon Raile, 'Jack in the Pulpit. A volume of poems' (1916). Manuscript written in Ned's own hand.²
- Edward Perry Warren, *The Prince Who Did Not Exist*, with drawings by Arthur J. Gaskin (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900). Copy number 214 of 350 printed. I have since acquired my own copy of this, number 125. Martin Green, in his book *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens: A Boston Story, 1860-1910*, calls this 'by far his best piece of writing, a sophisticated fairy tale in the manner of Oscar Wilde'.³
- *Catalogue of the Library from Lewes House* (London: Sotheby and Co., 1929). Auction catalogue of books being sold by Ned's protégé and heir Harry Asa Thomas.
- *The Edward Perry Warren Collection, Removed from "Few Acres", the Summer Home of the Late Mr. Warren at Westbrook, Maine* (New York: American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, 1930). Auction catalogue of house contents being sold by Ned's secretary and heir Charles J. Murray West.
- Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (London: Christophers, 1941).

² On these two literary manuscripts, see Christopher Skelton-Foord, '[The Appeal of Eros to Apollo: A New Manuscript for New College, Oxford](#)', *New College Notes* 17 (2022), no. 9, and his '[Ned Warren's "Jack in the Pulpit": New College MS 380 and Textual Transmission](#)', *New College Notes* 18 (2022), no. 9.

³ Martin Green, *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens: A Boston Story, 1860–1910* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), p. 177.

The library at New College collects the published works of its alumni, and Ned's writings are well represented. To examine these editions, some very rare, and to see the antiquities he collected, made me feel a strong connection to my cousin, and to his time and place. Additionally, Oxford's Art, Archaeology and Ancient World Library preserves an extensive collection of Warren-Marshall papers in their archives; I hope to explore these on a future visit.

INTERGENERATIONAL CONNECTION

Ned's father (and my fourth great-uncle) was Samuel Dennis Warren (1817–1888), the Gilded Age paper baron. He and his wife Susan Clarke Warren lived in Boston and had six children. The first child, Josiah, died at age two from scarlet fever. The other five all lived remarkable lives with the privilege they were given. All the boys graduated from Harvard. Samuel Jr. was an attorney and the law partner of the famous jurist and Supreme Court justice, Louis Brandeis. Henry, handicapped from a childhood accident, became a Sanskrit and Pali scholar, and was the first to translate many Buddhist texts into English. Cornelia was a philanthropist who founded a settlement house in Boston for immigrants and the poor. Fiske was an anti-imperialist and utopist who worked for Philippine independence, and founded several experimental single tax communities based on Henry George's theory of taxing only land value.

When I was born in 1955, my father was working at the Westbrook, Maine, paper mill founded by S. D. Warren. My father graduated from Harvard a few years before, and was a chemical engineer at the mill. My great-grandfather, Joseph A. Warren, worked there as an advisor at the time. He had previously been the mill manager, in charge of all operations, as had his father before him. My father was one of the last in a long line of family members to work at the mill.

After our initial years in Maine, we moved several times as my father pursued his career in the paper-making business. He settled our family in Mobile on the Gulf of Mexico in the 1960s. Here, my father built a manufacturing plant, making machinery for pulp and paper mills.

Growing up, we heard many stories about our Warren relatives, about their fine character and how they built S. D. Warren Company into the largest paper mill in the world. Strangely, we never heard anything about the founder's children.

I only learned about these cousins a few years ago when my nephew asked me about a Wikipedia listing on Edward Perry Warren. I was dumbfounded. How was it possible I had not heard the details of this family I shared so much history with? Growing up gay in the famously conservative social culture of Alabama, it would have been helpful to know about a family member who lived openly with his same-sex partner a century before.

I left Alabama to attend Harvard College, where my father and grandfather had graduated. I had no idea that these cousins had also gone there. In fact, Henry bought a large Greek-revival house next to Harvard Yard where he did his research. He bequeathed his house with its large tract of land to the university. This was the corner of the campus where I lived during my freshman year. I was oblivious to the family link, even though the house I passed daily bore a sign 'Warren House'. I sometimes passed the townhouse on Beacon Hill where the Warren family lived, now divided into several apartments, without noticing the family name still on a patinated metal plaque by the door. In my college years, I frequented the Museum of Fine Arts, not knowing that Sam Jr. had been the board president and built their museum building, nor that Ned was the source of ninety percent of their ancient Greek and Roman collection. I admired John Singer Sargent's paintings there, one of which, unknown to me, was a celebrated portrait of my relatives Mrs Fiske Warren and her daughter Rachel. Visiting London, I admired the homoerotic Roman Warren Cup at the British Museum, Lucas Cranach the Elder's painting of Adam and Eve at the Courtauld Gallery, and Rodin's *The Kiss* at the Tate Modern, without connecting these to Ned who owned them all during his lifetime. I had so many

missed connections. By the time I learned about these relatives, my father had died so I couldn't ask him why this side of family history had been suppressed. But I asked my uncle, and he confirmed my suspicions.

FAMILY DYNAMICS AND SCANDAL

The dearth of stories about this part of the family was not an oversight. As managers of the mill, my great-grandfather and his father before him contributed significantly to its innovation and growth. The founder's children all benefited financially from the mill, and two of them served as corporate presidents in the Boston office, but they were not as involved in the mill's day-to-day operations. My father and his siblings were justifiably proud of their ancestors, but probably felt the character and lifestyle of the founder's children did not comport to the narrative of our family history they were establishing. In fact, certain scandals became family embarrassments. Fiske's political activities were so controversial that the US government compelled him to sign an oath of allegiance.⁴ Samuel, losing a very public lawsuit brought by his brother Ned over his management of the family fortune, killed himself with his hunting rifle.⁵ Ned lived openly as a homosexual, and wrote a book idealizing same-sex relationships in ancient Greece. These stories must have made my family uncomfortable, and did not represent the values that they were trying to instill in us.

It wasn't only my family that repressed this history. In a dissertation, 'The Impact of Edward Perry Warren on the Study and Collections of Greek and Roman Antiquities in American Academia', James Murley notes that in his research of historical materials at Harvard, he could find little about alumni Ned Warren and his brothers. Murley speculates, 'Perhaps Ned's homosexuality, Sam's suicide, Henry's reclusiveness, and Fisk's involvement in radical causes account for their absence in these accounts'.⁶

Likewise, the Boston MFA, with its fine collection of Greek and Roman antiquities supplied by Ned, never credited him in any publication until 1925.⁷ Perhaps Ned wanted anonymity, but the museum may have been concerned about the suggestion of scandal.

After my initial discoveries about these relatives, I was determined to learn more about them. Fortunately, I found an abundance of information: books and articles written by them or about them, letters and documents in various archives in New England and Britain, and various on-line resources.

Of this newly discovered cousinage, I related most to Ned. His father was the brother of my third great-grandfather, so Ned was my first cousin four times removed. I admired how Ned managed to live authentically as a homosexual in England during the time of Oscar Wilde. I struggled with doing the same a century later in the USA. He studied classical art and became a collector and agent for museums; I studied art and architecture and became an architect who designed museums. We both attended Harvard, and had family ties to Boston. We were both devout Christians in our youth and non-believers as adults.⁸ We were raised Congregationalists, but experimented with different churches. Ned and I were for a time drawn to the beauty of high church Anglo-Catholicism, and both attended the Church of the Advent in Boston. Also, our families shared outsider status. My parents were northerners living in the Deep South. Ned's family gradually became accepted among the Boston elite,

⁴ 'Current of Fiske Warren's Life Changed by the Filipinos,' *The Boston Sunday Globe* (29 December 1907), 39.

⁵ Green, *Warrens*, p. 10.

⁶ James Murley, 'The Impact of Edward Perry Warren on the Study and Collections of Greek and Roman Antiquities in American Academia' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Louisville, 2012), p. 52.

⁷ *ibid*, pp. 118–9.

⁸ Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (London: Christophers, 1941), in *The Collected Works & Commissioned Biography of Edward Perry Warren*, ed. Michael Matthew Kaylor (Brno: Masaryk University Press, 2013), 2 vols, I, 57. Subsequent references to Burdett & Goddard will use pagination from Kaylor.

but they were *nouveau riche*. Ned's father was a Horatio Alger-type who literally created a fortune from rags he turned into fine paper.

As I focused my research on Ned, I began to connect with him, to get to know him. As if on a pilgrimage, I returned to the places I now associated with Ned: the family house on Mount Vernon Street, Harvard University, the Museum of Fine Arts, the house museum of Ned's friend Isabella Stewart Gardner, the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, the mill town of Westbrook, Bowdoin College, and the family plot at Mount Auburn Cemetery, the park-like resting place of Boston's elite.

AT HOME IN ENGLAND

During my trip to England, I visited other places associated with Ned, where I invariably experienced an even stronger connection to him. Ned and Marshall had both graduated from Oxford by 1888, and in 1890 they moved into Lewes House in Lewes, East Sussex. This Georgian estate, leased initially and purchased by Ned in 1913, was to be their home and base of operations until their deaths in 1928. The two worked together collecting art and served as agents for the MFA in Boston and the Metropolitan Museum (MET) in New York. Ned made Marshall his personal secretary—as a 'servant', Marshall could live in the same house as Ned without raising eyebrows.



Lewes House in Lewes, East Sussex—home of Edward Perry Warren and John Marshall from 1890 until 1928
Photograph by David Gauld, 2024

A Lewes historian and former District Councilor gave me a tour of Lewes House. It is now owned by the Council and rented to commercial tenants. The entrance is on High Street to the north with a garden in the back. Ned and Marshall shared their house with a changing roster of like-minded gay men interested in art, literature, and the classics, known as the Lewes House brotherhood. We saw

the principal rooms where they had dined and had discussions. A wing on the west originally contained the kitchen and servant quarters. Further to the south was an annex, which contained the horse stables (and where Ned stored Rodin's marble sculpture *The Kiss* that he commissioned in 1900). Above the stables was Ned's private study 'Thebes', named after the Sacred Band of Thebes, an ancient Greek troop of soldiers comprised of 150 pairs of male lovers. The study still had some classical artifacts incorporated into the ceiling beams. This room at the most remote end of the house was Ned's personal sanctuary; he wore its key around his neck.⁹

My guide in Lewes showed me publications about Ned he had acquired:

- *Plan for Distribution of Estate of Edward Perry Warren*, dated 1 November 1935. At that time, Ned's assets were approximately \$900,000, equivalent to about \$20 million today. The value of his estate had been reduced by the 1929 stock market crash and its aftermath.
- *Lewes House, Lewes, Sussex: Sale of the very valuable Contents of the Residence* (Lewes: Rowland Gorringe, 1929). Auction catalogue for the contents of Lewes House, including furniture from the 15th–18th centuries, china, silver, and artworks like Rodin's sculpture *The Kiss*. These were being sold by his heir Harry Asa Thomas.
- *Catalogue of the Library from Lewes House* (London: Sotheby & Co., 1929). Auction catalogue which I also saw at New College Library.

During the First World War, Ned became involved with Oxford again through his friendship with Thomas Case, the president of Corpus Christi College. Ned tried to purchase land near Magdalen College to found the Warren Graduate College, but instead endowed the E. P. Warren Praelectorship, a lectureship of Classics, at Corpus Christi. Ned was named an Honorary Fellow of Corpus Christi, and had rooms there during World War I. I walked by Corpus Christi, and found the land Ned tried to buy, now the Magdalen College School on the other side of the River Cherwell. The current E. P. Warren Praelector is Professor Constanze Guthenke, the first woman to hold the position. The original terms of Warren's bequest specifically excluded woman, but Corpus admitted women in the 1970s, and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 invalidated this restriction.¹⁰

Murley notes that Ned's correspondence after arriving in England indicated that Oxford suited him much more than Harvard. Both schools had an all-male social environment, but Ned found Oxford to be especially congenial. His classical studies there made him feel more comfortable with himself, and with his sexuality—in ancient Greece and Rome, certain homosexual relations were acceptable, and he was drawn to its nude sculpture and homoerotic imagery. He never really considered returning to America, except to visit.¹¹ Ned said of Oxford, 'I had come home' and there, unlike in New England, 'my taste was not disputed'.¹²

Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) graduated from Oxford in 1878, ten years before Ned. Ned met Wilde during his American lecture tour of 1882, in Boston and again in New York, but they were not close.¹³ Wilde later spent two years in an English prison for 'gross indecency', from 1895 to 1897. Ned

⁹ Burdett and Goddard, p. 142.

¹⁰ Samuel Rutherford, "'Never in the Presence of Any Woman': Male Homoeroticism and Elite Education", *History Workshop Online* (21 January 2019): <www.historyworkshop.org.uk/never-in-the-presence-of-any-woman-male-homoeroticism-and-elite-education/> (Accessed: 8 July 2025).

¹¹ Murley, 'Impact of Edward Perry Warren', pp. 52–3.

¹² Burdett and Goddard, pp. 65–6.

¹³ *Collected Works* ed. Kaylor, p. cvii.

was said to be ‘courageously unashamed of his sexuality’,¹⁴ but Wilde’s imprisonment would have been a cautionary tale. There were some incidents of bullying for being a ‘sissy’ during his youth in Boston,¹⁵ but Ned seemed to find more acceptance in England. Perhaps it was due to his discretion—for example, he published his writings on homosexuality under a pseudonym. Furthermore, experienced servants warned newer staff that ‘anything heard within the walls of Lewes House must remain within the walls of Lewes House’.¹⁶

Evelyn Waugh (1903–1966) published his novel *Brideshead Revisited* in 1945, which described life at Oxford in the 1920s. Waugh studied at Hertford College, Oxford, 1922–24. I imagine that Marshall and Ned’s lives at Oxford were a variant of the fictional Charles and Sebastian’s. Douglas Shand-Tucci in *Boston Bohemia 1881–1900* quotes Martin Green, ‘that while Oxford in the 1920’s was “the crucial imaginative experience” for Waugh, it was Ned Warren in important ways who “was shaping that experience for them”, so pervasive was Warren’s influence on that generation of English aesthetes’.¹⁷

Ned and Marshall collected antiquities until their deaths, and many hundreds of objects in several museums and universities were purchased from or given by the two men. Most of their objects, and arguably the best pieces, went to the Boston MFA. Warren’s first sale to the MFA was in 1894, and he was their purchasing agent for a decade, when the museum, under the leadership of his brother Sam, shifted its focus and resources to planning a new building in Boston’s Fenway neighborhood. Marshall became purchasing agent for the MET Museum in 1907. While agents for these institutions, the couple helped create the two foremost classical collections in America.¹⁸

BACK IN AMERICA

I continued my research states-side a month later, making arrangements to see the archives at the paper mill, which is now owned by SAPPI, South African Pulp and Paper Industry. The company ‘museum’ is not open to the public, but the librarian was kind enough to allow me access. They have a fine oil portrait of S. D. Warren done by Frank Holl in 1885. The artist did a similar portrait of J. P. Morgan (1837–1913) that hangs in The Morgan Library & Museum in New York. Morgan’s collecting overlapped with Ned’s. The 1988 exhibition, ‘The Gods Delight: The Human Figure in Classical Bronze’, included sculptures from both men. The catalogue noted the show celebrated ‘the American achievement, launched by that most voracious of all collectors, J. P. Morgan, and by the expatriate Bostonian, Edward Perry Warren, searching for the Museum of Fine Arts’.¹⁹

The mill archives has framed photographs of their past managers and presidents, including family members Joseph A. Warren, John E. Warren, Sam D. Warren Jr. and F. Fiske Warren. Among the many news articles, diaries, letters, documents and books pertaining to the Warren family, I saw an original legal document that was Ned’s fateful lawsuit against his brother Sam.

In 1903, Ned took a house in Maine near the mill, in part to keep tabs on Sam. Their father left the mill in a trust to his wife and children when he died in 1888. Sam and his partner Brandeis established terms of the trust which Ned came to believe were unfairly beneficial to Sam.²⁰ Unable to

¹⁴ Douglas Shand-Tucci, *Boston Bohemia, 1881–1900: Ralph Adams Cram: Life and Architecture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. 221.

¹⁵ Green, *Warrens*, p. 41.

¹⁶ David Sox, *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren & The Lewes House Brotherhood* (London: Fourth Estate, 1991), p. 46.

¹⁷ Green, *Warrens*, p. 40, as cited and expanded by Shand-Tucci, p. 220.

¹⁸ Murley, ‘Impact of Edward Perry Warren’, p. 108.

¹⁹ Arielle P. Kozloff and David Gordon Mitten, *The Gods Delight: The Human Figure in Classical Bronze* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1988), p. viii.

²⁰ Green, *Warrens*, p. 83.

resolve the situation in direct discussions, Ned sued his brother in 1909. When it came to light the following year that Sam had essentially been embezzling from the trust, he killed himself. Sam's suicide was covered up by the family and not publicly acknowledged until some 70 years later.²¹ Ned promptly dropped the lawsuit, but the family blamed him for his brother's death.²²

Ned's Maine house, which he named 'Fewacres', is in Gorham, a town next to Westbrook. Ned leased this house initially and purchased it in 1907. County deeds and a 1923 survey²³ show Ned subsequently bought several hundred surrounding acres for Harry Thomas and for C. J. M. West, including 265 acres to the west along the Presumpscot River, the same river that powered the paper mill in Westbrook. Ned would spend part of the year at Lewes and part of the year between Maine and Boston. Fewacres became Ned's happy place—he called it a *sans souci*, or place without worries.²⁴

I visited the house during my trip to see the mill archives. It is still handsome: a colonial mansion on a gentle rise along the main road between Westbrook and Gorham. Its surrounding acreage of fields and woods now have hiking trails open to the public. The current owner uses its original name, Tyng Manor. The house was built in 1781 by Elizabeth Ross, the widow of Captain Alexander Ross, who lived there with her daughter and son-in-law, Elizabeth and Colonel William Tyng. The current house dates from 1808, when it was rebuilt by Elizabeth Tyng after a fire.²⁵



Fewacres—Edward Perry Warren's summer house in Gorham, Maine from 1907 to 1928
Photograph by David Gauld, 2024

²¹ Sox, *Bachelors of Art*, p. 79.

²² *Collected Works* ed. Kaylor, p. cx.

²³ E. C. Jordan & Co., Civil Engineers, 'Plan of Land in Gorham Maine Surveyed for Edward P. Warren', December 1923. In author's collection.

²⁴ Burdett and Goddard, p. 427.

²⁵ Hugh D. McLellan, *History of Gorham, ME.* (Portland: Smith & Sale, 1903), pp. 750–1.

WARREN LEGACIES

When Ned died in 1928, he left Fewacres and its contents to C. J. M. West. West initially purchased adjacent land from Harry Thomas and others, but in 1930, he sold the house and auctioned the furnishings.²⁶ In the following year, the remaining land West owned was foreclosed upon and repossessed. The house became a hospital initially and is now, like Lewes House, used for commercial offices.²⁷

The mill archives also had a file about the establishment of the Warren Memorial Foundation. Ned's mother left funds for a foundation to benefit the mill town when she died in 1901. Ned was one of three trustees named. A report in the file is the minutes of a trustee's meeting at Ned's house in Maine on 23 November 1928, only a month before his death in London. The Foundation was finally being organised so many years after Mrs Warren's death. After being with Marshall in Rome when he died earlier in the year, Ned seemed anxious to put his affairs in order. The Foundation is still active in Westbrook, providing scholarships for local students, and maintaining the Warren Memorial Sculpture Garden.

On my last day in England, after my trip to Oxford, I visited 4 Dorset Square in London's Marylebone neighbourhood. Ned died here on 29 December 1928, a month after returning from Maine. He was ill and went to the Cambridge Nursing Home, which no longer exists, for abdominal surgery.²⁸ This was the same hospital where Winston Churchill had an appendectomy in 1922.²⁹ It was sobering to realise I was at that moment the same age as my cousin when he died there almost a century before.

In 1902, Ned wrote to Marshall, 'It had been my wish above all to make a good end of things, that a hundred years hence people might be curious as to who we were'.³⁰ It is now a hundred years later. What can we say of Ned's legacy, in terms of his collecting, his writing, and the life he lived?

Warren said of his own accomplishments, he was most proud of the antiquities he collected for Boston, and two of his publications: *The Wild Rose* and *A Defence of Uranian Love*.³¹

Of his collecting, scholars concur that Ned had a significant impact on scholarship at American museums and academic institutions. Murley argues in his dissertation that Ned's anonymity was due to his homosexuality and the fact that the collector/agent was not always acknowledged by museums. That began to change in the 1970s with a new interest in the social history of art.³²

In the epilogue of his book, *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren & The Lewes House Brotherhood*, David Sox notes the several proved and suspected forgeries among Ned's acquisitions, and criticises his 'proclivity towards erotica', but finally concedes 'the great collections of Warren and Marshall remain to this day one of the most significant collecting feats of all time'.³³

Ned's writings, especially his provocative *Defence*, seemed destined to be forgotten. Sox called the *Defence* 'self-indulgent and diffuse, and . . . sluggish reading'. Kayler agrees with Sox's description, but does not think those qualities diminish the value of Ned's writing. He argues the obscurity was necessary because 'the paederastic/homoerotic content and sensibility' could make readers

²⁶ *The Edward Perry Warren Collection, Removed from "Few Acres", the Summer Home of the Late Mr. Warren at Westbrook, Maine* (New York: American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, 1930).

²⁷ Robert Lowell, 'Spooky—Gorham mansion a home for spirits', *Portland Press Herald* (25 October 2006).

²⁸ *Collected Works* ed. Kaylor, p. cxi.

²⁹ J. Allister Vale and John W. Scadding, 'Winston Churchill: Acute Appendicitis in October 1922', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 112 (2019), 341–8, at p. 342.

³⁰ Burdett and Goddard, p. 246.

³¹ Sox, *Bachelors of Art*, p. 83.

³² Murley, 'Impact of Edward Perry Warren', p. 335.

³³ Sox, *Bachelors of Art*, p. 254.

uncomfortable.³⁴ It was a delicate dance, to make an argument for a controversial idea without causing a scandal.

As for his life, Ned was increasingly isolated. After Sam's suicide, much of Ned's family pulled away from him. He and Marshall grew apart; Marshall married Ned's cousin Mary Bliss, and lived mostly in Rome. However, Ned and Marshall were reconciled after Mary's death, and were together when Marshall died.

When Ned was cremated on 1 January 1929, only three denizens of Lewes House, and a few of the servants, were present. No one from his family or the institutions he helped build attended. Rather than joining his parents and siblings at the Mount Auburn Cemetery near Boston, Ned asked for his ashes to be placed in a single tomb together with Marshall and his wife at the English Cemetery in Bagni di Lucca, Italy.³⁵

The two houses that Ned acquired and furnished, Lewes House and Fewacres, were left to C. J. M. West and Harry Thomas, respectively. Both houses were promptly sold and the contents, gathered with such care over many years, were auctioned. It was a sad endnote to a remarkable life, but maybe not a surprising one.

My cousin had his faults and foibles, yet I am inspired by his accomplishments and deeply admire his courage. Almost one hundred years after his death, I am, as others are, 'curious as to who' he was.

David Gauld
Architect
New York City

³⁴ *Collected Works* ed. Kaylor, pp. xcv and vii.

³⁵ Sox, *Bachelors of Art*, p. vii.