

Ned Warren's 'Jack in the Pulpit': New College MS 380 and Textual Transmission

In special collections librarianship, one acquisition can be the catalyst for a second related one, with the latter ideally adding considerable scholarly value to the former. This has been the case with our most recent acquisition—MS 380—to the library's very significant collection of manuscripts. Researchers expect and appreciate that an academic library will hold together important manuscripts and copies of books relating to its alumni authors. New College Library has over the past couple of years made progress towards this aim for the American anglophile, art collector and writer Edward 'Ned' Perry Warren (1860–1928), who read Classics at New College from 1883 to 1888. In the previous issue of *New College Notes*, I reported on our acquisition in March 2022 from a UK antiquarian dealer of an attractive calligraphic manuscript of an unpublished poem 'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo—By Arthur Lyon Raile', that is, a poem by our alumnus Ned Warren.¹ In August, it was our especial good fortune to be able to follow this up by acquiring from a US dealer a limp maroon leather-bound 90-page notebook belonging to Warren, containing fourteen autograph poems, along with quotations and other notes in Warren's hand. Many leaves are blank; a few leaves have been torn and excised from the notebook leaving stubs.² The notebook has flower-and-leaf patterned decorated endpapers; those on the inside back cover bear the label of luxury goods retailers Edwards & Sons of 161, Regent Street, London. This probably enables us to date the notebook itself, and certainly its purchase, to around 1895 or later.³ Possibly Warren acquired the notebook with the express intention of setting down and recording within it more of his verse, after the publication under his penname in 1903 of his first poetry volume *Itamos*.⁴

The fourteen autograph poems themselves contain corrections and emendations which, together with a lengthy note on his hopes for publication of the poems, importantly shed light on Warren's creative process, and the degree of exactitude with which he was attempting to direct how his poems might appear in print. Dates given in Warren's hand suggest he wrote the volume from 1905 until 1916, and the first page he has headed with the putative title 'Jack in the Pulpit. A volume of poems by Arthur Lyon Raile.' Most pertinently in relation to our MS 379, MS 380 contains two versions of 'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo', showing textual changes Warren made, including the removal of two stanzas in the notebook's later version—which accords identically to the version which was then transcribed September–October 1916 in red and black inks to create the beautiful calligraphic version we also hold. Warren sets out the chronology of his composition of the 'Appeal' in the notebook, writing 'correct version of the whole Jan. 1916' in the margin at the end of the second autograph version.⁵

Yet the 'Appeal' was never in fact published; the other poems in the notebook, with the exception of one titled 'The Meditation of mankind', all subsequently appeared in Warren's printed volume of verse *The Wild Rose: A Volume of Poems* (1913; 1928) under his pseudonym Arthur Lyon Raile. But the 'Appeal' is by far the longest poem in the notebook—our MS 380—and one over which he appears to have taken pains, and one which it seems must have mattered to him, as the later production of the fine calligraphic manuscript would suggest. It is also one of two in the

¹ Christopher Skelton-Foord, '[The Appeal of Eros to Apollo: A New Manuscript for New College, Oxford](#)', *New College Notes* 17 (2022), no. 9. As I mention in that note, MS 379 was formerly owned by Australian comedian Barry Humphries (*b.* 1934)—it bears his beautifully designed bookplate: New College Library, Oxford, MS 379, f. [i].

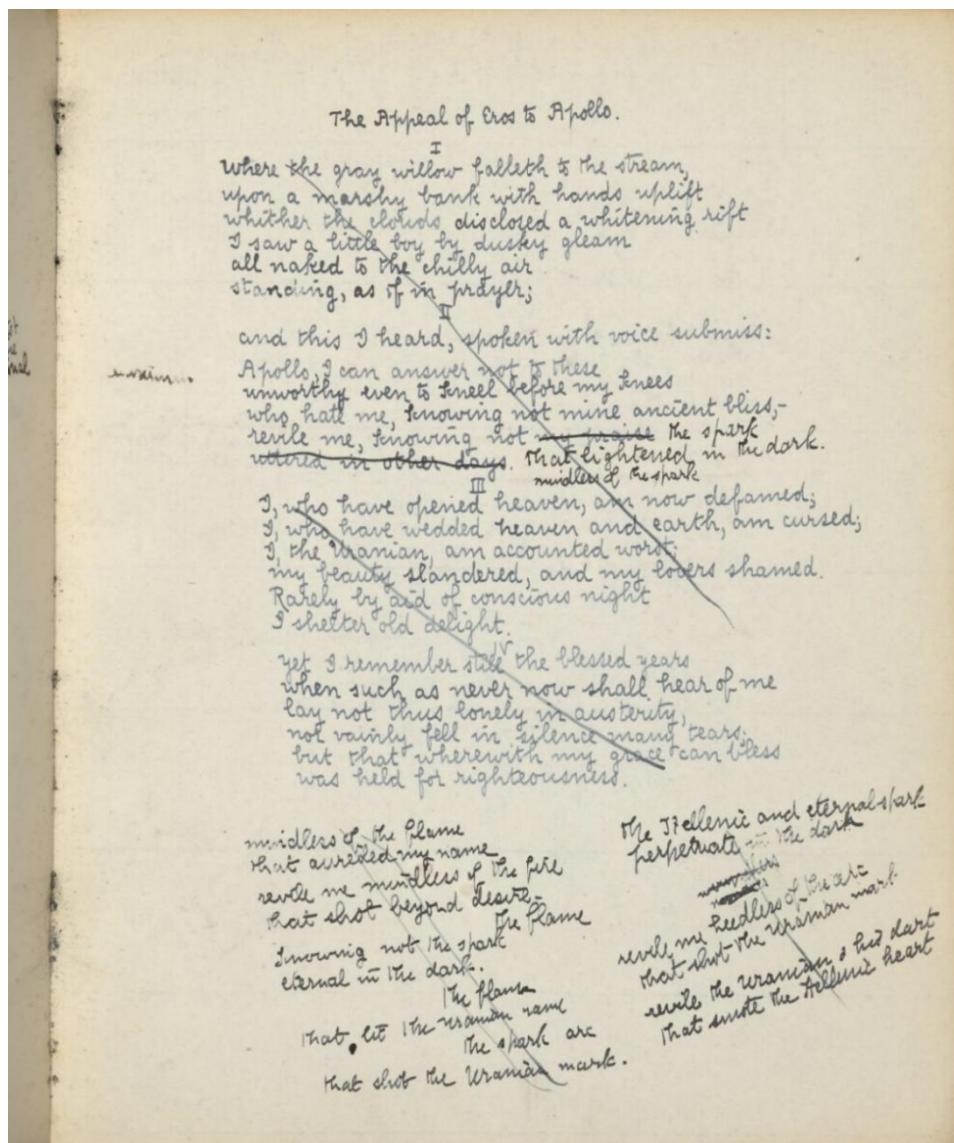
² For reasons of precision and completeness, I have foliated the volume in its entirety, stubs including.

³ Cursory research indicates Edwards & Sons took over the business in Regent Street, trading as Edwards and Jones, when that partnership dissolved in 1895. See entries for Edwards & Jones and Edwards & Sons (where 'Oxford Street' should most likely read 'Regent Street') in the 'Index of British Makers and Retailers': <www.antiquebox.org/index-of-british-makers-and-retailers>; also 'EDWARDS & JONES later, EDWARDS & SONS' within the useful discussion list headed 'Some London Advertisements and Information': <<https://www.925-1000.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=30091&start=20#p76475>> (Accessed: 9 November 2022).

⁴ Arthur Lyon Raile, *Itamos: A Volume of Poems* (London: Grant Richards, 1903).

⁵ New College Library, Oxford, MS 380, f. 28r.

holograph notebook (the other is 'The Study') of which there are two surviving versions in his hand. These versions of the 'Appeal' contain revisions, deletions, and substitutions, most notably the removal of the two stanzas in August 1912, alongside which date he has detailed 'the cancelling of the stanzas formerly marked 3rd & 4th'.⁶ And, tantalisingly, it appears there may have been yet another manuscript version too, because on the earlier of the two autograph versions Warren has written 'The right version of the appeal is on a sheet of note paper at the bank June 9, 1913', to which he has then added 'and also a few pages on in the present book'.⁷ The version a few pages on we have within the notebook certainly, but the version on a (loose) sheet of notepaper may likely be lost. Moreover, within the pages which carry the second autograph version of the 'Appeal' there are three stubs, one of which (f. 26r) contains words and partial words from *another* holograph writing out of the poem. Clearly, this was a poem he wanted to get exactly right, and it required several attempts, and a sizeable excision from the original draft, for him to do so.



'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo' [from the first version in the notebook]

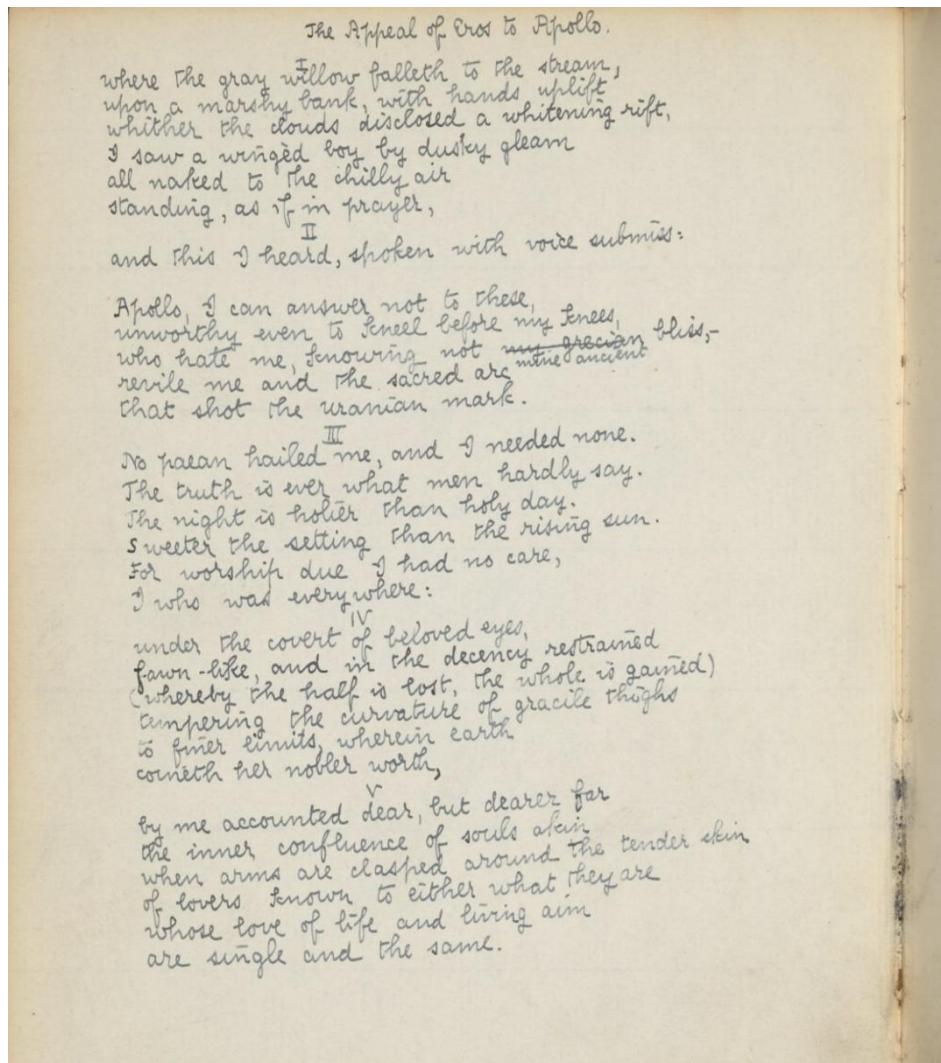
New College Library, Oxford, MS 380, f. 18r

This and following manuscript images © Courtesy of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford

⁶ ibid., f. 19r.

⁷ ibid., f. 18v.

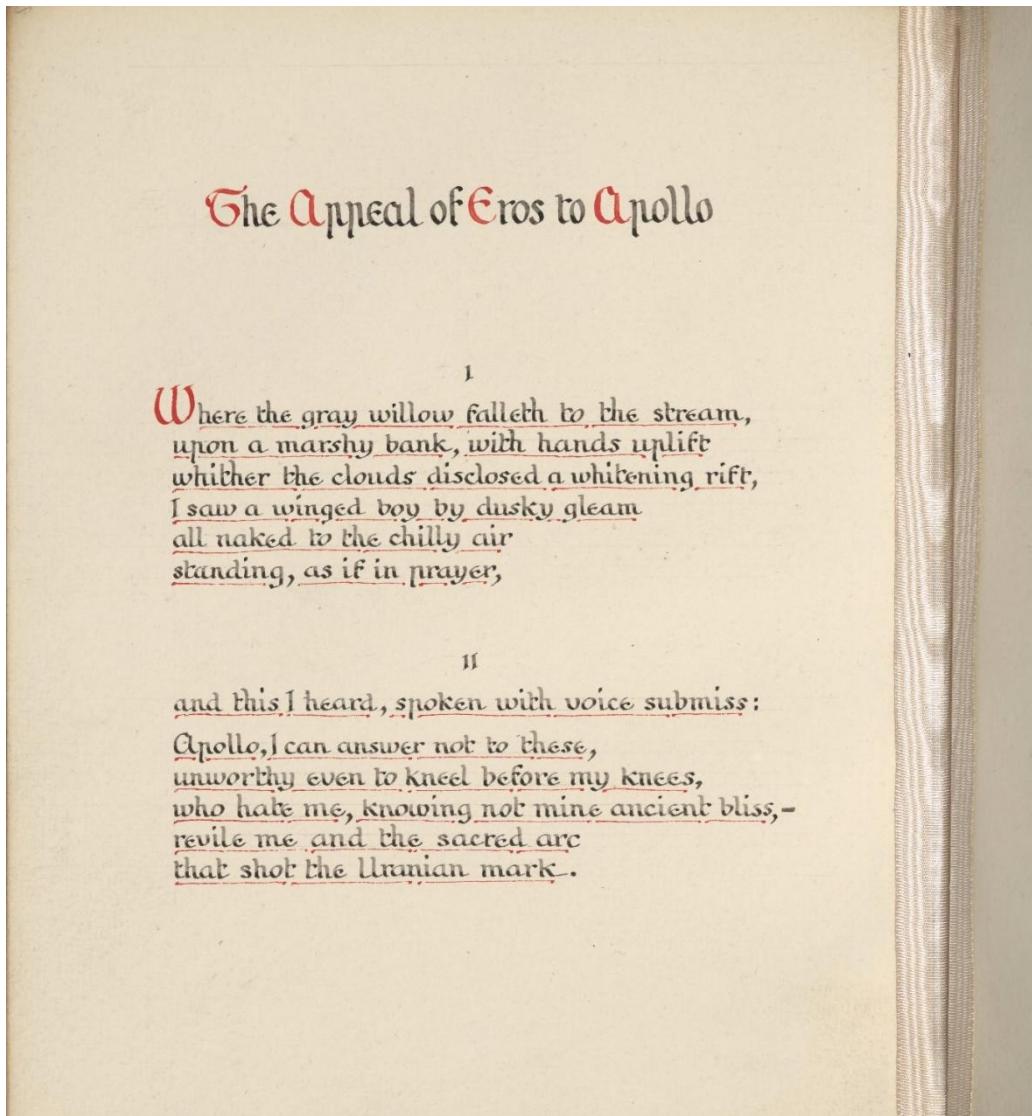
MS 380—so recently shipped from Warren's native United States to make its final home here in Oxford to which Warren relocated in 1883—is thus a significant literary manuscript for New College, from the hand of a writer much more famed for his expert collecting of Greco-Roman art and antiquities (which his colossal wealth enabled him to carry out) than for his poetry and other writing. And it is a literary manuscript which very nicely complements our MS 379, now its immediate neighbour in our manuscripts sequence, and which was acquired by the library only a few months earlier via an unrelated source.



'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo' [from the second version in the notebook]
New College Library, Oxford, MS 380, f. 24v

The fourteen poems in Ned Warren's hand—each carrying a date of composition—appear in the following order within the notebook: 'Closing the House in Spring', 'The Suspicion', 'The Survival', 'The Study', 'The Study' again, 'Ο ἐγκρατής' (subsequently published as 'An Edward'),⁸ 'Some there are who know', 'The Meditation of mankind' (which appears not to have been published), 'The Ring', 'The Isolated Pillar', 'The Wind', 'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo', 'Confession. A Fragment', and finally 'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo' again (also unpublished, though reproduced in the manuscript calligraphically transcribed by T. G. Angell, which is now our visually appealing New College MS 379).

⁸ Arthur Lyon Raile, *The Wild Rose: A Volume of Poems* (London: Duckworth, 1928), p. 146; we hold a copy at our shelfmark New College Library, Oxford, NC/WAR.



'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo' [the calligraphic manuscript not in Warren's hand]
New College Library, Oxford, MS 379, f. 1v

Warren's aforementioned introductory note within the notebook (MS 380) is important for us because it shows clearly his intentions, and the extent to which he was both directional and prescriptive in setting out how he wanted to appear in print—potentially posthumously:

These are the poems to be published if E. P. W. dies, but he is not sure that all are worth publishing and may cut down the number before he dies. He has copied in a smaller red book those which he likes best in the present book. Feb. 26. 1909.

After consideration I think best to require only the publication of the poems in the smaller volume and to leave it to my literary executors to decide whether such poems as are contained herein but not in the smaller volume shall or shall not be published.

March 4th 1909.

In any reprint of the Wild Rose the printed copy is to be followed exactly even to the oddities of punctuation which are all intentional. There is no error in the volume. But E. P. W. has a cor[-]rection to make which has occurred to him lately in the last stanza of the poem entitled Mist. For Thine unuttered word read Thine unspoken word since utter occurs in the last line.

May 9. 1910.

If the poems not included in the Wild Rose increase and multiply so as to become numerous enough to make up a second volume, the second volume is to be called Jack in the Pulpit. If they are few, they could be printed as part of the Wild Rose, if that is ever reprinted. The Wild Rose [often called the canker] is an exact title. Jack in the Pulpit only implies that the poet moralises, but does not name his subject.

May 9. 1910.

The Survival should of course be printed in its proper order of date.

May 9. 1910.

The quotation from Dante should be printed on a separate page like that from Shakespeare.

May 9. 1910.⁹

On another leaf from the notebook, beneath his poem 'Confession. A Fragment.' dated '25th April 1910'—thus written a few days after the suicide of his brother Sam, for which Warren was in some measure blamed, because he had challenged partiality or possible irregularities concerning Sam's financial dealings in relation to the family's inheritance trust—in similar vein Warren has added sometime later:

This poem must not stand at the end of the volume because it might be taken as a recantation, which it is not. If no more poems are written, the survival should be put at the end of the enlarged book as in the volume already published by Nutt. This departure from chronology should then be mentioned in the introductory note.

Feb. 3. 1912.¹⁰

And indeed it is 'The Survival' (dated January 1, 1906) which is printed at the end of his 1913 and 1928 editions of *The Wild Rose: A Volume of Poems*, with 'Confession' (dated April 25, 1910—and the last-written of his poems to be published) its immediate precursor, in volumes whose poems otherwise appear chronologically. The 'volume already published by Nutt' he refers to above, in his note of 3 February 1912, is the 1909 edition of the *Wild Rose*, in which poems are 'printed in the order in which they were written',¹¹ and carry dates of composition, rather as they do in MS 380. (A 'limited edition' of the *Wild Rose* was advertised in October 1907 as forthcoming by Nutt, and to be 'ready December', but no extant copy of an 1907 edition can be traced, and it is uncertain whether one actually came out in the end).¹² So, three (possibly four) editions of the *Wild Rose* were published during Warren's lifetime.

Why then was 'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo' never published? An explanation seems to be apparent, and that is, because it was *not* one of the poems copied into the 'smaller red book' which contained the poems Warren liked best from MS 380. I do not know the whereabouts of this smaller red volume, which Warren alludes to in his notes of 26 February and 4 March 1909 above, nor whether it indeed survives. But that seems a plausible explanation, though one with which the care taken to produce a calligraphic version (MS 379), nicely bound with its hand-lettered vellum inset and watered silk endpapers, still seems somewhat at odds. Perhaps Warren's own assessment of the 'Appeal' evolved over time?

⁹ New College Library, Oxford, MS 380, f. 4r.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, f. 20r.

¹¹ Arthur Lyon Raile, *The Wild Rose: A Volume of Poems* (London: David Nutt, 1909), unnumbered page opposite p. [1]. Our copy—which bears the bookplate of Timothy D'Arch Smith (b. 1936), bibliographer and author of *Love in Earnest: Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English 'Uranian' Poets from 1889 to 1930* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970)—is held at New College Library, Oxford, NC/WAR.

¹² Pre-publication announcement in *The Bookseller: A Newspaper of British and Foreign Literature* 599 (11 October 1907), p. 878, cited by Michael Matthew Kaylor, in his 'Note on the Texts' to *The Collected Works & Commissioned Biography of Edward Perry Warren*, ed. Michael Matthew Kaylor, 2 vols. (Brno: Masaryk University Press, 2013), I, cxiii–cxiv.

Someone who understood and appreciated literary manuscripts far more than most poets and most librarians do was the poet and librarian Philip Larkin, who in 1979 remarked:

All literary manuscripts have two kinds of value: what might be called the magical value and the meaningful value. The magical value is the older and more universal: this is the paper he wrote on, these are the words as he wrote them, emerging for the first time in this particular miraculous combination. The meaningful value is of much more recent origin, and is the degree to which a manuscript helps to enlarge our knowledge and understanding of a writer's life and work.¹³

And increasingly, it is the unique and distinctive material a library holds—such as literary manuscripts—that sets one library apart from other libraries (and the internet), and makes of it an indispensable research resource. MS 380 is useful for us because it shows Warren's creative process, his stylistic and other changes, what he decided to leave in (and what to remove) from his drafts. Most crucially it (along with MS 379) provides us with materials that never made it to publication, penned by a man skilled and powerful in negotiating (his collecting of antiquities is testament to this) and hugely rich, who could readily afford to have privately printed any works of his he deemed should make it into print.

Warren's notes in MS 380 are so interesting because they directly point to how his published book of poetry—because in some ways there is really only one—also evolved over time through its different published iterations. *Itamos: A Volume of Poems* (1903) by Arthur Lyon Raile, whose publication pre-dates the composition of all the poems in MS 380, is expanded with the addition of forty-four new poems (and the removal of two) to become the *Wild Rose* of 1909. Though a *Jack in the Pulpit* would never appear, the 1909 *Wild Rose* is then itself enlarged by nine more poems to become the *Wild Rose*'s 1913 edition, and then this finally becomes an 1928 edition which simply reprints the same poems from the 1913 book but with the addition of an illuminating preface (written six years previously) by A. L. R., dated 'Athens, 1922'.¹⁴ Each volume is published under Warren's pseudonym, and the reason for this is obvious. The poetry exalts male homoeroticism—but is also shot through with a pederastic element, which would be most overtly expressed in his magnum opus and apologia, the three-volume *A Defence of Uranian Love* (1928–30).¹⁵ Warren's literary executors Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard, writers of the earliest full-length biography published in 1941, awkwardly characterise the *Defence* thus:

Isolated by the centuries that divide us from the Greeks, his book remains the lonely monument of a lonely man—but a man convinced of the validity of his contentions and sure that the day would come again when their value might be recognised.¹⁶

Warren's friends, understandably, may have largely passed over or vilified the *Defence*. But this did not mean that Warren's poetry did not receive some serious critical attention upon publication. Harold Hannynton Child (1869–1945) gives a mixed review of *Itamos* in the *TLS* of 22 January 1904, noting nevertheless the poet's 'dignity and distinction', how 'each of his poems gives the impression of having been slowly and laboriously hammered out', and that 'beautiful things are constantly occurring in them'.¹⁷ Robert Bridges, poet laureate 1913–30, read *Itamos*, and was yet more appreciative. Bridges commented in a letter he wrote to Warren on New Year's Eve 1903

¹³ Philip Larkin, 'A Neglected Responsibility: Contemporary Literary Manuscripts', *Required Writing: Miscellaneous Pieces 1955–1982* (London: Faber & Faber, 1983), pp. 98–108, at p. 99.

¹⁴ Raile, *Wild Rose* (1928), p. x.

¹⁵ Arthur Lyon Raile, *A Defence of Uranian Love*, 3 vols. (London: Privately printed [by Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd., of London and Aylesbury], 1928–30).

¹⁶ Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (London: Christophers, 1941).

¹⁷ 'Some Recent Verse', *The Times Literary Supplement* 106 (22 January 1904), 21.

that 'your style reminds me very much of George Herbert at his best'¹⁸—albeit before Bridges had discerned the object of the poet's carnal desire; when he did discern that, he recanted somewhat. Though the ambivalence in his assessment is apparent, the Ulster novelist Forrest Reid (1875–1947)—who would be awarded the 1944 James Tait Black memorial prize for the last of his sixteen novels—reviewed the *Wild Rose* in *The Irish Statesman* of 14 April 1928 also with far more than a degree of appreciation. Reid notes the 'remarkable constancy of spirit and of aim', the 'faith in certain human qualities—courage, fortitude, loyalty, faith itself', and the 'sincerity that vibrates through it'.¹⁹ Later, when Reid's review is republished in revised form as his essay 'Arthur Lyon Raile' in his 1941 book *Retrospective Adventures*, Reid's assessment contains more critical notes:

I am perfectly aware that these poems are full of faults. There are lines of sheer doggerel, there is often a pedantic pretentiousness of diction; and the tyranny of rhyme sometimes has had disastrous results.²⁰

Perhaps we get a greater insight into what Reid really felt and thought through a letter of 19 August 1929 which he wrote from Belfast to his friend and contemporary from Cambridge, Warren's biographer Osbert Burdett. His letter relates to the *Defence*, but also picks up on that work's complementariness to the *Wild Rose*. Reid finds the first volume of the *Defence* 'extraordinarily interesting', but he is also perplexed and unsure:

What I really want, I suppose, is a moral support for what is usually called immorality . . . But then with Raile it is morality. You don't think his theory is simply based on inclination, do you? When inclinations are strong there is always this horrible danger of self-deception . . . I wish I had had a chance of a talk with A. L. R. . . . One thing I like about Raile is his freedom from sentimentality. Having wallowed in sentimentality myself, and being liable to wallow again, I dare say I am inclined to overvalue the opposite qualities. At any rate the book forms the most amazing gloss on the Wild Rose.²¹

Though published pseudonymously, the *Wild Rose* volumes, like *Itamos* before them, carry a dedication 'to J. M.'—albeit one that would have been purposefully undecipherable to a reading public when the books first appeared. These were the initials of the actual dedicatee John Marshall (1862–1928), Warren's lifetime partner, whom Warren first met when they were students together at New College. A letter of 1928 from Warren to the German archaeologist Professor Ludwig Curtius (1874–1954) describes how Warren and Marshall first became acquainted, and includes an interesting comment on the college's Wykehamist intake in those days:

Mr. Marshall came from Liverpool. I became acquainted with him at New College, Oxford, in 1884. He was a year or two my senior [*within college, not in age*] and had had a brilliant record scholastically, but had not been elected a member of the Essay Society. At the time, the College was divided. It had belonged to men from Winchester School, and the Winchester men still held apart from those who came from other schools. Marshall happened to take a wrong place in Chapel and some Winchester men called

¹⁸ Letter from Robert Bridges, from Yattendon, Berkshire, to Edward Perry Warren (31 December 1903), cited in Burdett and Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren*, pp. 282–3, at p. 283.

¹⁹ Forrest Reid, 'Literature and Life: Pagan Poetry', *The Irish Statesman* 10 (6) (14 April 1928), 110–111, at p. 110.

²⁰ Forrest Reid, 'Arthur Lyon Raile', in *Retrospective Adventures* (London: Faber and Faber, 1941), pp. 171–5, at p. 174.

²¹ Letter from Forrest Reid, from 13 Ormiston Crescent, Knock, Belfast, to Osbert Burdett (19 August 1929), MS46/9, MS46 Burdett Correspondence, Queen's University Belfast. I am grateful to Thomas Carmichael, Special Collections, The McClay Library, Queen's University Belfast, for kindly supplying me with copies of this letter and two other letters from Reid to Burdett which relate to Warren: MS46/5 (6 October 1927) and MS46/10 (30 September 1929).

him to order. Marshall exaggerated the offence. He was a shrinking sensitive person, and fell out of the College life.²²

Warren—and Marshall probably—appear in fictional guise (Warren as first-person narrator Claud Sinclair, Marshall as Arthur Byngham) in Warren's short autobiographical novel *A Tale of Pausanian Love*, written while Warren was on holiday in Naples in 1887.²³ The similarities to E. M. Forster's *Maurice*—written 1913–14 though first published posthumously in 1971—are notable.²⁴ Moreover, Forster's stipulating that his novel, on account of its homosexual theme, should not appear until after his death resembles Warren's delaying publication of his *Tale*—and then only under 'A. L. R.' the initials of his pseudonym—until its private printing in 1927, the year before Warren's death. The *Tale of Pausanian Love* is Warren's university novel, set largely in Oxford and at an unnamed college—almost certainly New College.

Irrespective of the dedication to Marshall in Warren's published volumes of poetry, the reality is that a year before *Itamos* was published in 1903, Warren had met and become infatuated with the much younger Harold 'Harry' Asa Thomas (1883–1953), who would go on to become Warren's secretary. And it was indeed his protégé the athletic (and heterosexual) Harry Thomas—not John Marshall—who occasioned much of the love poetry Warren penned, and certainly most of those poems that appeared in *The Wild Rose*. Of course, first-person narrators in novels and speakers in poems do not perfectly correspond to an authorial voice. But Warren's writings are nothing if not autobiographical in content and confessional in tone. Thomas may well be the 'dear boy' the poet addresses in 'Disappointment'—Warren's poem of 15 March 1903, which opens with 'Dear boy, I blame thee not; / for youth is hot'—though it is worth recalling that Warren also addresses Marshall as '[m]y dear boy' in a letter of 24 October 1892—and Warren is but two years Marshall's senior in age.²⁵ Indeed, even in a letter of June 1889 that Warren writes to Marshall (one of several such persuasive wooing missives he writes) to encourage Marshall to come and live with him—essentially at Warren's expense—Warren uses the address 'my boy'. This of course also underlines in the relationship the very hierarchy (stemming from Warren's very considerable wealth and higher social class) which he is ostensibly trying to play down:

I think, my boy, that when you have spent some months at the house I am hunting for, you will feel happier and stronger and be less inclined to take into account differences of property, etc., which are external, as you well know.²⁶

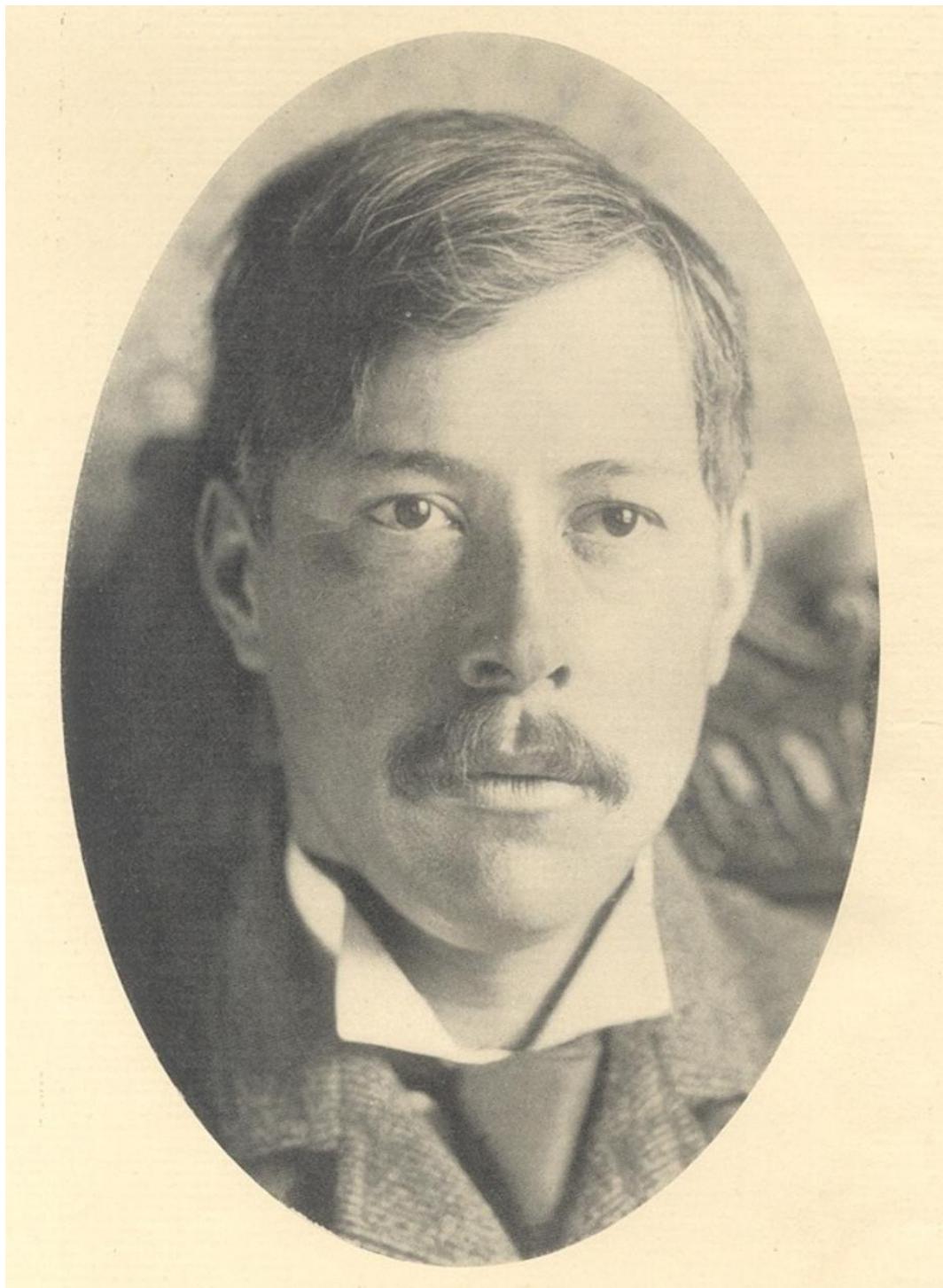
²² Cited in Burdett and Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren*, p. 108.

²³ *A Tale of Pausanian Love*. By A. L. R. (London: Cayme Press, 1927). (Warren also references Pausanias of Athens in his *Defence of Uranian Love*, p. 16, n. 1: 'I take the name Pausanian from the advocate of loves more or less adult in Plato's *Symposium*.) Only three extant copies of this private press book by Warren have been traced in institutional libraries: at the British Library, London; in Special Collections & Archives at the Dana Porter Library, University of Waterloo; and within the Richard Hudson Library of Gay Literature and History at the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.

²⁴ See Martin Green, *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens: A Boston Story, 1860–1910* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), pp. 97–9.

²⁵ Raile, *Wild Rose* (1909), p. 94; letter from Edward Perry Warren, from Lewes, to John Marshall (24 October 1892), cited in Burdett and Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren*, p. 164. The point is well made by Jen Grove that Warren's 'dear boy' address and tone to Marshall, in letters Warren writes endorsing the acquisition of antiquities Warren's money pays for and Marshall transacts, reflect an employer-employee dynamic within their relationship which existed alongside a sexual one (and a notably egalitarian meeting of minds too): Jen Grove, "First Outlines and Hard Muscles Immortalised": Ancient Statuary and E. P. Warren's "Uranian Ideal", in *Sculpture, Sexuality and History: Encounters in Literature, Culture and the Arts from the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Jana Funke and Jen Grove (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 171–94 at p. 182.

²⁶ Letter from Edward Perry Warren to John Marshall (June 1889), cited in Burdett and Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren*, p. 118.



Edward Perry Warren (c. 1890)

In 1906 Warren would—in a letter written from his American home in Maine—entreat the philosopher Professor Thomas Case (1844–1925), president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, regarding the tutoring of two young men. One of these is Harry Thomas of whom he writes, with gentle insistence: ‘I have been brief in my description of the Englishman, but the case is more important to me than it may seem . . . I cannot put too much care into his education’.²⁷

²⁷ Letter with two enclosures from Edward Perry Warren, from Fewacres, Westbrook, Maine, to President Thomas Case (25 August 1906), B/12/4/1, Corpus Christi College Archives, Oxford. For kindly enabling me to consult the Warren papers at Corpus, I thank the college’s Librarian Joanna Snelling and its Assistant Archivist Harriet Patrick.

Harry mattered very much to Warren. Two loose sheets of paper are enclosed, one with Warren's notes about one protégé, the second with notes about the other. The notes on Harry Thomas characterise him as cheerful, good-tempered, healthy, and '[f]acile princeps in sports and games'—indeed Warren makes him sound something of an Adonis, which is doubtless how he saw him. (The other young man whose case Warren pleads is (Bostonian) Harold Woodbury Parsons (1882–1967), termed very seriously minded, mature, witty, and 'rather like an Englishman'; he would remain in Warren's circle, and became an antiquities dealer.)

The MS 380 'Jack in the Pulpit' notebook opens with what is clearly meant to resemble a title-page, and all the poems written in it came after Warren had met and fallen for Thomas. On 5 November 1907 a despondent and jealous Marshall marries Warren's cousin Mary Emma Bliss (1856–1925), relocating with her to Rome (the decision to marry was in some measure a peevish one); the following year Harry Thomas himself marries—a Hannah 'Nan' Devey. Years later, Warren will set out revealingly, in a letter to his secretary Frank Herbert Gearing (1880–1944), his (misogynistic) views on marriage, with telling comments about Marshall in his relation to his marriage:

Marriage is best for most men and these often the best, though some men, also often of the best, would be harmed by marriage: these may be said, like priests to have a vocation. J. M.'s observations are too general; they are occasioned, I believe, by the fact that he has found women serviceable, pliant, willing to be subordinate (granted certain conditions). That is not a final argument of superiority; but Mr. Marshall does not occupy himself with general judgments nor endeavour to build them into a system; even in this judgment of individuals he is erratic. I think him quite right in his opinion that, if marriage is to to [sic] be, it had better occur without delays.²⁸

It is notable that MS 380 carries in its notes no mention of dedicatees, nor do 'To J. M.' or indeed 'To H. A. T.' appear on or after the manuscript's mock title-page. Though none of Warren's male friends and companions would ever supplant Marshall, whose relationship with Warren essentially continued after the marriage to Mary Bliss, nonetheless there is no doubt that Warren's affection and desire for both men over the same period of time caused turmoil—and would have rendered any explicit mention of a dedicatee for the 'Jack in the Pulpit' poems a complicated choice. Indeed, it is possible Warren wrote poems for and about a number of male close friends. One such unpublished poem I have uncovered—seemingly hitherto unremarked—is held in Corpus Christi College Archives, Oxford. It is undated, but is held within a file of 1908–1915 letters to President Case from Warren; I would suggest a date of 1913 or 1914, which means it would have been written during the time when Warren was also compiling our MS 380 notebook. It is uncertain to whom it may have been sent, but it is written on the letterhead paper for Warren's magnificent Georgian mansion Lewes House, Lewes, Sussex, and it is dedicated to his first cousin once removed, Boston-born (Mortimer) Phillips Mason (1876–1957) who is almost sixteen years

²⁸ Letter from Edward Perry Warren, from Fewacres, Westbrook, Maine, to Frank Herbert Gearing (9 September 1925), GB/1648/EPW/1/1/18/1, Ashmolean Museum Archives, Oxford. For helping me access the Warren and Marshall papers at the Ashmolean, I am grateful to the Sir Arthur Evans Curator of Bronze Age and Classical Greece Dr Andrew Shapland and Collections Assistant Tessa Blake at the museum. Among the Ashmolean's papers is an autograph manuscript copy, in Warren's neatest hand and virtually without correction, of 'The Prince who did not exist': GB/1648/EPW/1/2/B38/1. It fills a small notebook which has brown hard paper covers that bear a large attractive motif of a flower (though not apparently a rose). This short fairy tale was published under Warren's own name as a book of 26 unnumbered leaves: Edward Perry Warren, *The Prince Who Did Not Exist*, with pictures by Arthur J. Gaskin (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900). New College Library's copy, at NC/WAR, is copy 214 of a limited edition of 350 copies.

Warren's junior, who went on to become professor of philosophy at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, and who wrote *The X of Psychology* (1940).³⁰ I transcribe the poem here in full:

To Phillips Mason.

Phillips, my dear, thou art to me
Agreeable, for thou dost not say
Anything any other way
Than I believe that it could be.

Yea, even when what we agree
Upon is certainly not so,
"It fortifies my soul to know"
That true it seemeth unto thee.
Teach me to reconcile all things
Adverse by logic of the schools.
Lead me where intellectual wools
Await thy frequent gatherings.

Instruct me, for, without thine aid,
I sometimes think a spade a spade.

E.P.W.³⁰

Warren's life had more than its share of unconventionality. In 1911, in circumstances bizarre and at the time unexplained, Warren returned from France with a four-year-old boy in tow, Travis (1907–1978), whom he adopted as his son—a Parisian-born love child of a Cornish vicar's unmarried daughter. In 1912, the Thomases' daughter Pamela is born, their son Edward, two years later. All three children would together spend time in what became a nursery for them on the top floor of Lewes House.³¹ Travis for a while would be educated at New College's partner school Winchester College, but would prove an undistinguished student.

August 1912 sees Warren excise from 'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo' in MS 380 the following two stanzas, which had been part of the poem since 17–18 August 1908, and possibly since as early as November 1903:

I, who have opened heaven, am now defamed;
I, who have wedded heaven and earth, am cursed;
I, the Uranian, am accounted worst;
my beauty slandered, and my lovers shamed.
Rarely by aid of conscious night
I shelter old delight.

Yet I remember still the blessed years

²⁹ Phillips Mason was the son of Warren's cousin Mortimer Blake Mason (1850–1909), who was a partner in Warren's father's hugely successful paper mills business, S. D. Warren and Company. For further details of the descendants and relatives of Warren's father, Samuel D. Warren (1817–1888), see Charles White Huntington, *The Warren-Clarke Genealogy: A Record of Persons Related Within the Sixth Degree to the Children of Samuel Dennis Warren and Susan Cornelia Clarke* (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson and Son University Press, 1894).

³⁰ 'To Phillips Mason.' by 'E.P.W.', unpublished undated autograph poem by Edward Perry Warren, B/14/4/1, Corpus Christi College Archives, Oxford.

³¹ I have drawn upon David Sox's excellent *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren & the Lewes House Brotherhood* (London: Fourth Estate, 1991), *passim*, for some of the biographical details of Warren's unconventional life.

when such as never now shall hear of me
lay not thus lonely in austerity,
but that wherewith my grace can bless
was held for righteousness.³²

They are the most declamatory lines in the poem, and read as personal interjections, and self-pitying ones.

Such was Warren's affection and regard for Harry Thomas that it is Thomas—and not Warren's adopted son Travis—who will be the principal beneficiary, when Warren dies in London on 28 December 1928.³³ Arthur Marshall, who died in Rome, predeceased Warren by ten months. When Warren relates Marshall's death, in a letter from Italy to Erasmian scholar Professor Percy Stafford Allen (1869–1933) who had succeeded Thomas Case as president of Corpus Christi in 1924, Warren accords Marshall the personal description '[m]y lifelong friend, with whom I was living', and the professional one—perhaps with a nod to his old college where they had first met (and fallen in love)—'a New College man, John Marshall, representative of the Metropolitan Museum in New York'; he adds with touching pathetic understatement, 'I find that the tasks incumbent on me as executor are all that I can manage'.³⁴ Over twenty years earlier, when he wrote to his friend French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), Warren then in similar vein referred to Marshall as 'mon ami le plus intime', pointing up the length of time they had lived and worked together as partners: 'Il y a plus de dix années que lui et moi nous vivons et travaillons ensemble'.³⁵

New College and Corpus Christi were indeed the defining Oxford colleges in Warren's biography: New College at the beginning of his Oxford days, but subsequently Corpus—which received a considerable and extraordinary benefaction in Warren's will. When he is initially choosing between New College and Corpus Christi to enrol at Oxford as a young man, Warren seeks advice from Corpus fellow in Classics Arthur Sidgwick (1840–1920), who is quite candid and tells him, 'You would find help at either college; but if I were quite frank I should say that New College was better'—and accordingly he goes to New College.³⁶ But towards the end of his life, the case seemingly is reversed—and now 'Corpus was better than New College'. Warren will bequeath to Corpus a substantial endowment to enable that college to revive its praelectorship of Greek—but also, he endeavours to ensure, in order to further his dreams of Hellenic comradeship between male students and male dons, which should include the construction of an underground tunnel to connect students' and dons' quarters. It warrants quoting at length, from the letter of 4 January 1927 he writes from Naples to President Allen at Corpus Christi College:

Corpus has the advantage of a close and constant relation between dons and undergraduates. There was less of it at New College when I was there. This is partly because Corpus is small; and, personally, I hope that, if more buildings are put up over the way, the number of undergraduates will not be increased but those now in lodgings will come into the added rooms. All this idea comes biographically from my observation of Harvard and New College. New College was better than Harvard, Corpus was better than New College. The limitation of the proposed Praelector was dictated by the same consideration of personal, frequent, and easy association. It is one thing to know that

³² MS 380, f. 18r.

³³ Green, *Mount Vernon Street Warrens*, pp. 233–4, provides details of Warren's will.

³⁴ Letter from Edward Perry Warren, from 14 Via Luisa di Savoia, Roma X, to President Percy Stafford Allen (22 February 1928), B/12/4/1, Corpus Christi College Archives, Oxford.

³⁵ Photocopy of a letter from Edward Perry Warren, from Westbrook, Maine to Auguste Rodin (11 March 1903), GB/1648/EPW/1/1/2/91/1, Ashmolean Museum Archives, Oxford.

³⁶ Burdett and Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren*, p. 53.

you can reach your helper, if you have permission to go over the road and ring a bell. It is another, if his rooms are connected with yours by an open passage.³⁷

It is Thomas, then, not Travis, who inherits Lewes House and its contents—as well as Warren's townhouse next door, School Hill House, and his Lewes High Street mansion, The Shelleys, where Thomas was already resident. Thomas quickly sells off Warren's Egyptian, Greek, and Roman antiquities, and other effects including his books, in October 1929.³⁸ Charles Murray West (1903–1947), Warren's secretary in the United States at the time of Warren's death, inherits Warren's home in Westbrook, Maine. Charles was a son of *another* of Warren's very close New College friends, Arthur George Bainbridge West (1864–1952)—the man whom Warren had first wanted as his partner, before he began wooing Marshall. Charles, too, within a couple of years sells off Warren's valuable effects there (including some antiquities), and the home itself not long thereafter.³⁹ Trust funds stipulated by Warren provided not unhandsomely for his adopted son, but did not prevent Travis Warren's eventually dying—in 1978—in much reduced financial circumstances.

What, then, should we make of the titles of Warren's poetry collections?

Itamos (ἰταμός) means 'headlong', 'hasty', 'eager', 'bold', 'reckless'. Was Warren those things in his desire for Thomas? But there is also the *Itamos* tree (yew tree), which can live for many hundreds of years, and is poisonous. Did he himself feel blighted? Of *The Wild Rose*, we read from his biographers Burdett and Goddard:

Since the garden rose, Warren said, signified married love in Christendom, the wild rose was the symbol of the love of friends in Pagan Greece. He would add, with a smile, that the wild rose also had another common name, the canker.⁴⁰

Indeed, Warren mentions the wild rose/canker association in our 'Jack in the Pulpit' MS 380. A wild rose, it would seem, was his symbol for the comrade-love of Ancient Greece—something beautiful but also, perhaps in Warren's own assessment, in some way destructive?

But what of that putative title itself, 'Jack in the Pulpit'? Let us return to the note he wrote on 9 May 1910 at the front of the maroon leather notebook:

The Wild Rose [often called the canker] is an exact title. Jack in the Pulpit only implies that the poet moralises, but does not name his subject.⁴¹

And 'Arthur Lyon Raile' enabled Ned Warren—the poet who dare not name his subject (or himself)—nevertheless to publish his poetry of desire. Jack in the pulpit (*Arisaema triphyllum*) is a common woodland wild flower found in Warren's native eastern North America; it is poisonous, and it has the intriguing ability to change its sex from one season to the next. What might we make of all those associations and meanings?

³⁷ Letter from Edward Perry Warren, from Naples, to President Percy Stafford Allen (4 January 1927), B/12/4/1, Corpus Christi College Archives, Oxford. See also Richard Symonds, 'Greece, Women and the Tunnel: E. P. Warren and his Corpus Connection', *The Pelican Record* 39 (2) (1995), 12–21, and, more recently, Emily 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: 28 July 2022).

³⁸ See *Catalogue of the Library from Lewes House, Lewes, Sussex, Collected by the Late E. P. Warren, Esq., M.A. . . . which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby & Co.* (London: Sotheby & Co., 1929), New College Library, Oxford, Bib/WAR.

³⁹ See the sale catalogue, *The Edward Perry Warren Collection: Removed from "Few Acres", the Summer Home of the late Mr. Warren at Westbrook, Maine . . . sold by order of C. J. Murray West* (New York: American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, 1930), New College Library, Oxford, Bib/WAR.

⁴⁰ Burdett and Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren*, p. 276.

⁴¹ MS 380, f. 4r.

Today, Warren is scarcely known as a poet, and when his writings are known at all, it is the three-volume *Defence of Uranian Love* (1928–30) that is recalled, often with a mixture of disquiet, discomfiture, and disgust. It is for his collecting of art works and antiquities that he is best remembered and admired, indeed, famous. It is as a prodigious collector that he excelled, and he is now associated with two pieces in particular. One is the so-named 'Warren Cup' in the British Museum, a Roman silver stemmed goblet (skyphos) of 15 BC–15 AD, showing two explicit scenes: both of them male-male sexual couplings.⁴² Warren purchased the drinking vessel in Rome for £2,000 in 1911, and it was subsequently acquired by the museum in 1999, for what was at that time the largest sum ever paid for a single item in its collections, £1.8m.

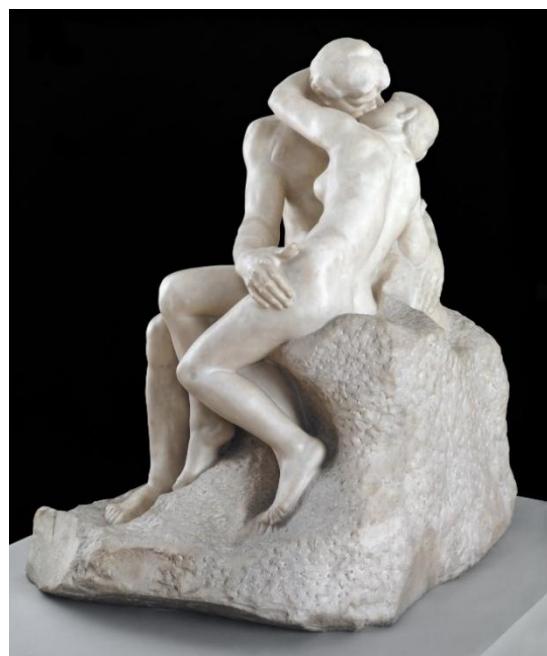


The Warren Cup (skyphos) (15BC–AD15)

Made (probably) in The Levant

Found at Bittir, near Jerusalem

© The Trustees of the British Museum



Auguste Rodin, 'The Kiss' (1901–1904)

Purchased in 1953 with assistance from

the Art Fund and public contributions

Photo © Tate; CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported)

The other piece is Warren's commission from Auguste Rodin of 'Le Baiser' or 'The Kiss' (1901–1904), the most celebrated of several versions of this work. On 12 November 1900 Rodin was contracted for Fr25,000 to produce for Warren a (Pentelican) marble sculpture of Francesca da Rimini and her adulterous lover Paolo Malatesta, younger brother of Francesca's husband Giovanni Maletesta who slays them both when he discovers them together, as recounted in Dante's *Inferno* (1314). Scandalously, if characteristically, Warren required the penis of the sculptured nude male to be fully actualised and visible: a clause in the contract with Rodin stipulated that 'L'organe génitale de l'homme doit être complété'.⁴³ The sculpture was finished on 28 July 1904, and duly despatched to England. Warren was delighted with it; he gushes his admiration for its artist, in a letter to Rodin later that year, comparing Rodin to Michelangelo: 'Vous me paraissez le premier depuis Michel Ange'.⁴⁴ But, partly due to public sensibilities, the

⁴² For a detailed scholarly account, see John Pollini, 'The Warren Cup: Homoerotic Love and Symposial Rhetoric in Silver', *The Art Bulletin* 81 (1) (1999), 21–52; New College alumnus and honorary fellow Neil MacGregor gives an excellent short assessment of the 'Warren Cup', as object 36 in his *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), pp. 228–34.

⁴³ Cited in Burdett and Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren*, p. 259.

⁴⁴ Photocopy of a letter from Edward Perry Warren, from Lewes House, Lewes, Sussex, to Auguste Rodin (15 December 1904), GB/1648/EPW/1/1/2/92/1, Ashmolean Museum Archives, Oxford.

sculpture would languish for years in the coach house stables of Warren's Lewes House in Sussex. On inheriting it along with the house after Warren's death, Thomas attempted to sell the sculpture in October 1929—indeed, it is listed in a newspaper advertisement as the principal highlight of a sale by auctioneers Rowland Gorringe of the contents of Lewes House, 'By Order of H. Asa Thomas, Esq. . . . as collected by the late E. P. Warren, M.A. . . . RODIN'S FAMOUS MARBLE GROUP "LE BAISER"'⁴⁵. But it failed to reach its reserve price, following a £5,500 bid on behalf of the French government, and was withdrawn.⁴⁶ Eventually in 1953, it was purchased for the nation from Mrs Pamela Tremlett (1912–1995)—none other than Thomas's own daughter—and sold to the Tate for the very low price of £7,500. 'The Kiss' currently still resides in Tate Modern in London, where it is today one of the museum's and our nation's most celebrated pieces.⁴⁷

Finally—to return to our MS 380—I transcribe from the notebook the full page containing the other poem, aside from 'The Appeal of Eros to Apollo', which Ned Warren also never published, from our newly acquired manuscript:

The Meditation
of mankind.

I

Yea, though unread
the prisoner's mark
rot in the dark,
words from the rock
scaling to mock
the dead;

II

though none above
doth register
within what sphere
of light may die
the holiest cry
of love;

III

yet pray; for them,
as serpent bit,
thyself dost hit
the circle,—grant
thy prayer and chant
Amen.

IV

Pray thou as one

⁴⁵ *The Times* (28 September 1929), p. 21, cited by Kaylor, in his 'Introduction' to *Collected Works*, I, lxxxi.

⁴⁶ 'Lewes Did Not Want Rodin's Masterpiece', *Sussex Express & County Herald* [Lewes edition] 9,881 (19 September 1952), 1.

⁴⁷ Two useful short accounts are John May, 'The Kiss: A Lewes Story', in *Rodin in Lewes*, ed. Angela Dyer (Lewes: SculptureCo, 1999), pp. 27–34, and Maev Kennedy, 'Photo archive reveals hidden history of Rodin's The Kiss', *The Guardian* (31 October 2016): <www.theguardian.com/culture/2016/oct/31/rodin-the-kiss-photo-archive-reveals-hidden-history>. See also entry 6228, for this sculpture by Rodin, in Ronald Alley, *Catalogue of The Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art Other Than Works by British Artists* (London: Tate Gallery in association with Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1981), pp. 646–8.

who nothing saith,
but listeneth;
who looketh long
when evensong
is done;

V
then sober goes.
His veil of sin
is wearing thin.
The distant grace,
the prisoner's face
he knows.

June 3. 1907.

Preparatio ad Missam. Profero etiam, Domine **** tribulationes plebium, pericula populorum, captivorum gemitus, miserias orphantorum, necessitates peregrinorum, inopiam debilium, desperationes languentium, defectus senum, suspiria juvenum, vota virginum, lamenta viduarum.⁴⁸

This poem was one he wrote on 3 June 1907, at a very difficult point in his life—in the lead up to the marriage between his beloved John Marshall and Warren's own cousin Mary Bliss. Warren concludes it with Latin text of intercession from a prayer once ascribed to St Ambrose (339–397), from *Orationes Sancti Ambrosii Ante Missam singulis hebdomadae diebus distributae* (Prayers of Saint Ambrose before Mass for each day of the week).⁴⁹ Only since the last century, however, have these prayers been attributed to the diminutive, Catholic Benedictine abbot, Jean de Fécamp (*d.* 1079)—known affectionately as 'Little John'.

Christopher Skelton-Foord
Librarian
New College, Oxford

⁴⁸ MS 380, f. 12r.

⁴⁹ The full Latin text, with English translation, of the *Orationes Sancti Ambrosii Ante Missam singulis hebdomadae diebus distributae* is available within 'Prayers Before Mass' from Michael Martin, *Thesaurus Precum Latinarum / Treasury of Latin Prayers* at: <www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/AnteMissam/OrationesSAmb.html> (Accessed: 9 November 2022).