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Six O'Clock in Princes Street: an analysis of Wilfred Owen's Edinburgh 're-education'

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ABSTRACT

The First World War poet, 2nd Lieutenant Wilfred Owen, is remembered for his powerful testimony of war via his anti-war poetry. However, there has been limited focused investigation of Owen's four months in Edinburgh between 26 June 1917 and 3/4 November 1917 and the impact of that period. Owen was in Edinburgh convalescing from 'shell-shock' at Craiglockhart War Hospital; his doctor called it 're-education'.[1] *Fresh research and analysis has been able to confirm the Scottish inspiration of a number of aspects of Owen's poetry: from Owen's first visit to Scotland, holidaying in 1912, and his four-month stay in Edinburgh in the latter half of 1917.*

During late 1917 Owen was able to craft some of the most poignant war poetry of the century, if not all time. That writing was made possible by the Edinburgh environment and important meetings in the social circles he benefited from in the city. It was facilitated by innovative 'work' cures, or ergotherapy, being implemented at Craiglockhart by Edinburgh-based physician Dr Arthur John Brock. Brock had been inspired in his medical thinking by Professor Sir Patrick Geddes. Geddes would evolve sociologist Le Play's Lieu, Travail et Famille *heuristic method and propose three themes as determinants of society: Place, Work and Folk. Geddes' sociological survey model provides useful lenses for a more in-depth consideration of the socio-cultural impact of Edinburgh and its people on Owen and his writing.*

INTRODUCTION

Wilfred Edward Salter Owen joined the Artists' Rifles in October 1915. He was commissioned into the Manchester Regiment in June 1916 and arrived on the Western Front in early 1917. He was injured in March 1917 and again in May 1917. His second time at a Casualty Clearing Station was for 'shell-shock'. The mental wounds received would see him moved to a General Hospital behind the lines before being brought back to Britain. He arrived at Edinburgh's Craiglockhart War Hospital on 26 June 1917. His time in Edinburgh, up until November 1917, would see some of the most powerful poetry of the war written. Owen had written poetry before, but not of the power and poignancy that he did while in Edinburgh.

In-depth analysis of the influence of Edinburgh on Owen reveals some interesting finds which shed new light on Owen in Edinburgh and the impact the city had on him. These include being able to confirm the meeting venue for a significant literary meeting between Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves in the Scottish capital city; a deeper analysis of key Edinburgh figures who helped Owen's 're-education' and influenced his poetry; shedding light on the Scottish influences on Owen's unique poetic style, pararhyme; and also adding new evidence to the scale of Owen's published poetry during his lifetime, some of which was published in Edinburgh.

It is in Scotland that we can see the most significant aspects of Owen's literary education and a prolific period of writing poetry. Owen had six poems published in his lifetime, three of which were published in Edinburgh. This overview offers a new perspective on the scale of

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his works and people and places that influenced Owen. In the Edinburgh environment, Owen had the space, permission and encouragement to write. Owen was inspired to write as a result of certain places in Edinburgh, some of which he featured in his poems. He was also influenced by key Edinburgh people such as his fellow Craiglockhart War Hospital 'patient' Siegfried Sassoon and Brock, the Edinburgh doctor who supported Owen's recovery at Craiglockhart War Hospital, among other enlightened Edinburgh figures who expanded Owen's thinking. The confirmation of six poems published in his lifetime adds to our overview of his literary work and legacy. Without his time in Edinburgh we might not have seen the powerful poetry captured and shared in 'Dulce et Decorum Est' and 'Anthem for Doomed Youth'.

'Anthem for Doomed Youth' is very much influenced by his time in Edinburgh, and 'Dulce et Decorum Est' was also written in Edinburgh. It was written just before the 13 October 1917 meeting at Baberton Golf Club, which recent research has been able to reveal. Owen's most famous war poem, about a gas attack, was drafted just before, and then redrafted just after, that meeting. While the war was clearly the main influence and focus of Owen's poetry, it was the environs, time, people and the work that allowed the words to come together.

This paper will see Patrick Geddes noted as one of Owen's key influencers even though the two probably did not even meet. Moreover, the paper will take a Geddesian approach for it will be structured in the form of Geddes' 'Place, Work, Folk' model as a lens through which to view influences on the First World War poet's life and work. Geddes' construct, which emerged from his initial botanical thinking on environment, function and organism, evolved into a sociological model with consideration of Geography, Economics and Anthropology. Just as Geddes had shared his 'Valley Section' as a way to give an economic interpretation of history through the land people inhabit, he also shared some basic principles of social analysis through looking at society through the lens of place, work, folk, and combinations of these.[2]

EXISTING LITERATURE

Well-respected literary accounts mention Owen's Edinburgh recovery, however, it might be seen as a passing chapter in Owen's development. Stallworthy (1974) and Hibberd (1992, 2003) – and more recently Cuthbertson (2014) and Potter (2014) – are all authoritative in their analysis of Owen, although perhaps short on their coverage of Edinburgh. Stallworthy pioneered Owen studies. His work was the first full historical account, albeit from a primarily literary viewpoint. Since then, literature academics have analysed Owen and his poems but, to date, no historian has published in-depth analyses on Owen's Edinburgh work, people and places. Analysing Potter's magnificent illustrated work of Owen's life shows just over half a dozen pages afforded to Owen's Edinburgh medical treatment and education – despite this being such a formative part of his life and moreover his literary development.

Hibberd is perhaps seen as the authority on Wilfred Owen. His work on Owen's last year (published 1992) in actual fact takes in more than the poet's final year. It starts with Owen arriving back in England on 16 June 1917, his time in Edinburgh from June to November, and ends with his death in November 1918. Thus it covers around the last 18 months of Owen's life, just under a quarter of which, four months, was spent in Edinburgh. Hibberd's work affords 41 pages of his 194-page work to Owen's time in Edinburgh. The percentage of coverage in the book focused on Edinburgh is around the proportion of time Owen spent in Edinburgh in that last year and a half. However, Hibberd's initial work is ripe for further research and, in particular, research specifically focused on Edinburgh.

More recently Cuthbertson (2014) has published an account of Owen's life but while it increased interpretation on 'Brock's ladies' and the artistic class Owen met with in Edinburgh, there is still much to learn regarding Owen's Edinburgh. As we can see, there is a gap in our knowledge and accounts of Owen in Edinburgh and a full, detailed analysis and interpretation of this period, at the end of 1917, is long overdue. There are only two works focusing solely on

Owen's time in Edinburgh: although Pat Barker's (1992) *Regeneration* and Stephen MacDonald's (1983) *Not About Heroes* are both wonderful works, they are both fictional.

OWEN'S JOURNEY TO EDINBURGH

When the First World War started, Owen was in France. He did not join the army immediately, although he did consider signing up for the French army or Italian cavalry. Almost a year into the war, Owen joined the Artists' Rifles Officer Training Corps in Britain. On 4 June 1916 he was commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant in the Manchester Regiment and first saw action in the Somme area. He was soon to be a casualty. His first time in a Casualty Clearing Station was a result of falling into a shell hole. Recovering from concussion, he returned to the front. He was later blown up by a trench mortar and spent days unconscious in the carnage that the First World War ravaged across the French and Belgian countryside. On regaining consciousness, Owen found himself surrounded by the remains of one of his fellow officers, 2nd Lieutenant Gaukroger. Diagnosed as suffering from 'war neuroses' Owen was transferred to one of the two reception centres for war neuroses, the Royal Victoria Hospital (also known as the Welsh Hospital, Netley). He was then moved to one of Britain's six 'shell-shock' hospitals for officers. Owen could have been sent to any of the following hospitals across the UK: Fourth London General Hospital, Maudsley, Denmark Hill, London (officers and men); Lechtmere House, Ham Common, London (officers only); Red Cross Military Hospital, Moss Side, Maghull, near Liverpool (officers and men); Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley (officers and men); Special Hospital for Officers, 10–11 Palace Green, London (officers only); and Craiglockhart War Hospital, Slateford, near Edinburgh (officers only).

Owen spent 126 days at Craiglockhart Hospital. It was perhaps fate that saw Owen, the aspiring and developing poet, sent to what is now a City of Literature. Edinburgh has a rich seam of literary greats, history and heritage, and an enlightened environment in which Owen immersed himself. One might consider his potential literary life and legacy if Owen had been sent to any of the other 'shell-shock' hospitals or had been treated by doctors with more 'traditional' approaches to the condition.

Wilfred Owen travelled to Edinburgh by train on 25/26 June, and entered Craiglockhart War Hospital in Edinburgh on 26 June 1917. Craiglockhart was a former Hydropathic Institute which was requisitioned as a war hospital in October 1916. Owen was placed under Dr Brock's care. The formative ideas Brock gained from Aberdeenshire-born Patrick Geddes were vital in establishing the treatments which Owen was to receive.

If we take Geddes' model of what influences life – place, work and folk – we can have a unique insight to Owen's Edinburgh and the place he called his 'free-and-easy Oxford'.[3] While 'Dulce et Decorum Est' and 'Anthem for Doomed Youth' might be the most powerful poems written in Edinburgh, we can see other poems like 'Six O'Clock in Princes Street' as part of his poetic progression and development. There were many key places influencing his work, alongside influential Edinburgh figures or groups of people who helped Owen's development.

FOLK

A key assertion of this analysis is that Brock, and Brock's influencer Geddes, were influential in Owen's poetic development in Edinburgh, as well as other Scottish socio-cultural figures who supported Owen's development. It is not known if Owen met Professor Sir Patrick Geddes in person.[4] However, we know of the influence Geddes had on Dr Brock's treatment plan for Owen, which allowed for broad thinking, space, time and a focus on poetry and writing. Without it we might not have seen the powerful poetry we now associate with the war. Owen was to meet many other enlightened figures of the time that indirectly helped to influence his poetry, expanding his ideas and contributing to an intellectual enlightenment which he had hoped to be part of at university but unfortunately circumstances and the war never allowed him.

Those contributing to his enlightenment were from an eclectic mix of Edinburgh individuals, many of whom were linked to Dr Brock, although not exclusively.

PATRICK GEDDES

Patrick Geddes was born in Ballater in 1854, the son of Alexander and Janet Geddes. He was to become an international enlightened figure and polymath with impacts on the fields of botany, sociology and town planning. He secured a job at the University of Dundee and had a reference from Charles Darwin. As well as developing Outlook Tower (now Camera Obscura) in Edinburgh, he also established university halls in Edinburgh as self-governing hostels which were also areas of knowledge and cultural exchange. Geddes' archives show him to be a prolific correspondent with many figures across the world, on many topics. Furthermore, a band of dedicated followers corresponded with him and were influenced by his thinking.

The foundations for Owen's Edinburgh enlightenment had been set before Owen arrived anywhere near Scotland. This was as a result of Geddes, whose work, long before Owen was even born, laid the foundations for a progressive liberal treatment, 're-education', and indeed cultural education which Owen received while in Edinburgh. Geddes' pre-war letters to Edinburgh physician Arthur John Brock helped shape Brock's thinking on how to treat patients. These resulted in the new approaches Brock used to treat the broken men who were 'shell-shock' victims at Craiglockhart War Hospital, among them Wilfred Owen.

Owen had been a poet before and Brock used this hook to reactivate writing as part of his recovery. Owen's first writing task was at Outlook Tower, which had been set up by Geddes. Patrick Geddes had set up this museum to mankind, a sociology observatory capturing his vast array of interests from 'the region' to internationalism. Brock sent Owen there at the very start of his treatment and time in Edinburgh.

It is unlikely Geddes was in Outlook Tower when Owen visited. If Geddes had been there, Owen would probably have mentioned it in his letters. Geddes was known for rapidly taking his visitors to the top of Outlook Tower, at some pace, as this stimulated and heightened the senses. Certainly Owen's senses were stimulated. In a letter to his mother in early July, Owen states that he wrote an essay for Brock about the Outlook Tower visit. It resulted in Owen writing two pieces which, although not of the style and power he later developed in Edinburgh, were formative in starting his prolific period of writing in Edinburgh. Geddes and Brock's ergotherapy ideas stimulated body and mind. During his time in Edinburgh we see Owen physically active and with a focused mind. His writing developed from the flowery juvenilia of his younger years and early war days, to the powerful poetry that we know today.

DR ARTHUR JOHN BROCK

Brock's initial university studies under Samuel Henry Butcher led to his graduation from the University of Edinburgh's faculty of arts in 1894. He wanted to become an artist. However, his father was less keen, and Brock enrolled in the medical school at the University of Edinburgh. Spending time in Vienna and Berlin, Brock then returned to Edinburgh and qualified MBChB in 1901 before spending the end of 1901 and start of 1902 in Vienna. Brock took an international outlook and connected with international intellects, including Patrick Geddes.

However, in 1915 Brock joined the Royal Army Medical Corps as a temporary captain. To gather information, the Scottish Medical Emergency Services Committee sent out forms to all medical practitioners across Scotland, between December 1915 and 1919. Brock's form was duly completed and returned and listed his address as 24 Braid Crescent,[5] where he lived after Kirkliston and from where he travelled to his work at Edinburgh New Town Dispensary at 17 East Thistle Street. Brock had gained experience as a GP at Woodburn Sanatorium for Consumptives; as medical officer for United Parishes of Killean and Kilchenzie (*c* 1903–4); as resident medical officer at the Convalescent House at the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh

(October 1903–March 1904); as Assistant House Physician at the Leith Hospital (before 1905); and also as Clinical Assistant at the Outpatient Department back at the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary (1904–6).[6]

Brock's wartime service included service on a hospital ship to India before being sent to the front lines in France. In 1916 he returned home when he was sent to the newly created Craiglockhart War Hospital. Under the command of Major Bryce, Dr Brock joined Dr W H R Rivers and an American doctor, Major Ruggles, as a medical officer. Rivers' work was based on cures through speaking, almost akin to the counselling approaches of today. However, Brock's approach was laid out in a letter to Geddes on 20 August 1910, many years before, when he wrote at the top of the page in big capital letters 'ERGOTHERAPY' – this was the start of Brock's 'therapy by work' approach, which he pioneered. It was the foundations for later thinking in what we now call Occupational Therapy. Brock believed that cures were to be found in activity and work.[7]

It was a sea change in medical-military thinking for the time. Previous inhumane approaches were strikingly portrayed in the historical character of the Canadian doctor, Lewis Yelland, in Barker's *Regeneration* (1992) and the subsequent film (1997). The War Office, initially influenced by the work of the Aberdeen doctor, John Collie, believed that 'shell-shock' victims were malingerers.[8] Collie had formed his views having worked on many legal cases of trauma and witnessing trauma among the expanding railways. 'Railway spine' as Collie called it, was an early day compensation scam. The same poor consideration of scammers, malingerers and dodgers could and was applied to the soldiers whom authorities thought were 'swinging the lead'.[9] However all of that changed in the minds of authorities around 1916 as the number of troops coming back to Britain presenting with 'shell-shock' increased. Worse still, these were not just frontline soldiers, but now the officer class too. The War Office had to act, and set up two reception hospitals and six treatment hospitals across the UK for officers suffering from 'shell-shock'.

THE BULMANS AND THE NEWBOULTS

Owen felt at home in Edinburgh and, when the time came for him to leave Craiglockhart, he was pained to be 'rooted up from this pleasant Region'.[10] This was in part due to the warm welcome he was given there. 'Aunt Nellie' Bulman had been Owen's mother's favourite governess at Owen's birthplace: Plas Wilmot, Oswestry. Nellie Bulman now lived at Pringle Bank House in Kelso, where the Owen family had holidayed in July 1912.

On Owen's arrival in Edinburgh in the summer of 1917, Mrs Bulman immediately sent a friend, Miss Henderson, to Craiglockhart War Hospital with strawberries and cream for him. Owen recorded his appreciation of this, although he found her Scottish accent a little challenging.[11]

In Leith too, Owen had Edinburgh folk looking out for him. The Newboult family lived at Summerside Place and were friends of both the Bulman and Owen families. Owen's mother, Susan, stayed with them in July when she visited her son in the war hospital. Owen's own visits to the Leith family saw the Newboults' son, Arthur, take to the military visitor. Owen would have been wearing uniform with the addition of 'hospital blues' marking out his convalescent status. Owen was also taken by this Edinburgh boy, writing 'the figure of the Caliban at Somerside Place [sic] affects my imagination even more than the dainty Ariel'.[12]

Owen wrote two poems to Arthur Newboult, 'Sonnet to a Child' and 'Winter Song'. The 'Sonnet' was written on 18 October 1917 with 'Winter Song' possibly thereafter. While they are perhaps not on the topic, nor of the power, of his anti-war poetry, they are all part of his evolution and poetic development.

FRANK NICHOLSON

Frank Carr Nicholson had been educated at Aberdeen and Cambridge. On graduating he took a post at the University of Aberdeen library before moving to the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. From there he moved to the University of Edinburgh as librarian in 1910, succeeding Scots poet Alexander Anderson.

Nicholson was to prove influential to Owen. He helped Owen with learning German, continuing Owen's international education. Owen had been taking German classes at the Berlitz School in Edinburgh, which gave him a foundation in the language before he got Nicholson's help. Moreover, as we will see later, Owen discussed poetic style with this Edinburgh figure, as the developing poet adopted a pararhyme approach.

We learn about Nicholson's interactions with Owen from a short three-page memoir he gave Edmund Blunden for his 1931 edition of Owen's poems, which is appended to the publication. In it, Nicholson states that he first met Owen in the autumn of 1917 at Captain and Mrs Gray's house (see below). As much as this paper suggests Nicholson and 'the Edinburgh set' influenced Owen, Nicholson also comments on Owen's appeal: 'I was conscious of that immediate attraction which his presence seems to have exercised on a great many people … the youth and comeliness were so strongly expressive of the personality behind them.'[13]

Nicholson noted that Owen already had a good sense of the pity of war and that Germans were also 'sufferers' in the Great War. Owen wanted to prepare himself for future opportunities for intercourse with those deemed officially as 'the enemy' but suffering similarly through war. They had planned several afternoon lessons, but Owen's November departure from Edinburgh cut short their planned course after only a few sessions. Nicholson did, however, comment on Owen's 'literary aptitude', that he was 'a delightful pupil', and on Owen's interest in literature, where he had found a medium to express himself.[14] Owen's lessons with Nicholson added to his internationalist outlook and furthered his appreciation of the common humanity of man.

They built a strong bond. Owen and Nicholson went to an Edinburgh café and Owen shared a sense of the true horrors of war with his new teacher. Over afternoon tea, Owen did not share full details; but indicated what was in his thoughts and his desire for the outside world to make sense of them. Owen, on one occasion, almost shared battlefield photographs with Nicholson, however, on considering the horrific content, decided it would not be *bon ton.*[15] The collection included images of soldiers' mutilations, wounds and surgical operations.

THE ST BERNARD'S CRESCENT ARTISTIC SET

As well as meeting with academics Owen also met with Edinburgh's artistic class. Mrs Maidie (Mary) Gray (née Scott) and her husband, Leonard Gray, a Royal Scots Captain who managed a family-owned foundry, now a munitions factory, lived at St Bernard's Crescent, a veritable hive of artistic and bohemian activity in Edinburgh at that time. Mrs Maria Steinthal (née Zimmerman) was a Yorkshire-born sculptress with German ancestors, and her husband Francis (Eric) Steinthal, a history honoursman from Oxford University, lived at 21 St Bernard's Crescent. The artist Henry John Lintott lived on the same street.

Mrs Gray was one of the Edinburgh women who helped Dr Brock in his work. That is, the Edinburgh women who helped Dr Brock as a voluntary duty, in supporting the recovery of Craiglockhart War Hospital patients as well as other activities for civic good. They would meet with patients and, for those able to, would engage them in life outwith the hospital and its grounds.

Mrs Gray gave Edmund Blunden an account of Owen to help with Blunden's 1931 memoir on Owen and collected poems being published. In it, Gray stated that 'the bond which drew us together was an intense pity for suffering humanity – a need to alleviate it, wherever possible, and an inability to shirk the sharing of it, even when it seemed useless'.[16]

Owen liked this artistic and intellectual community. Before Owen left Edinburgh on being discharged from Craiglockhart, he would spend a few days with the Grays and Steinthals back at St Bernard's Crescent. When Owen returned to Edinburgh briefly in December, he saw them again, dining with them on the Friday evening in December.[17]

Again we can see the potential for artistic influences on the aspiring and developing poet. The influence of the Grays carried on to Owen's next destinations, for in Ripon they were able to

introduce him to a great friend of theirs. Owen's network expanded as a result of Edinburgh's cultured class, just as his cultural horizons were also stimulated.

A disappointing addendum to Owen's connections is the fact that in October 1917 Maria Steinthal made a portrait of Wilfred Owen. It was outlined in charcoal before being completed in oils. Sadly Owen's mother destroyed it after the war, not liking the image of her son. It, along with a play Owen wrote while in Edinburgh, are sad losses to our records of his time in Scotland.

HENRY JOHN LINTOTT

Owen first came across Lintott when fellow patient Charles Mayes introduced Owen to some other 'modern' people[18] who also lived on St Bernard's Crescent. Owen had been impressed by the houses there, especially the Grays' and Steinthals', which he commented on. They had a painting by Lintott in their house, which most impressed Owen, along with their carpetless floor, white walls, grand piano and Empress sofa. However, the work that was really to impress Owen was in what he called the Edinburgh Gallery.

Lintott's painting, *Avatar* (1916), was displayed in the Royal Scottish Academy and inspired Owen greatly with its vision of a dead soldier being carried to heaven by angels.[19] Again, Owen visited Lintott and was taken by him, describing him as 'an excellent gentleman'.[20] Owen returned for a second visit and commented on Lintott's lack of confidence. However, Mrs Lintott's pride for her husband was well noted, as was her beauty.[21] However, it is the beauty of Lintott's painting which was most striking, for this image of four angels carrying one of 'The Fallen' to heaven may have helped sharpen Owen's thinking on the pity of war.

MISS AND MISS WYER

The Misses Wyer were also supporters of Dr Brock's work. Again, they socialised with the officers from the hospital, including Owen, and provided support to Brock, where possible, in his ergotherapy mission and various other civic endeavours across Edinburgh. In September, the unmarried sisters invited Owen to lunch at their 'palatial home',[22] after which they visited the gardens together. These appear to be the gardens Geddes founded as part of his work with 'open spaces' in Edinburgh. When war broke out, Miss Wyer, took over from Dr Brock as Chair of the Open Spaces Committee at the Outlook Tower. Through the work of this committee, land between the tenements and the slums was cultivated into gardens and open spaces for play and enjoyment. Owen proclaimed that 'Dr Brock is trying to get me in touch with Edinburgh's submerged tenth'. He went on to suggest it would never work when he was in uniform, but that he could not tell Brock that.[23] Constance Wyer would later go on to be Secretary to the Outlook Tower. Through the spirit of Geddesian environmentalism, Owen would be taken, despite his uniform, to various Edinburgh places to aide his recovery.

Owen had tea with the other Miss Wyer and another lady. Their conversations stretched far and wide. Owen said Miss Wyer 'has travelled far and wide over the continents and literatures'.[24] The other woman who joined them was, according to Owen, 'intellectual, witty and vigorous: told some good stories and ate a huge tea'.[25] This was all part of Owen's cultural awakening, and he proclaimed 'the touches of what I can only call "kultur" in its universal sense, not English, French or German but universal, and the discovery of my own – almost secret – views on such things as culture, state craft, ethic etc etc, in these strange beings and places were enough to make the day memorable in itself'.[26] Owen met Miss Wyer again in mid-October, lunching with her and an educated lady friend of hers. 'Miss Wyer(?)' appeared in Owen's list to receive a copy of his poems, however with a question mark in brackets after it.[27] Was he unsure if she should get a copy or unsure which one? Sadly, we are unable to answer this.

FOLK: CONCLUSION

The more pressing question is the significance of these figures. One might say that Owen had met 'significant' figures before. He had met with and corresponded with the poet Laurent Tailhade

several times around the time of the outbreak of the war, he had shaken hands with the writer Hilaire Belloc, and he had a friend, Bizardel, who was in the Cabinet of the Prefect of Bordeaux as well as the son of a judge. These were notable figures for Owen, the son of a railway worker, to be mingling with, and he knew it. Nevertheless, none of these people had inspired or supported Owen to write poetry that would go on to be published, although he did share lines he had written with close family and friends via notebooks and letters. During the early phases of the war he had met more people, but it was not until he was admitted to Craiglockhart in Edinburgh that the powerful poems first came and, for the first time, could be published.

PLACES

Owen visited many places when in Edinburgh. Farther afield, he also visited Milnathort with Sassoon, but mainly kept himself to the city. Some of Owen's visited spots were functional venues for social meetings: The North British Station Hotel and the Caledonian Hotel. We know he visited the galleries and viewed *Avatar.* There is also a copy of the *Royal Scottish Museum Guide to the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* in Owen's personal book collection, now stored at Oxford University. Owen had put his initials on this and 'August 1917', and it now sits as part of his preserved library.[28] Owen never wrote about the museum visit; however, there were some places that stand out for the significance they play in Owen's Edinburgh enlightenment, either directly or for the important role they play in the formation of some of his key poems.

CRAIGLOCKHART WAR HOSPITAL

Owen's war-poet friend and fellow patient, Siegfried Sassoon, described the scene which Owen would have found when he arrived at Craiglockhart War Hospital on Tuesday 26 June 1917.

> It would be an exaggeration if I were to describe Slateford [Sassoon referred to Craiglockhart as Slateford War Hospital in *Sherston's Progress*] as a depressing place by day-light. The doctors did everything possible to counteract gloom, and the wretched faces were outnumbered by those who were emerging from their nervous disorders. But the War Office had wasted no money on interior decoration; consequently the place had the melancholy atmosphere of a decaying hydro, redeemed only by its healthy situation and pleasant view of the Pentland Hills.[29]

However, despite this dreich description, there is no doubt that Craiglockhart War Hospital influenced Owen and his poetry, not least the treatment he received there and the writing opportunities he was given. Some of Owen's writing, particularly his letter writing, was undertaken in the evenings and into the night at Craiglockhart, perhaps to escape the nightmares associated with shell-shock.

Owen's first poems written in Edinburgh, 'The Ballad of Lady Yollande' and 'The Wrestlers', are lengthy and in the style of Sir Walter Scott. The length and tone of 'The Ballad' is quite different to some of his war work from before late 1917; for example, 'The Ballad' has 33 stanzas in it compared to the two-stanza poem 'A Sonnet: On Seeing a Piece of Our Artillery'. The shorter sonnet became a norm for Owen, but on arriving at Craiglockhart he was experimenting with a longer 'Scott-ish' style poem. Looking at Owen's library of books, we can see that Owen deepened his interest in Scott in 1912 during his first visit to Scotland. Owen saw Scott's work at the British Museum in 1911, although he commented on his handwriting as being 'absolutely illegible'.[30] Owen perhaps found Scott more accessible when a year later he walked the battlefield of Flodden with a copy of Scott's *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field*.[31] This interest in and influence of Scott seem to be reawakened in his first writing while at Craiglockhart. Although these early Edinburgh-written poems are not the ones for which Owen is later remembered, they are important as his style transitions from his early juvenilia to something more powerful and popular. These initial Edinburgh poems were long in lines but light in impact, similar in the approach to his poems before he arrived in Edinburgh. That was to change while he was in

Craiglockhart and moreover in Edinburgh itself, for Brock's treatment plan saw patients out of the hospital as much as possible and engaged in meaningful pursuits. For Owen, this was writing and refinement of his prose. Taking Sassoon's advice, he was going to 'sweat [his] guts out' writing.[32]

PENTLAND HILLS

The Pentland Hills supply Edinburgh with its water supply. Furthermore, the rolling hill ranges encircling the south-west of the city have also supplied inspiration and energy to prolific writers whose works are still referred to, respected and revered to this very day.

The Pentland Hills have many key links to the rich history of Scottish literature. From folklore to famous figures, the hills have a tremendous history. Allan Ramsay set *The Gentle Shepherd* at Newhall; James Thomson lived in a small cottage at Mid-Kinleith; Sir Walter Scott regularly walked in the hills, commenting 'I think I never saw anything more beautiful than the ridge of Carnethy against a clear frost sky'; Henry Cockburn lived at Bonaly Tower and took enlightenment figures for walks along the broken hill ranges of the Pentlands. Best known of all literary connections is, of course, Robert Louis Stevenson, who lived with his parents at Swanston. The Pentlands are believed to have influenced his writings. At the time of his death in Samoa, he wrote of three favourite summits of the Pentland Hills: 'The tropics vanish: and meseems that I – from Halkerside, from topmost Allermuir, or steep Caerketton – dreaming – gaze again.'[33]

Owen also frequently walked in these hills during his time in convalescence at Craiglockhart War Hospital. His room at Craiglockhart had a northerly view but he would have been able to see the hills from the hospital grounds. However, it was walking in the hills that helped to stimulate his recovery from the horrors of war. The first planned excursion to the hills, on 3 August 1917, was cancelled due to rain. This, however, allowed Owen to finish off his work on the Hospital magazine, *The Hydra*, which he edited. It is through that magazine that we find out more about Owen's future expeditions to the Pentlands.

Siegfried Sassoon referred to the hills in a letter, saying 'the Pentland Hills are glorious. I leap on their ridges like a young ram'.[34] We will recall that in describing Craiglockhart so dismally, Sassoon noted its location and the surrounding Pentland Hills as being one of the only redeeming features.

The Pentland Hills excursion of Friday 13 August 1917 is well documented. Sassoon would not attend these group gatherings; however, Owen, along with his doctor, Captain Brock, and five other members of the Field Club and the 19-year-old son of another patient, Captain Mackenzie, took the train from Slateford to Balerno to explore the hills sloping gently around the south-west of the city.

Owen wrote in *The Hydra*:

> The route lay by Threipmuir Reservoir, Bavelaw Castle (at which point there were two desertions), then via the Green Cleuch, and round the flank of the Black Hill to Loganlee Waterfall: this little cascade comes down very prettily in a small amphitheatre formed by horizontal layers of old red sandstone and conglomerate. Then round we swung into 'Habbies How', and soon were discussing scones and jam and fresh eggs in the shepherd's cottage at the head of the reservoir. The homeward stretch by Glencorse Reservoir, and then over the hill to Bonaly and Colinton, was done at a good pace, as we had no late passes and could not face the C.O.'s wrath. Two wanderers from Shropshire saw no small resemblance between the Pentlands and the Longmynd range, on the Welsh border.[35]

Owen went on to write 'possibly the prettiest view of all (and one within an hour's walking distance of the hospital) is that from the hill path looking down on to the Glencorse Reservoir, where it lies amid a ring of trees and encircled by the steep grassy hills'.[36]

Owen's appreciation of the hills is sure to have extended from views to the plants along his walks. In his letters, he wrote about the walk, and stated that he had held his own on the topic of water plants. Earlier he had given a paper, republished in *The Hydra*, entitled, 'Do Plants Think?'. Others privy to the horticultural

exchange on this trip included Mr Chase, Mr Quayle, 'a Shropshire man', Captain Mackenzie, Mackenzie's son (who Owen stated 'is learned in nothing!') and a padre. Owen described it as 'a unique walk' and that, 'between us we manage to observe and philosophize the country to about half the extent that say Belloc would have done, had he taken the walk'.[37]

It is clear that Owen was finding the treatment, and moreover, the education, provided by Craiglockhart and the Pentland expeditions a useful experience. He stated after this walk, 'it is very kind of the army to provide this free-and-easy Oxford for me',[38] showing the significance of the environs to him.

Despite not wanting to return late from this Pentland expedition, it appears the walkers did indeed arrive back 15 minutes late for dinner, and Owen noted in letters how tired they all were from the expedition. The physical and intellectual exertion did not stop there, as the returning patients had a full schedule of activities aimed at recalibrating them with 'normal' life.

Owen's connections with the Pentlands, and also Robert Louis Stevenson, were to come together one last time before Owen left Craiglockhart. On Sunday 21 October, a group of boys from his class at Tynecastle High School had gone to church in the morning before joining Owen. Owen had not joined them in praise, stating 'I am not ordained as a listener in the temple of life'. However, they paid homage to Stevenson following their afternoon assembly at Braid Hills Tram Terminus. Owen had been teaching Stevenson's novels as part of his work at the local school, Tynecastle High School, where he taught English Literature classes as part of his recovery, and in particular *St Ives*. Owen wanted to expose the students to Stevenson's strong links with the Pentland Hills with an expedition. This gathering must have been a strange site, as Owen acknowledged, in a letter to his mother.

> People saw a married lady, an obviously unmarried young man in a reckless soft-cap, a well-dressed boy with violet eyes and tie (wonder where his mother learnt that?), and an ill-dressed thin boy, with an intellect behind his parchment forehead: a far little knave apparently with a large apple stowed under each cheek in case of emergency; a tall awkward boy, very nervous of himself.[39]

While their gathering was ungainly, their purpose was clear. Owen states, 'what Spirit drove us together? The Spirit of Stevenson it was; and he was with us at his gayest of all time'.[40]

The weather on this trip was the changeable standard many who explore the Pentlands will know only too well, with winds and the last of the October sun. In that sun the group 'sang songs, and told tales, every now and then leaping about and prancing for joy'. Owen's approach to learning about Stevenson had taken a far more experiential and active approach than current thinking would imagine possible for the pedagogical approaches of the time. However, it was clear that the expedition's dominie was driven to bring Stevenson alive, just as the learners were keen to give up their Sunday to engage in further study and outdoor learning.

The trip did not return until later that day and did not reach Colinton until darkness. Here the group stopped for tea before taking the road back into Edinburgh in darkness. Even once in the built-up area Owen noted the group continued with, 'songs and dance, whistle and holloing [sic]'. Owen noted:

> Until the meteors showed in heaven and we fell calm under the winter stars, and some of us saw the pale pathway of the Spirits for the first time. And seeing it so far above us, and feeling that good road so firm beneath us, we worshipped God in our hearts and knew that we loved one another as not men love for long.
>
> That was my way of spending Sunday.[41]

This was Owen's last recorded trip to the Pentlands. However, immersing himself in the Pentlands gave him space to think, reflect on Field Club lecturers and articles on plants and botany. The Pentland Hills linked Owen's thinking and inspiration as they had for Stevenson before him.

TYNECASTLE HIGH SCHOOL

In the world of education, it is often said that the best form of learning is teaching. As we have seen, Owen taught the works of R L Stevenson as part of his English Literature classes at

Tynecastle School. Owen's first trip to the school was described by him as 'a great time'.[42] He taught 39 'intelligently attentive' boys. One boy in particular stood out for Owen. A pupil poet, described by Owen as 'a wizened little pinch-face, about two feet high',[43] had written a poem in the school magazine:

> Mr Seaton bought a motor car,
> And had it painted yellow.
> In goggles and a big fur coat,
> He looked a handsome fellow.[44]

Owen was struck by the boy, by his poetry and by the fact the boys had got hold of the 'international idea' in their imaginations. However, it was more powerful poetry that was to come out of his connections and teaching at Tynecastle High School. For following his first lesson there on 25 September 1917, Owen then returned to Craiglockhart for his Medical Board. It was a board meeting that ordered Owen to be kept at the hospital for longer. Between teaching at the school and going to the medical board, Owen had time to write a draft of 'Anthem for Doomed Youth'. According to Owen, Sassoon suggested the title which saw the poem take the name we all know today.[45] The poem was drafted by Owen both with the title 'Anthem for Doomed Youth' and 'Anthem for Dead Youth'. We also see 'Anthem to Dead Youth' considered by Owen in his various drafts of this epic poem. In 2010, a connection between the school and its influence on 'Anthem for Doomed Youth' was suggested.[46] While Owen had written about children and boys before, it may be that his work with pupils at the school directly influenced the poem, which includes explicit references to children and youth:

> What candles may be held to speed them all?
> Not in the hands of boys but in their eyes
> Shall shine the holy glimmers of goodbyes.
> The pallor of girls' brows shall be their pall.[47]

BABERTON GOLF CLUB, JUNIPER GREEN

Two more of Owen's most famous poems also have strong Edinburgh links. It has long been known that Owen, Graves and Sassoon met while they were in Edinburgh. Owen mentions it in his letters and many have written about an Edinburgh meeting since, but the specific venue was something of a mystery. Hibberd's (2003) suggestion of Baberton Golf Club in his new biography of Owen was unconfirmed and uncorroborated.[48] This claim was neither cited nor referenced, and Hibberd in fact began to lose confidence in the venue he had stated.[49] In between all of this, Mortonhall Golf Club had thought they had hosted the famous war poets meeting and this was written into their centenary history.[50] They had even made a plaque to commemorate the meeting of the three war poets at their club. However, over a decade of research revealed that Baberton Golf Club in Juniper Green can now assert that it hosted the powerful literary meeting of Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves.

Research to confirm the venue included many visits to archives in London, Oxford and America, looking for references or clues relating to this meeting as part of wider research into Owen's Edinburgh. On a number of occasions, the log books at Baberton Golf Club have also been consulted by this author. Sadly there is only mention of officers playing at Baberton generally, but no specific visitor 'sign in' records. Indeed, the main focus on committee meetings seemed to be around greens being used for keeping Britain fed and moreover the cost and supplies of whisky for members. Searches from Baberton to Oxford to London to America were therefore to no avail in finding the venue of this historic meeting.

The breakthrough came during a research trip to the University of Texas archives in Austin. This led to a series of enquiries which eventually led back to the United States, this time to Southern Illinois University. Here, a letter from Sassoon to Graves asked if Graves could meet at Baberton Golf Club as Sassoon had a game of golf to play in the morning.[51]

This meeting of arguably the greatest war poets of the First World War happened only once. But clearly Owen made an impact on Graves, for he was invited to his wedding to Nancy Nicholson the following January. However, just as Owen made an impact on Graves, Graves' impact on

Owen was to become important. As a result of meeting with Graves, Owen started to mingle with the social and literary set of the day, thus inadvertently helping to secure the promotion of his poetry posthumously.

More importantly, the discussion between the three may also have been profoundly inspiring. Owen's biographers, Stallworthy (1974) and Hibberd (2003), are proponents that the friendship fostered with Sassoon at Craiglockhart accelerated Owen's poetic development.[52] But this meeting at Baberton brought together three young poets deeply affected by their shared experience of war. The timing of 'Dulce et Decorum Est', Owen's shocking poem about a gas attack, is not without significance. The 24-year-old officer wrote a draft of it just before the meeting and then a cleaner draft two days after the Baberton meeting. Owen had certainly taken his poem, 'Disabled', along to the meeting.[53] This was certainly discussed, and given the timing, it is probable that 'Dulce et Decorum Est' was also on the agenda at Baberton that day, as the men chatted far from the front lines. 'Dulce et Decorum Est' is perhaps one of Owen's greatest works, and it was formed around the time of the meeting of the war poets at Baberton. 'Dulce Et Decorum Est' gives a powerful insight to a gas attack, while 'Disabled' reflects the plight of a wounded, disabled soldier back at home in his wheelchair.

There are many parts of this poem which reflect Owen's stay in Edinburgh, not least the fact it was discussed when he was at Baberton Golf Club. The subject of the poem could have been any of the Craiglockhart patients or other injured soldiers whom he saw in Edinburgh, after all, the soldier is 'kilted'. The football references are also interesting given that Owen never expressed any interest in football in his letters before his time in Edinburgh. The poem, 'Disabled', makes an explicit reference to football:

> One time he liked a blood-smear down his leg,
> After the matches, carried shoulder-high.
> It was after football, when he'd drunk a peg,
> He thought he'd better join. – He wonders why.[54]

It seems Owen did not play football, although he did referee one army match after his time in Edinburgh. However, it may have been working at Tynecastle School, next to Heart of Midlothian FC's ground, Tynecastle Park, where he began to think about football, possibly even seeing supporters there and around Edinburgh. Hearts, albeit depleted of their strong first team players by recruitment, still managed 34 matches in the 1917/18 season.[55]

Finding the place of this historic meeting where 'Disabled' was discussed adds another piece of information to our knowledge of the war poets' Scottish enlightenment and to the home front history of the conflict. It also adds to the richness of Edinburgh's literary heritage, to know that some of the most vivid and excruciating poems of the First World War were further formed when three young officers met in the genteel confines of an Edinburgh golf club.

THE CLOSES AND SLUMS OF EDINBURGH

Reading the above we may believe that Owen was only mixing with the high and civic society of Edinburgh – arriving and breakfasting at the Balmoral Hotel, socialising at the Caledonian Hotel, and meeting at a golf club. However, Owen saw all aspects of Edinburgh life. Owen talked with crowds in the closes and was invited into elite circles with the bourgeoisie social set of the day. Dr Brock had a group of women who supported his work in engaging the officer patients in meaningful Edinburgh activity. Some of that activity linked to his own work with Geddes, Outlook Tower and supporting more deprived aspects of Edinburgh society. Slum Gardens were one feature of Geddes' work and Owen was taken to see them. He spent some time wandering the closes of Edinburgh and this not only gave him a broad perspective of Edinburgh but these streets also linked directly to his poetry. A lesser-known poem Owen wrote in Scarborough, has a strong Edinburgh connection: 'Who is the God of Canongate?'. Furthermore, his letters show his interest in the fortunes of a boy of the slums who had his leg impaled on a fence and also an Italian Opera singer who now lived in the Edinburgh slums, having fallen on hard times.[56] This is something Mary Gray comments on, with Owen having much interest

in the Italian street singer who had only one eye. Gray commented 'his courage, cheerfulness, and philosophy drew Wilfred to him at once'.[57]

PRINCES STREET

Another piece of Edinburgh poetry which is lesser known is 'Six O'Clock in Princes Street'. Owen arrived in Edinburgh on 26 June 1917 and would have walked the length of Edinburgh's main thoroughfare, Princes Street, to the Caledonian Hotel from where he got a taxi to Craiglockhart War Hospital. The literary connections are not lost on us as he would have walked past the imposing Sir Walter Scott monument. As suggested earlier, Scott influenced Owen's first poetic attempts while he was in Edinburgh. Owen was to return to Princes Street again during his time in Edinburgh.

In his 8 August 1917 letter to his mother Owen noted

> At present I am a sick man in hospital by night; a poet for quarter of an hour after breakfast; I am whatever and whoever I see whilst going down to Edinburgh on the tram; greenkeeper, policeman, shopping lady, errand boy, paper-boy, blind man, crippled Tommy, bank clerk, carter, all of these in half an hour; next a German student in earnest; then I either peer over bookstalls in back-streets, or do a bit of a dash down Princes Street, accordingly I have taken weak tea or strong coffee for breakfast.[58]

In a letter on 12 September 1917, he noted to his mother that he was on the famous street purchasing gifts for fellow patients. 'We had great fun in Princes St. buying a laurel wreath for Mayes for presentation after the play.'[59]

During his time at Tynecastle School teaching *St Ives*, Princes Street would again have featured in his thinking. Seeing Princes Street in print and in person led to Owen writing a poem specifically about the street and people he witnessed there. People, place and his work were again coming together:

> In twos and threes, they have not far to roam,
> Crowds that thread eastward, gay of eyes;
> Those seek no further than their quiet home,
> Wives, walking westward, slow and wise.
>
> Neither should I go fooling over clouds,
> Following gleams unsafe, untrue,
> And tiring after beauty through star-crowds,
> Dared I go side by side with you;
>
> Or be you in the gutter where you stand,
> Pale rain-flawed phantom of the place,
> With news of all the nations in your hand,
> And all their sorrows in your face.[60]

There is a stark contrast between those shoppers on Princes Street returning to their 'quiet' homes contrasted against the ghostly, pale news boy standing in the gutter with news of the continued international crisis of war. Owen, and his experiences, set him apart from this façade of normal life ongoing along Edinburgh's main street. Furthermore, the contrast of the sociable 'twos and threes' set against the singular figure of the boy is also striking. Owen himself was lonely on one level, but Edinburgh had also given him a set of friends and supporters around him. Those supporters both encouraged and gave him content for his poetic work.

WORK

TEACHER, EDITOR, SOLDIER, POET

Owen had been a teacher before he came to Edinburgh, but his teaching in Edinburgh was 'work' in two forms. It was work for him, but it was work to help his wellbeing. Owen will be remembered for being a soldier and a war poet. However, all aspects of work made the man. Importantly, it was also work which Brock thought would help cure Owen. A by-product of his ergotherapy approach was the powerful poetry produced in Edinburgh. Owen's role, given to him by Brock, as an editor of the hospital magazine helped Owen's recovery and again helped his writing. Working alongside fellow Craiglockhart patient and Scots war poet J B Salmond, Owen read and edited others' work as well as publishing his own writing and poems. Owen would edit six copies of the hospital magazine, *The Hydra*, during his convalescence at Craiglockhart. Just as people and places made Owen the poet, work was also an important part of his poetic development.

If we look closely at Owen's work, we can also connect the powerful poetic style for which he is known to Scotland. Hibberd claimed that Owen invented pararhyme, the half rhyme technique.[61]

This could have come from French influences, although Hibberd again noted that pararhyme itself does not seem to have been used as a regular pattern by French poets.[62] It could also have come from Welsh *cynghanedd* poems and might have been brought to Owen through ideas from Graves at the Baberton meeting. However, in Edinburgh we see two particular times when there is a clear influence on Owen's thinking on rhyme. The first is known about and has been shared before. Owen had met with the University of Edinburgh librarian Frank Nicholson and discussed pararhyme. This developed in the poetry Owen wrote in Edinburgh. Also to add to our knowledge, Owen's personal library of books held at Oxford University is revealing, as are his notes, scribbles, underlines and markings on the books. While Professor Hazel Hutchison recently noted in *Siegfried's Journal* that it is very difficult to understand the impact of someone's readings,[63] markings on books do give an indication as to areas of reading that have sparked thought, insight or where the reader wishes to return to a specific part of what they have read. In this regard, Owen's copy of W E Aytoun's 1903 *Edinburgh After Flodden*[64] gives us much insight. In it we see Owen marking the following section:

> But within the Council Chamber
> All was silent as the grave
> Whilst the tempest of their sorrows
> Shook the bosoms of the brave.

Significantly, Owen has underlined 'grave' and 'brave'; 'within' and 'whilst'. Elsewhere he underlines 'ring' and 'King'. We can see the rhyme pattern being marked up and Owen considering patterns and use of words. This could have been marked up in 1912, when Owen visited Scotland and Flodden, or it could have been when he returned to Scotland and pararhyme started to feature powerfully in his poetry, such as in his poem 'Strange Meeting' where we see 'bestirred' and 'stars'; 'eyes' and 'bless'; 'hall' and 'Hell'.

'Strange Meeting' was written in Owen's later Craiglockhart period, if not after. Stallworthy believes it was drafted when Owen was at Scarborough or possibly Ripon between January and March 1918.[65] Stallworthy does, however, note that this poem may have emerged from fragments written in November 1917, when Owen was transitioning from Edinburgh to London before going on to Scarborough.[66] Hibberd (1992) suggests it was published in Ripon between 12 March and 5 June 1918. However, he also acknowledges that a fragment from early 1918 'anticipates' the coming of this poem.[67] For our purposes though, we can see how this poem – soon after Craiglockhart – contrasts to earlier poems. In 'Six O'Clock in Princes Street' we see:

> Roam/home
> Eyes/wise
> Clouds/crowds
> Untrue/you
> Stand/hand
> Place/face

From this example, we can see not only his poetry in terms of a powerful topic, but also his pararhyme, evolved during his time in Edinburgh, and in the many poems and drafts he produced there.

Owen in Scotland, and influenced in part by what he was reading in a Scottish history book, was now starting to think about different ways of presenting poetry. The next evidence of Owen's thinking on it, beyond the output of his writing poetry, is in Nicholson's account of Owen being in Edinburgh, as part of Blunden's 1931 collection of Owen's poetry. Nicholson noted, 'he told me of his idea of substituting a play on vowels for pure rhyme, and spoke of the effects that can be obtained from this device with an engaging assurance and perhaps a touch of wilfulness, like that of a child insisting, half humorously and half defiantly, that he is in the right'.[68] Nicholson himself noted that he perhaps did not give the thesis enough attention, indeed, if he fully understood it at the time. With hindsight we can see the importance of Edinburgh in Owen's work as a poet.

SCALE OF WORK

One can also give an overarching analysis on the scale of Owen's writing which was published in his lifetime. The Wilfred Owen Association website states that Owen had published four poems in his lifetime[69] and the British Library website suggests five published works before his death in 1918.[70] His biographer Dominic Hibberd also said that five were published in his lifetime.[71] However, further analysis of his poems written in and after his time in Edinburgh's Craiglockhart War Hospital shows that a total of six poems were published in Owen's short lifetime: 'Song of Songs' (*The Hydra*, Craiglockhart War Hospital Magazine, 1 September 1917); a fragment of a poem in Owen's editorial, which possibly later made up the poem 'The Dead-Beat' (part of editorial of *The Hydra*, 1 September 1917); 'The Next War' (*The Hydra*, 29 September 1917); 'Miners' (*The Nation*, 26 January 1918); 'Futility' (*The Nation*, 15 June 1918) and 'Hospital Barge' (*The Nation*, 15 June 1918).

The part that has been missing from previous analysis of his Edinburgh writing was the one which Owen snuck into an editorial of the Craiglockhart War Hospital magazine and which he possibly uses to later produce 'The Dead-Beat':

> Who cares the Kaiser frowns imperially?
> The exempted shriek at Charlie Chaplain's smirk.
> The Mirror shows how Tommy smiles at work.
> And if girls sigh, they sigh ethereally,
> And wish the Push would get on less funereally.
> Old Bill enlarges on his little jokes.
> Punch is still grinning at the Derby blokes.
> And Belloc prophecies of last year, serially.[72]

In his critique of this poem, Simcox (2001) noted 'The Dead-Beat' to be one of the earlier of Owen's 'war' poems and also one of the first to be published after the war.[73] As is often the case, Simcox credits the foundations and influence to Siegfried Sassoon. Linking Owen's poetry to Sassoon has become the norm, however, by looking at where Owen produced his writing, one can gain greater insight to Owen's work and 're-educate' our knowledge, understanding and appreciation of his powerful poetry. Sassoon was certainly a poetic partner, but Brock too was a supporter and initial instigator. Meanwhile, Nicholson, a trusted friend and teacher; Lintott, an inspiration; and the Bulmans, the Newboults, the St Bernard's Crescent social set and the Misses Wyer, all social supports. Together they provided direct inspiration and also ensured Owen's mind was expanded and his condition settled, thus helping him to write with ease and authority on the horrors of war.

CONCLUSIONS

Edinburgh and its people were supremely significant to Owen as a man and as a poet. The people he met, the places he went and the work he undertook all influenced his poetic production. The influence of his time spent there can be seen, not only in the development of style but in the power and production rate of his poems. We also see his first poems published in Edinburgh.

There is a challenge in identifying exactly where Owen started, worked on and finished poems as this often happened over a long period of time as poems were drafted and redrafted. However, we can see that during his four months in Edinburgh he wrote significantly. 'I wrote six poems last week, chiefly in Edinburgh' Owen wrote to his mother on 21 October 1917. My initial attempt at establishing the scale of Owen's Edinburgh writing had noted he wrote a poem once every five days. However, since then, reviewing the evidence, I believe he wrote 36 poems over 126 days, a rate of an average of a poem written or updated every 3.5 days. By comparison, it appears he wrote, on average, a poem every five days in Ripon (1918) and one every six days in Scarborough (1918), according to my calculations. The challenge of defining exact dates is acknowledged. Nevertheless, the prolific period of poetry writing between late June and early November 1917 can be coupled with the power of the poems written in Edinburgh, now matured from his earlier attempts.

In Owen's proposed edition of poems to be published he had written a list of those who were to receive a copy. Of the 20 proposed recipients, seven of them were people who he met in

Edinburgh, again evidence of how he took the town and its folk to his heart.[74] Their influence and that of Edinburgh over a four-month period cannot be overstated. Edinburgh also featured directly in some poems, such as 'Six O'Clock in Princes Street'. This is further evidence of the impact whereby Owen blended war poems with the home front he was experiencing and the city he was being treated within.

We can see from Owen's poem about Edinburgh's main thoroughfare that Owen's Edinburgh contained 'sorrows' but also many who were 'slow and wise'. That wisdom and slower, peaceful way of living, away from 'the monstrous anger of the guns', helped Owen write effectively about the 'stuttering rifles' rapid rattle' and 'haunting flares'. One hundred years on, his most powerful words, written in Edinburgh, still resonate and are read at remembrance ceremonies across the country and Commonwealth.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Most grateful thanks and appreciation go to the various libraries and librarians who have supported my research: University of Oxford Bodleian and Weston Libraries, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh City Libraries, The War Poets Collection at Edinburgh Napier University (Craiglockhart), The British Library, University of Edinburgh Library, Strathclyde University Library, University of Texas Harry Ransom Centre, University of Illinois Morris Library. Three supporters are, however, deserving of special mention. Elizabeth Garver at the Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas, has become a good friend after many visits to Austin, trawling the Owen archive there. It was Elizabeth's suggestion that I read Carol Rothkopf (2012) which eventually led me to review previous 'dead end' enquiries in my research.[74] This eventually led to the confirmation of Baberton Golf Club as the venue for Owen, Graves and Sassoon's 13 October 1917 meeting. The letter from Sassoon to Graves, requesting they meet at Baberton Golf Club, was hidden in the Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Their Research Specialist, Aaron Michael Lisec, offered first class support and again I am proud to call him a friend. Last and by no means least, Catherine Walker MBE, Curator at the War Poets Collection at Edinburgh Napier University (Craiglockhart), is to be thanked for her friendship over many years and her support in answering my many questions. The importance of archives, archivists and librarians cannot be overstated. I am indebted to them all. They need to be protected, supported and cherished.

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NOTES

Owen's letters can be found at http://ww1lit.nsms.ox.ac.uk/ww1lit/collections/owen and also in Bell, J (ed.) 1985 *Wilfred Owen: Selected*

Letters. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Where cited in the Notes the following coding has been used:

WO Wilfred Owen
SO Susan Owen (Wilfred Owen's mother)

1 Brock, A J 1918 'The re-education of the adult', *Sociological Review* 10(1): 25–40.
2 Geddes, P 1923 'The valley section from hills to sea', *in* Mairet, P 1957 *Pioneer of Sociology: The Life and Letters of Patrick Geddes*, 123 and fig 3. London: Lund Humphries.
3 Bell, J 1985 *Wilfred Owen: Selected Letters*, 268. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Letter to SO 13 August 1917.
4 Geddes returned from India where he had been later in 1917. However there is no reference to Owen and Geddes meeting.
5 After 1920, the Royal College of Physicians held the forms from the wartime period. They are still held in their library on Queen Street in Edinburgh. They can also be accessed online. Brock's online entry can be found at Scottish Medical Service Emergency Committee. smsec.rcpe.ac.uk/initiation-form/brock-arthur. Accessed 16 July 2019.
6 Cantor, D 2005 'Between Galen, Geddes and the Gael: Arthur Brock, Modernity and Medical Humanism in Early Twentieth-Century Scotland', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 60(1): 1–41.
7 The 'Ergotherapy' letter is in the University of Strathclyde Geddes collection: T-GED 9 General Correspondence 9/939. Further correspondence between Geddes and Brock can be found both in the University of Strathclyde archive and also the Patrick Geddes archives at the National Library of Scotland.
8 Collie, J 1913 *Malingering and Feigning Sickness.* London: Edward Arnold.
9 A term often used by British soldiers at the time for getting away from the front lines by claiming illness, injury or insanity. 'Blighty wounds' could of course be seen, however injuries to the mind were harder to detect, verify or cure.
10 WO to SO 29 October 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 287.
11 WO to SO 1 July 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 258.
12 WO to SO 2 October 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 281.
13 Nicholson, F quoted *in* Blunden, E 1931 *The Poems of Wilfred Owen*, 133. London: Chatto & Windus.
14 Ibid: 134–5.
15 Ibid: 133.
16 Blunden, E 1931 *in* Lewis, C D 1966 *The Collected Poems of Wilfred Owen (with a Memoir by Edmund Blunden)*, 170. London: Chatto & Windus.
17 WO to SO 23 December 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 303.
18 WO to SO 2 September 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 273.
19 Ibid.
20 WO to SO 27 September 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 280.
21 WO to SO 27 September 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 280 and again on 18 October 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 284.
22 WO to SO 7 September 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 274–5.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Bell 1985: 336.
28 Owen's library of books is held by the English Faculty Library, the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (although it is currently held at the Weston Library across the road). It is accessible by private, advance appointment only, and does not appear on online catalogues. A further paper is in draft by this author, looking at the significance of Owen's reading and the influences of it on his work.
29 Hart Davis, R (ed.) 1983 *Siegfried Sassoon: Diaries 1915–1918*. London: Faber & Faber.
30 WO to SO 17 September 1911 *in* Bell 1985: 24.
31 WO to SO 21 July 1912 *in* Bell 1985: 59 (also see note 3).
32 WO to Leslie Gunston 22 August 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 268.
33 Stevenson, R L 1896 *Songs of Travel and Others Verses*. London: Chatto & Windus.
34 Hart Davis 1983: 183 (Sassoon, S to Lady Ottoline Morrell 30 July 1917).
35 'Notes and News', *The Hydra* 9 (18 August 1917): 8–9. http://www2.napier.ac.uk/warpoets/Hydraissues/Hyo09/hyo09a02.html. Accessed 27 November 2018.
36 Ibid.
37 WO to SO 13 August 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 267.
38 Ibid.
39 WO to SO 21 October 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 286.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 WO to SO 25 September 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 279.
43 WO to SO 27 September 1917 *in* Bell 1985: 280.

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