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Introduction

A Poet of Modern Trauma

This is an analysis of how the first world war affected one of the finest Canadian poets of the First World War, Frank ‘Toronto’ Prewett. War-induced trauma or ‘shell-shock’ led him to ‘play Indian’, that is, to pretend to be an indigenous North American, whilst in hospital undergoing treatment for ‘shell-shock’ and afterwards when living in Oxfordshire. He was accepted as indigenous by some of the most significant literary figures of the time, notably Siegfried Sassoon, Robert Graves and Edmund Blunden – key members of the group of first world war poets brought into critical relief in 1975 by Paul Fussell. Often thought of as quintessentially English poets, they continue to stand in symbolic guard over the cultural memory of the war.¹ Prewett also ‘played Indian’ to great effect within an exceptional literary and intellectual milieu that included Lady Ottoline Morrell, Virginia and Leonard Woolf and W.H.R. Rivers as well as a great many others. This first book-length consideration of Prewett as a poet of combat-induced trauma directly connects his adoption of an indigenous identity to both his experiences in war and the primitivist cultural currents of the time.

This volume foregrounds a number of archives new to scholarship including the Lennel Papers held at the National Records of Scotland and sheds light upon an individual whose life, associations and work merit much greater exposure, but it does not attempt a conventional biography or pronounce critically upon Prewett’s poetry in total, the worth of his literary style or his status as a Canadian icon. Instead, the focus is solely upon war-induced trauma, primitivism and the brief, bright snapshot of Prewett’s life and thought

around the time of the war and its aftermath as revealed by the available archives. Those seeking a detailed recovery of Prewett's family history and experiences from birth to death or discussion of his poetry as it relates to anything other than his experience of war are asked to await further studies.

Prewett was profoundly affected by combat. A Canadian promoted into the British Expeditionary Force, he experienced some of the worst fighting at Passchendaele, the Somme, the Second Battle of Ypres and Vimy, the battle often held up as the coming of age conflict for Canada as a nation on the world stage. As a Lieutenant in the 5B Reserve Brigade of the Royal Field Artillery, early in 1916 he was thrown from his horse at the Somme and sustained a serious spinal wound. He then spent a year in hospital in England recovering, before returning to the front as an officer with the Royal Welch Fusiliers, the regiment revered by Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves throughout their lives. Prewett was buried alive in April, 1918 after a dug-out collapsed on top of him during combat, but managed to claw his way out using his bare hands. Deeply traumatized and badly wounded in the spine, he was once again sent to a hospital in southern England, then to recuperate in Scotland at Craiglockhart, and following this, to Lennel House on the Scottish Borders. Here, like his close associate Siegfried Sassoon, it is thought he received care from the influential Cambridge anthropologist and psychologist, W. H. R. Rivers. At Lennel, he began to dress and behave as an 'Iroquois Indian'. He formed attachments that led to his being introduced to the literary set that orbited around Garsington Manor, Oxfordshire, at the time a clearing house for creative talent and the home of Lady Ottoline Morrell and her husband, Philip, a pacifist Member of the British Parliament.

In this way Prewett's life interconnected with some of the early twentieth century's most significant literary and cultural figures. One intimate circle contained Leonard and Virginia Woolf, who hand-set his first book, *Poems* (1921), at the Hogarth Press, William

Heineman, who published his second collection, *Rural Scene* (1924), Siegfried Sassoon, who fell in love with Prewett and remained his friend and benefactor; Robert Graves, who consistently championed his talent, included his work in *Oxford Poetry 1921* and edited his *Collected Poems* (1964), and the Morrells, vital benefactors and employers for Prewett during and after the war. A wider circle whom Prewett either met, corresponded or had sustained interactions with included the painters Mark Gertler and Dorothy Brett, the translator S.S. Koteliansky and the writers and poets Lytton Strachey, Aldous Huxley, Ezra Pound, D.H. Lawrence, Edmund Blunden, poet laureate John Masefield, T.E. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield and her husband John Middleton Murray, Edward Marsh, W.B. Yeats, the Sitwells and Thomas Hardy, a particular influence. Prewett also met Harold Monro, who included his work in *Georgian Poetry V*. Other Garsington visitors he encountered included T.S. Eliot, E.M. Forster and Walter de la Mare. Prewett therefore, was a remarkable intellect caught up at an extraordinary time with exceptional people.

A significant number of the post-war intellectual élite were convinced Prewett would be the next big literary splash. Virginia Woolf, after his first book came out, wrote to Lytton Strachey on 29 August, 1921, 'The [*Time s*] *Literary Supplement*, by the way, says that Prewett *is* a poet, perhaps a great one.' Siegfried Sassoon was convinced Prewett was special from the moment he set eyes upon him. He told fellow poet Robert Graves, 'Toronto is a great man, and will be a great writer, - greater than you or me, because of his simplicity of mind and freedom from intellectual prejudices.' Graves would remain convinced all of his life of Prewett's literary importance. His introduction to Prewett's posthumous *Collected Poems* states, 'dedicated poets like Frank Prewett are few in any age; and lamentably so in this'.²

Such strong personal impact was rooted in Prewett's inherent charisma, his good looks and his self-presentation as a glamorous figure from another culture. Fresh from the

war, he claimed he had either Iroquois, Mohawk or Sioux ancestry. It helped that he looked and acted every inch the movie version of a 'Native brave'. Adroit on a horse, he liked to ride shirtless, was prone to brooding silences and made a point of giving others the sense that he possessed both profound sensitivity and a kinship with nature. At five feet nine with a dark complexion, high cheekbones, hot, deep-set hazel eyes and dark hair, he reminded many of those he met of the Italian movie star Rudolph Valentino. One of the strongest literary and emotional engagements he formed was with Lady Ottoline Morrell, the remarkable beauty and aristocratic patroness described by Lytton Strachey as the daughter of a thousand earls. Dorothy Brett and Siegfried Sassoon also became deeply emotionally engaged with Prewett, along with a number of other visitors to Garsington after the war.³ As the artist Mark Gertler remarked with some chagrin in 1921, 'Women seem rather taken with him, goodness knows why...' Even towards the end of his life, after Prewett had been an alcoholic for many years because of demons he linked to the psychological trauma he experienced during the war, he was still attractive. As the artist Vivienne Jenkins was forced to admit when she created Prewett's bust late in his life, 'There was something about him to which you could not help being drawn.'

Prewett considered himself a man apart and felt his literary voice was attuned to generations far in the future instead of to the morés of his own time. He wrote that he heard 'a hard but true music, and do not belong to the cant of the age'. When living at Garsington he confessed to Edmund Blunden, 'I occasionally get a moment in which I see more than this world'. Even though he suffered acute poverty following the war, he never wavered from this profound commitment to his own sense of literary integrity. He knew that if poetry presented 'new and halting expressions', then the general public would not like it, something he explained to Lady Clementine Waring, the aristocrat with whom he became fast friends after he recuperated at her home Lennel House in 1918. Yet he was also convinced that 'If truth

and sincerity are inherent in art, sooner or later that art is recognized.’⁴ Graves, a dear friend and a fellow veteran, put it differently. He wrote that Prewett ‘felt it his duty to write at the orders of the daemon who rode him’.⁵

What made Prewett’s poetry unique was its particular approach to truth. He discussed the psychological harshness needed for survival in war and acknowledged the horror that haunted the conscious and unconscious mind following proximity to danger and death. He confronted depression and deathly thoughts but also weighed up the possibilities for joy and love in a post-war world increasingly alienated from the rhythms of nature. He stands, therefore, as an early and significant modern poet of trauma. If, for Wilfred Owen (who was fascinated by news about Prewett in the trenches) ‘the poetry was in the pity’, for ‘Toronto’ Prewett, poetry was an imperfect means to attempt articulation of the trauma that attended the modern soul. Prewett thought of war as necessary and ageless and his literary focus was not upon how it might be prevented in future, but upon how its effects might be coped with in a world increasingly bereft of certainties, subject to large-scale change and unanchored in tradition. As a result, his war poetry often has an immediacy, directness and candor that resonates deeply with modern sensibilities in ways analogous but at the same time discreet from that of Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen and Isaac Rosenberg.

After the war, Prewett did not lapse into romance for the English landscape as did Sassoon, or at least, he did not do so consistently. Rather, Prewett’s focus remained the challenge of living with the legacy of historical trauma and of finding ways to cherish and preserve human relationships to land and nature in an era of agricultural industrialization.⁶ Although deeply influenced by Sassoon and by Owen (whom it seems he partly replaced in Sassoon’s affections at Lennel House), Prewett’s aesthetic project was to find a way to get beyond both language and the experience of suffering. He considered words ‘not the means, but the obstacles to expression’. The literary and personal challenge of his post-war life was

to recapture the emotional immediacy he lost by having been a soldier. He wrote to attempt to restore what war had taken from him - a secure internal platform from which to express emotion. 'I cannot write', as he put it in 1919, 'simply because I experience no deep emotion. I stand still, and the world spins around me'.⁷

On Method and Approach

Prewett's writings and correspondence are spread within archives across either side of the Atlantic and are used in this book to provide an index to his times and an insight into the primitivist impulses within literary and social history of the beginning of the twentieth century. His life experience is explored, not to showcase or catalogue biographical detail, but to excavate deeper meaning in relation to combat-induced trauma, primitivism and the specific literary milieu of which Prewett was a part.⁸ Whilst Prewett's poetry has significant literary value, it is not discussed critically here, but is used to provide insight into his exceptional experience and to allow access to the cultures to which he was party. Poetry is not autobiography, but Prewett's poems nonetheless provide valuable insight into how trauma led to his primitivist self-representation.

This book takes a sideways approach to exploring the past and heeds the advice of Lytton Strachey, one of the most serious comics Prewett knew. Strachey's gift to the art of historical biography was to recognize that any attempt to narrate the past in an age deluged with information is destined to fail. Instead, in 1918, he advised a subtler strategy. The historian should, Strachey suggested:

attack his subject in unexpected places; he will fall upon the flank, or the rear; he will shoot a sudden, revealing searchlight into obscure recesses, hitherto undivined. He will row out over the great ocean of material, and lower down into it, here and there, a

little bucket, which will bring up to the light of day some characteristic specimen, from those far depths, to be examined with careful curiosity.⁹

Taking on board Strachey's advice, this book is a micro-historical study of how combat-induced trauma caused someone to present himself as indigenous. It is interdisciplinary, and draws upon scholarship from war studies, anthropology, psychiatry, psychology, neurology, indigenous and cultural studies, as well as varieties of critical, literary and historical research. It references both fictional and near-fictional accounts and makes use of historical ideas and data. It does so, not to imply that the fictional and the archival are of equal worth, but in an attempt to encompass the incommensurability of the first world war. Such an approach resonates with that chosen by a number of memoirists of the time, from lesser known figures such as Enid Bagnold, author of *A Diary Without Dates: Thoughts and Impressions of a V.A.D.* (1918), to much-discussed writers such as Robert Graves, who penned *Goodbye to All That* (1929) and Siegfried Sassoon, who produced the trilogy *The Memoirs of George Sherston* (1928 -1936). Each of these writers recognized that to garner what matters most about the first world war and to understand something of its wider cultural significance within the Anglophone world, it is appropriate to set aside divisions between the historical, the literary and certain other sorts of knowledge.

The significant writers who saw combat and who are conventionally discussed as the 'war poets' were generally not blanket pacifists. Many enlisted to fight more than once, in the first world war, or in the second.¹⁰ Their work did not try to provide exact, positivist chronicles somehow capable of realizing the past, despite Graves being related through his mother to the nineteenth century historian associated with such ideas, Leopold von Ranke. Rather, these authors each looked to profit from the literary market, to teach the future about the first world war as they had experienced it and to achieve a measure of catharsis through

the act of writing. However, the most talented and productive first world war literary writers who saw combat were like Ranke in the sense that they invoked a ‘pure love of truth’ and a desire ‘to show how it actually was’. Their truths were tempered by their experiences of war and informed by the dictates of their chosen genres of poetry and memoir.¹¹ Their concern was with what was vivid, personal and original – with what most fully explained and made immediate war as they had known it.

Lytton Strachey has also informed this project in another way. He warned that human beings are too important to be treated as mere symptoms of the past. More than indicators of processes at work in time, they are entities in themselves, members of families, networks and nations which have their own unique stories and responses to change. With this in mind, it is important to recognize Frank ‘Toronto’ Prewett’s primary significance to his own extended, transatlantic family. He mattered greatly to his recently deceased son, Bill Prewett, who provided the author with a DNA report on himself undertaken so as to disprove his father’s claims to indigenous heritage. Bill did so because his father has regularly been put forward as a central figure within the North American indigenous poetical canon. For example, Frank Prewett was the first name to appear in the 1988 *Harper’s Anthology of Twentieth Century Native American Poetry*. He was described by Norma C. Wilson in the 2005 *Cambridge Companion to Native American Literature* as, ‘an Iroquois - the best-known Native poet of his generation’ and the tone and style of his poetry linked with the work of the Choctaw/Welsh 2009 Oklahoma Poet Laureate Jim Barnes, the Kiowa Pulitzer prize winner N. Scott Momaday and the Crow Creek Sioux scholar and author, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn. Prewett was also listed as Canadian Iroquois in the 2012 *Handbook to Native American Literature* along with the Mohawk-English poet and performer Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake, 1861-1913), and praised as one of the few indigenous poets published before the 1970s.¹²

Prewett's work is also significant to the narrative of Canada's literary development. He has appeared regularly in anthologies as a stepping stone in the development of a distinctive modern Canadian literary voice. In these contexts, Prewett has been characterized as a typical later Georgian limited by the convoluted sentimental, romantic rhyme of that era, a poet overly influenced by Hardy, Donne and Hopkins. There is truth in this. Even someone as enamored of Prewett's talent as Siegfried Sassoon sometimes despaired of his periodic lapses into 'crocus-crowded lyrics'. Yet such lapses pale when juxtaposed with the cold, glistening truths about war Prewett articulated in poems such as 'Card Game'; the grim, spiritual horror wrought by trauma he voiced in poems such as 'The Kelso Road', 'I Stared at the Dead' and 'Soliloquy'; the joyous, sexual pleasure in nature he rejoiced over in poems such as 'I Shall Take You in Rough Weather', 'Where the Wind Lies' and 'Do Not Go Away So High' or the honesty about male-female relations he articulated in poems such as 'Seeking Perfect' and 'Plea for a Day and a Night'. Looked at anew today, Prewett steps into the light as a unique early twentieth century literary voice, a figure who spoke with unadorned candor about issues of deep contemporary relevance today. The soldier-personae he brought to life within his war poems, as Joel Baetz has pointed out, evoked Georgian interests, ideas, feelings and attitudes, but did so in order to deny them. Prewett was anti-Georgian, individual, dissonant, and often harsh, yet he wrote within the Georgian tradition.¹³

Until now, Prewett has been eclipsed by better known figures linked to Canada such as John McCrae and Robert Service. McCrae's 1915 poem 'In Flanders Fields' helped to make the poppy an iconic first world war symbol, but Prewett's work and life stands in stark contrast and leads down wholly separate paths. McCrae died of pneumonia in 1918, just as Prewett's literary life was beginning. Despite the debilitating effects of multiple trauma linked to combat, Prewett served again in the second world war.¹⁴ Although both figures foregrounded the aesthetic and social significance of land and nature, Prewett's work voiced

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more of war's complexity, examining the pleasures of combat, the thrilling terror of battle as well as the regret that taints survival. His work made every effort to displace any simple militaristic or imperialist message.

Robert Service, meanwhile, produced work that spoke in a register and idiom discreet from that of Prewett. Today he is among the best known of Prewett's Canadian poet contemporaries but his use of a then fashionable, stylized Irish/Scots/Cockney vernacular has not aged well. Born into affluence himself, Service used it in his poetry to register both a disdain for the high diction of war propaganda and an awareness of the commonalities of war experience across divides of class and nation. Although hailed by his publisher as 'The Canadian Kipling', he spent only seventeen of his eighty-four years in Canada and his work in fact laughed at moral certainties in relation to imperial victories. His objective in a literary and physical sense was to place himself close to nature and adventure so as to articulate a popular, democratic outlook grounded in experience. Prewett also had a firm sense of processes of dispossession and discrimination, but had no truck with the idea that death in war was noble. His only foray into the sustained use of dialect was in a novel he published in 1933. Other soldier poets linked to Canada from this period include Bernard Freeman Trotter, who was hailed as 'The Canadian Rupert Brooke', Philip Child, H. Smalley Sarson, and W.W.E. Ross. Each figure's work deserves further analysis and exposure but is not explored here, where the focus is specifically upon trauma, primitivism and the unique literary and social context that surrounded Prewett and his writing during and after the war.

Summary

Chapter one describes aspects of the indigenous world that surrounded Prewett growing up and as a soldier. It explores the regional context, indigenous celebrities, soldiers and poets whose example may have led a young Canadian exposed to combat in 1914 to

adopt an indigenous persona. Chapter two examines the lived experience of the trench warfare Prewett experienced and the callous stoicism it wrought in him that was reflected in his poetry. Drawing upon a range of contemporary historical and literary sources, it examines the elation and pleasure as well as the repulsion that attended combat on a physical and psychological level, before contemplating the defining traumatic combat experience for Prewett, that of being buried alive and digging his way out to survive. The chapter concludes by positioning Prewett's poetry within the revolutionary realism at the core of late Georgian poetics, arguing that examination of 'shell-shock' offers a highly generative lens for the interpretation of such work.

Chapter three sheds new, interdisciplinary light on 'shell-shock' or war trauma, examining it in terms of class, gender, ethnic identity and the treatment options of the period. Chapter four addresses a long-standing need for interdisciplinary re-evaluation and contextualisation of Dr William H. R. Rivers, the renowned Cambridge 'shell-shock' psychologist and anthropologist who treated Sassoon and, it is thought, Prewett. It places Rivers' 'shell-shock' work within a broad trajectory of primitivism that informed both his oeuvre and intellectual milieu. It suggests that Rivers' Freudian-inflected primitivist thinking was reflected in some of the primitivist ideas that informed the 'shell-shocked' indigenous persona adopted by Prewett. The chapter explores how both figures cherished and promoted abstract notions about "primitive" identities that informed their behaviour and helped advance their status.

Chapter five focuses upon Prewett's adoption of an indigenous identity whilst undergoing treatment for 'shell-shock' at Lennel House Auxiliary Hospital near Berwick-Upon-Tweed. It contextualizes Prewett in relation to the dissimulation and pretense then prevalent on both sides of the Atlantic, exemplified in the internationally-known 'Indians by choice' Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance and Grey Owl, both also writers and veterans. It

examines Prewett's friendship with Siegfried Sassoon, considers Sassoon's protest against the prolongation of the war, his homosexuality and Prewett's links to the British homosexual creative world of the time. Chapter six considers the specific approach to truth of Robert Graves, before examining Prewett's trauma poetry in depth and the conviction he shared with Graves that he was 'ghost-ridden' or dead-whilst-alive as a result of the war.

Chapter seven transports the reader to the early twentieth century literary clearing house and sex-and-intrigue-filled salon of Garsington Manor near Oxford, home of Lady Ottoline Morrell and her husband Philip. It considers the creative figures Prewett befriended whilst studying at Oxford University. It explores the beauty of Garsington and some of the most exceptional intellectual figures of the twentieth century through the letters and poetry of the impoverished Prewett, whose professed indigenous identity and raw good looks ensured he was a centre of attention. It considers why Prewett could not satisfy Ottoline, his sexually dynamic patroness, or his literary mentor, Sassoon. Chapter eight describes how an ill Prewett was repatriated away from this idyllic Oxfordshire house in 1919 and to a rapidly suburbanizing Canada. It was a homeland Prewett quickly came to despise for intellectual vapidness. The chapter examines his published and unpublished poems, his correspondence, relationships, drinking, 'war despair', and the solace he found in music.

Chapter nine considers the new consciousness in relation to the natural world, land and agriculture that crystallized within Prewett upon his return in 1921 to Oxford University and a job farming at his beloved Garsington. It connects Prewett's creative approach at this time to the prose that informed the poem *Rain* by the Anglo-Welsh poet Edward Thomas. It employs aspects of Theodor Adorno's thinking on 'living death' to help explain Prewett and Thomas's sense of themselves as alive but also dead, part of a natural world they found beautiful but inherently uncaring. The chapter explores why Prewett rejected and was in turn rejected by his aristocratic friends, how he found work as an experimental farmer, married

and then left his wife and child to work for an Oxford agricultural institute and broadcast for the BBC.

Chapter ten analyses Prewett's role at Oxford advancing innovative thinking on 'power farming' and agricultural technique and assesses how trauma, farming and his responses to changes in rural life coalesced in his 1933 novel, *The Chazzey Tragedy*. It considers his success as editor of *The Farmer's Weekly*, various editorial roles he took on thereafter, and his second marriage which led to the birth in 1941 of his son William. The chapter brings Prewett's life to a close in 1962 in Scotland and examines his poetic vision of rural harmony rooted in an understanding of indigenous values and a desire to protect the British farming landscape he loved. Prewett's life's work, 'to translate the man to the fields and the fields to the man', is evaluated and the argument made that consideration of Prewett's relationship to trauma, primitivism, and modernity is more generative than a focus upon him as an intercultural imposter.¹⁵

Chapter eleven concludes this volume by linking Prewett's experience of trauma to larger intellectual changes within the natural sciences, psychology and literature from the turn of the century to the 1930s. Viewed through this expanded lens, Prewett's trauma poetry and adoption of an indigenous persona is brought into relief as an articulation of protest memory deployed to subvert and challenge national representations of the war. The conclusion makes the case that Prewett expressed a form of 'soft' primitivism, a variety of nostalgia practiced by individuals to resist a modernity that appears to lack the important values of the past.

¹ They are 'figures of memory' in Jan Assman's phrase. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck, 1977).

² Robert Graves, 'Introduction', in *The Collected Poems of Frank Prewett*, Frank Prewett (London: Cassell, 1920), viii.

³ The phrase describing Ottoline Morrell as 'the daughter of a thousand earls' is attributed to Lytton Strachey and was probably meant partly as an insult.

⁴ Frank Prewett to Clementine Waring, from Garsington, 6 September, 1919, e2/117, NRS.

⁵ See Frank Prewett to Edmund Blunden, 10 December, 1921, Edmund Charles Blunden Coll., Recipient series, HRHRC. Robert Graves, described Prewett in the Introduction to the CPFP in a way that was as descriptive of himself as it was of Prewett. He claimed that Prewett had explained that his daemon 'had told him to attempt the simple beyond simplicity, the sensuous beyond sense, the distainment of mere fact'. CPFP, viii.

⁶ For examples of fossilized language, steeped in a particular understanding of the 'timelessness' of the English landscape, see Edmund Blunden's *The Face of England* (New York: Longman's, Green & Co, 1932) and Siegfried Sassoon's *Rhymed Ruminations* (London: Faber, 1940).

⁷ Frank Prewett, HRC, 17 October, 1919.

⁸ This is Ronald Hoffman's term. See Ronald Hoffman, 'Introduction', in *Through a Glass Darkly: Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman (Sobel & Teute, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), vii-viii.

⁹ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (New York: G.P. Putnam's & Sons, 1918), vii.

¹⁰ Enid Bagnold, *A Diary Without Dates: Thoughts and Impressions of a V.A.D.* (London: William Heineman, 1918).

¹¹ Leopold von Ranke [1885] quoted in J.D. Braw, 'Vision as revision: Ranke as the beginning of Modern History', *History and Theory* 26, no.4 (December 2007), 47. Robert Graves said he was "a sound militarist in action however much of a pacifist in thought".

Robert Graves to Edward Marsh, 12 July 1917, quoted by Richard Graves, *Robert Graves: The Assault Heroic, 1895-1926*, (New York: Viking Press, 1987), 177.

¹² Duane Niatum, ed., *Harper's Anthology of Twentieth Century Native American Poetry* (San Francisco: Harper, 1988); Joy Porter & Kenneth Roemer, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Native American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Andrew Wiget, ed., *Handbook of Native American Literature* (New York: Garland, 1994, Routledge, 2012). Prewett is listed simply as a Canadian with little reference to the fact he spent most of his life in Britain in Joel Baetz's *Canadian Poetry from World War 1: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹³ Joel Baetz, *Battle Lines: Canadian Poetry in English and the First World War* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2018), 106.

¹⁴ Published in *Punch*, 8 December, 1915, 468.

¹⁵ Frank Prewett to Ottoline Morrell, 30 January, 1921, Lady Ottoline Morrell Coll., 17.6: Frank Prewett Correspondence, HRHRC.