

William Martin Leggett: The “Bard of New Brunswick” in Australia

CHRIS VENING

“A commanding figure, straight as an arrow, broad shoulders, wavy black hair, a massive forehead, an Oriental complexion, and an eye, a single glance from which was never forgotten.” Thus New Brunswickers of the 1880s remembered William Martin Leggett, poet of the wilderness, teacher, soldier, missionary. “One of the most polished gentlemen of his time,” wrote a memorialist in the Saint John *Daily Sun*, “scrupulous in dress, affable in his manner, and kingly in his bearing.

William was scarcely more than a boy when his verse began appearing in New Brunswick newspapers, and in his early twenties in 1833 when his celebrated collection *The Forest Wreath* was published. “It contains evidence of precocious genius,” said the *Daily Sun*, “hardly less remarkable than those found in the works of Pope, Byron and Poe.”¹ He was hailed as “The Bard of New Brunswick,” yet when he left for England in 1845 to pursue a career in letters he may as well have sailed off the edge of the earth. From that point, as one Canadian source puts it, “his life and career are shrouded in mystery.”²

This paper aims to trace William’s subsequent life and work, using contemporary newspapers, official records and his own correspondence, gathered from sources in Canada, Britain and Australia. It reveals that, once in England, he invented a new identity, enlisted in the Army and was shipped out to New South Wales. There this gifted and eccentric man would remarry, raise a second family, lead a precarious, semi-nomadic existence as poet, reporter, teacher, gold digger, sheep station manager, soup kitchen attendant, police spy and free selector, and go to his grave claiming that he was the son of the king of England.

Early years

Although published sources place his birth in 1813 or 1815 William himself, in a partially legible document held by the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, states that he was born on 15 December 1808. He was the son of teachers: American-born Joseph Regan Leggett and his wife Mary Martin, the daughter of a loyalist ex-naval surgeon and army chaplain. Both parents wrote verse for the newspapers, and his mother’s sister Rachel Martin was a poet of some renown. Although claimed by New Brunswick, it is more likely that William was born in the Bowery district of the city of New York, where in 1808 his parents were

¹ *The Daily Sun* (St. John, N. B.), April 11, 1885, 1.

² Koral LaVorgna, “William M. Leggett,” in *New Brunswick Literary Encyclopedia*, http://w3.stu.ca/stu/sites/nble/1/leggett_william.html (2009), the best brief account of Leggett’s early years.

teaching. Ten years later the family moved north to the fertile farmlands of Sussex Vale on the Kennebecasis River in New Brunswick, British North America. There Joseph took charge of the Indian Academy, and there William and his two brothers were raised and educated by their parents.

William followed his parents into teaching, but in 1835 turned from his Anglican upbringing to become a missionary in the Wesleyan church, serving on circuits around Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and, for a year and a half, on the island of Montserrat in the British West Indies, where he watched awestruck from the shuddering deck of a schooner as the earthquake of February 1843 tore into the island.

In July 1839 at Bathurst on the Bay of Chaleur in the province's north William had married Mary Ann Stevens, daughter of a mining agent and devout Wesleyan from Devon. Mary Ann gave birth to at least three children in New Brunswick, only one of whom, Mary Cameronia Leggett, would survive infancy to raise children of her own. William was charismatic in the pulpit but a headstrong and unbiddable missionary, a thorn in the side of his superiors. In 1845, say the sources, he abandoned Wesleyanism for a ministry in the Anglican church, carrying with him his entire congregation.³

William took ship for England some time late in 1845, leaving behind him a swathe of newspaper verse, some stories and articles, two volumes of poetry—the youthful minstrelsy of *The Forest Wreath* and a pair of long and scholarly religious poems published as *Sacred Poetry* (Fredericton, 1840)—and newspaper prospectuses for two more works unpublished: *The Memento* (“a selection of original sermons, strictures, poems, and sacred melodies”) and a simplified English grammar.⁴ What became of him? The clues lie in contemporary newspapers from England, Ireland and Australia which in turn lead us to a wealth of archival records.

³ In addition to LaVorgna, see MacFarlane, *New Brunswick Bibliography* (1895); Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church ... of Eastern British America*, Vol. II (1890); the *St. John Daily Sun*, April 23, 1894; Grace Aiton, “Strange William Martin Leggett, New Brunswick’s Gloomiest Bard,” in *The Maritime Advocate and Busy East*, Vol. 46, No. 6, February 1956, 13–18; and Aiton, *The Story of Sussex and Vicinity* (1967). The 1808 birthdate is in a statement by W. M. Leggett of June 2, 1835, in PANB, MC990, F9729, Wesleyan Methodist Church Foreign Missions. The addresses and occupation of his parents are in *Longworth’s American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory* for each year 1802 to 1817 except 1805; the family is also recorded at addresses in the Bowery in the U. S. Census of 1810 and Aliens Return of 1812.

⁴ William Martin Leggett, *The Forest Wreath*, St. John, N. B.: Durant and Sancton, 1833; online at Internet Archive. *Sacred Poetry. By a Wesleyan Minister*, Fredericton, N. B.: Printed at the Sentinel Office, 1840. The attribution to Leggett is confirmed by a handwritten note on the flyleaf of the copy held by Dalhousie University, Halifax: “Rev George Johnston With the Authors Best respects W. M. L.”

In England

How and exactly when William crossed the Atlantic we can't say but, contrary to some claims, it seems unlikely that Mary Ann accompanied him as she was a schoolmistress at Sussex Vale in 1846.⁵ That year, the English and Irish press began carrying verse, stories and articles credited to one William M. Leggett, MA: a poem of angry protest at the Irish famine, stories of life in rural New Brunswick, a traveller's warning on bugs of the West Indies, and fond recollections of a visit to Bermuda. He pestered editors and publishers, as we know from a kindly rejection letter from W. H. Wills on behalf of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* which, by a quirk, survives among William's correspondence in archives in Sydney.⁶

Then comes a sudden and dramatic career change. In October of 1846, in Liverpool, William enlists as a private with the 11th Regiment of Foot, the North Devons, under a new name, William Alonzo Campbell. The Army records his place of birth as "St Johns New-Brunswick," and his occupation as clerk. He is sent south to the regimental headquarters at Chatham in Kent, and within a short time poems along with articles about New Brunswick are appearing in the local press under the pseudonyms "Alonzo, 11th Foot" and "A Knight Templar XIth Foot." In January of 1848, the Army records show, William is one of a detachment sent out to New South Wales, via Bermuda and Van Diemen's Land, as a convict guard on the transport *Bangalore*. Seven months later, on 29 July 1848, he steps ashore with his regiment at Sydney Cove.⁷

Leggett to Campbell

What evidence is there that Leggett and Campbell are one? It is scattered in time and place, but the pieces, once gathered, fit together jigsaw fashion.

1. At some point on the *Bangalore's* voyage south an unnamed poet dedicates an ode to a fellow passenger. The poem is addressed to "Mr. Cherry the Daguerotype [*sic*] Artist by a Knight Templar, XIth Foot (late the Bard of New Brunswick)." George Cherry, now regarded as one of Australia's pioneer photographers, had been despatched from Bermuda as schoolmaster to the *Bangalore's* convicts.⁸

⁵ Appropriations from the public revenue in *Acts of the General Assembly of Her Majesty's Province of New Brunswick Passed in the Year 1847*. Fredericton, N. B.: John Simpson, 1847, 60.

⁶ Letter William Henry Wills to W. M. Leggett Esq., dated Whitefriars, March 9, 1846, in SANSW: NRS 622, 1/369A, f.186. Wills, co-founder (with his friend Charles Dickens) and sub-editor of the London *Daily News*, was brother-in-law to Chambers and a recent assistant editor of the *Journal*.

⁷ Regimental Muster Rolls and Pay Lists (WO12), PRO Reel 3704 (Vol. 2876) Reel 3705 (Vols. 2877 and 2879) and Reel 3706, all via the Australian Joint Copying Project, NLA.

⁸ Candice Bruce, "George Cherry," in *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870*, ed. Joan Kerr, Melbourne: OUP, 1992, 146–47; see also Design & Art Australia Online at <https://www.daaio.org.au/bio/george-cherry/biography/>.

2. Soon after the regiment's arrival the satirical and sporting weekly *Bell's Life in Sydney* begins publishing verse by "A Knight Templar of the XIth Foot." The first piece, "Ode to Free Masonry," is in fact a version of a poem "Freemasonry" by the Rev. Brother W. M. Leggett, MA, dated London, 1 April 1846. A second, "The Thunder Storm," had appeared in England in 1847 attributed to "a Knight Templar XIth Foot."

3. Campbell purchases his discharge from the army in Sydney in March 1849. Between March 1850 and early 1851 the *Bathurst Free Press* across the Blue Mountains carries a series of poems, articles and letters by William M. Leggett, MA. The author lives locally, but some items—in particular a verse epic of Indian war and a multi-part travelogue—show an intimate acquaintance with New Brunswick. The prose articles are close in style and content to newspaper items attributed to both W. M. Leggett, MA, and "A Knight Templar, XI Foot" in England, and in a few cases even recount the same adventure—for example Leggett's midnight encounter with "one of those rough-coated gentry," a hungry bear. There are at least two references to Lansdale Cottage, the Leggett family home in Sussex Vale, New Brunswick. The author dates some of his contributions from the village of Bowenfels, east of Bathurst on the road to Sydney.

4. On 13 January 1851, at the Scotch Church in Bowenfels, William Alonzo Montague Clarence Leggett marries Charlotte Flora McDonald Crawford. The next day Leggett applies (unsuccessfully, as it turns out) for the teaching position at the National School at Bowenfels then being built.⁹

5. During April and May 1851 Henry Parkes's liberal *Empire* newspaper carries a series of articles attributed to "Alonzo." It is evident from one of the last of these that Alonzo is intent on leaving Sydney for the new gold diggings at Ophir. Sixteen years later, in a letter to Parkes, W. M. C. Campbell asks: "Does the Honb. Mr Parkes remember 'Alonzo' on the Staff of the Weekly Empire, who left to go to the diggings? Alonzo remembers Mr Parkes and will ever hold his name in proud and pious commemoration...."¹⁰

6. In mid-1851 W. A. M. C. Campbell acts as secretary for a petition to the Governor from the gold miners at Summer Hill Creek protesting at the thirty-shilling license fee. Campbell's signature bears a close resemblance to that of W. A. M. C. Leggett in a letter to the Board of National Education earlier that year.¹¹

⁹ NSW BDM, 119 V80; the marriage notice appears in the *Bathurst Free Press*, January 18, 1851, 4. William's teaching application is at SANSW: NRS 613, 1/385, Reel 4003, f.47.

¹⁰ *Empire*, May 21, 1851, 3; and letter W. M. C. Campbell to Parkes, Sydney, July 24, 1867, in Sir Henry Parkes—Papers, 1833–1896, SLNSW, CYA 920, 728–31.

¹¹ Copy of a Petition from the Bathurst Miners (Ophir & Summerhill Creek) ... asking to reduce the cost of the licence, 51/6709—10 July 1851, SANSW (courtesy Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group). Compare Campbell's signature with that in Leggett's letter of February 10, 1841, SANSW: NRS 613, 1/385, Reel 4003, f.122.

7. In 1853 Mr. and Mrs. Campbell open their “People’s Own School” at Bowenfels. Prominent local Presbyterian and school patron John McLennan identifies Campbell as the William A. Montague Leggett who had applied for the National School teaching position the previous year. In a note to the Board of National Education he thunders:

It got rumoured about that Mr. Hume was leaving and our old friend Leggett with a few of his Pot Companions took immediate advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, canvassed the neighbourhood for children and I am sorry to say, to a considerable extent succeeded—I should not be surprised if he was again an applicant for the National School—He is quite able to throw sufficient dust in the Eyes of his present supporters to make any demand however unreasonable—He appears on the stage now as another individual, having disowned the old name “Leggett” and assumed that of Campbell; the name is changed but decidedly not the man....¹²

In May the name Montague Clarence Campbell appears on a public testimonial dated at Bowenfels.¹³

8. The following year at Bimble, a squatting run on the distant Castlereagh River, “the lady of Montague Clarence Campbell, Esq. (formerly Miss Crawford)” is delivered of a son, Rodolph Archibald.¹⁴ Official birth, baptism and death records over the next forty years name this couple—with some variations—as William Montague Clarence Campbell and Charlotte Flora Campbell.

9. The Campbells name their third child, born in 1858, Alphaus [*sic*] Leggett Campbell.

10. At least two Australian poems can be traced to William Martin Leggett’s New Brunswick days. “The Indian Chief” (Bathurst, 1850) draws on a poem of the same title in *The Forest Wreath*, and “Melody,” signed simply “Campbell” (Singleton, 1862), reworks a newspaper poem attributed to “W. M. L.” in a Miramichi, New Brunswick, *Gleaner* of 1837. In addition, parts of articles in the *Gleaner* of 1845 credited to “Physiologic Philomath, Esq., P. D.” resurface under Leggett’s name in the Irish press in 1846 and in Bathurst, New South Wales, in 1850.¹⁵

11. Finally, hints dropped in several letters written by Campbell in later life, privately as well as to newspapers—for example this, in a Sydney paper of 1870,

¹² Letter J. W. McLennan to W. C. Wills Esq., January 19, 1853, SANSW: NRS 613, 1/385, Reel 4003, f.464.

¹³ *SMH*, May 11, 1853, S1.

¹⁴ NSW BDM, 2753 V40; the birth notice is in the *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, August 2, 1854, 3.

¹⁵ Compare, e. g., *The Gleaner, and Northumberland, Kent, Gloucester, and Restigouche Commercial and Agricultural Journal* (Miramichi, N.B.), March 11, 1845, 171, and the *Bathurst Free Press* (Bathurst, NSW), May 18, 1850, 7.

describing an earth tremor at Eurobodalla—tend to identify him as William Martin Leggett:

Having, in former time, often heard the ominous cry of “Earthquake!” raised by my black domestics in the West Indies, and passively realized that which excited their almost uncontrollable terror, I deem myself pretty well qualified to judge of such visitations. I was midway between Antigua and Montserrat, on my passage from the former to the latter island, with Guadaloupe [*sic*] in full view, at the time of the memorable earthquake of the 8th February, 1843. The horrors of that morning beggared description.¹⁶

Quite apart from the circumstantial evidence, the handwriting on documents we can attribute to Leggett in New Brunswick, the “Knight Templar” aboard the *Bangalore* and both Leggett and Campbell in New South Wales all bear a very close resemblance.

Charlotte and the Hunter Years

William’s contributions to the *Bathurst Free Press* indicate that he was living thereabouts by early 1850, seeking work as a teacher, accountant or overseer, though we can trace him a little earlier in Sydney where he had lectured on Freemasonry under the name W. A. C. Campbell “of the Encampment of High Knights Templars Under the Grand Banner.” By December 1850, when he was running a small private school in Bowenfels, he applied for the position of teacher at the National School then being built there. He had won the enthusiastic support of the local patrons, but National School teachers had to be married. As noted, William submitted his application the day after his wedding. He described his wife as “highly qualified to assist me in teaching” and he would later claim she was “from one of the first Boarding Schools at Home [and] a Governess when I married her.” In the absence of a New Brunswick divorce, it seems likely that the marriage was bigamous.¹⁷

We know frustratingly little about Charlotte. Born around 1823 (though records differ), she was the child of smallholder Thomas Crawford Esq. of Drumcar, County Louth, and his schoolmistress wife Clara Mowatt. A teacher herself, she arrived in Sydney in 1849 as an assistant matron on the *William and Mary* which brought a hundred and sixty Irish famine orphan girls to labour-hungry New South Wales. This remarkable and long-suffering woman, often in

¹⁶ *Evening News* (Sydney), August 10, 1870, 2; William’s eyewitness accounts of the Montserrat earthquake, in missionary letters to London of February 10 and 14, 1843, are at SOAS MMS/West Indies/Correspondence/FBN 21.

¹⁷ William’s comments are in letters of January 14, 1851 from Bowenfels (SANSW: NRS 613, 1/385, Reel 4003, f.47) and December 2, 1857 from Black Creek (SANSW: NRS 623, 1/372, Reel 2381, f.22). The Leggetts are not listed in the PANB Divorces Names Index 1847–1979, and the descriptions of Mary Ann, on her death in 1886, as William’s relict and widow suggest that there was none prior to that.

poor health and badly housed, her unpredictable husband regularly out of work, not only raised her boys but—as was demanded of wives—took her share of the schoolteaching duties.

Apparently reluctant to face formal examination at the Model National School at Fort Street in Sydney and branded as a character of “irregular habits”—read a drinker—William failed in his bid for the Bowenfels position.¹⁸ He turned briefly to journalism, lending his pen to the liberal and progressive causes of Parkes’s newly-established *Empire*. He joined the first mad rush from Sydney after gold was discovered at Summer Hill Creek and sent back to the *Empire* some of the earliest news reports of doings on that first Australian goldfield. Back in Bowenfels in 1853 the couple—now calling themselves Campbell—ran the short-lived and intriguingly titled “People’s Own School.”¹⁹ Then in 1854 we find them out at Bimble, a cattle fattening run on the myall and salt-bush plains of the Castlereagh River, not far downstream from what is now Coonamble, where for a year or two William managed the sprawling property. Their first son Rodolph was born in this remote spot.

Moving back east to more settled country, the family relocated to the Hunter Valley where William taught at little rural schools, first at Warkworth (or Cockfighters Creek) not far from Singleton and then down the valley at Belford on Black Creek. There in 1858 Alpheus was born and there Charlotte bore two more children, Eber (1857) and Miriam (1861), both of whom would die in infancy.

In June of 1862 William began contributing snippets to the *Singleton Times*, mainly impromptu verse and scraps of whimsy signed by “The Man of the Caves” from his hermitage on the Wombo Mountains—the name no doubt inspired by Mount Wambo in the high country behind Warkworth. The paper hired him, despatching him north to Muswellbrook. For six months he reported on local affairs, scribbled verse, got involved in local politics and, it is apparent, made enemies. One night at a wayside inn between Scone and Muswellbrook he let himself be lured away to join the bushranger Frank Gardiner in a hold-up. It was a cruel hoax, but that and his bizarre behaviour in the aftermath would soon see him driven from the district. A scarifying account of that night, penned by an unknown newspaper humourist but mercifully stripped of names, spread like fire around New South Wales and as far afield as Brisbane and Hobart.²⁰

¹⁸ SANSW: NRS 633, 1/336, Minute No. 51/194.

¹⁹ SANSW: NRS 613, 1/388, f.496; see also *SMH*, January 22, 1853, 3.

²⁰ The initial report in the *Singleton Times and Patrick’s Plains Advertiser*, November 15, 1862, 2, ruefully headed “The Vagaries of Our Ex-correspondent,” identifies William by name. The droll retelling appears in the *Singleton Times* of November 29, 1862, 4, quoting the *Goulburn Chronicle* of November 20 (probably the story’s original source, now lost). This latter version was also picked up by papers in Albury, Maitland, Kiama, Bathurst, Brisbane, Hobart and Mount Gambier.

The Hermit and the Soup Kitchen

For the next five years 1864 to 1868 the family were in or near Sydney. They lived initially at Woollahra on the city's eastern edge, where they ran the "Woollahra Academy"—a grand name for what was a modest affair housed in workers' cottages—and where William, as "The Woollahra Hermit," wrote eccentric, opinionated pieces on practical education and railed against capital punishment. From Woollahra he despatched his ode "To Victoria" direct to the Queen herself, receiving from the Palace "a letter of thanks written by the special command of her Majesty." There, too, he embarked on his rambling—and apparently unfinished—epic "Individuality; or, a Historical Sketch of the Mind of an Honest Man, struggling to surmount Religious, Political, and Literary Obstacles," and advertised a threepenny weekly, the *Woollahra Hermit's Ozwon*, "a Journal devoted to Truth, No Surrender!"²¹

A year was spent teaching at a little Church of England school at Sackville Reach on the Hawkesbury before, as William later complained, he was "thrown out of employment by my conscientious resistance of puseyism and intolerance."²² The family left just in time. Within four days the flood of June 1867 had swept away both school and schoolmaster's house. Back in town (and, we suspect, in desperate poverty) he landed a job as the first superintendent of Sydney's earliest public soup kitchen, set up by a group of charitable businessmen amid the slums and brothels of Dixon Street. It was grim work and perilous: in January of 1868 William found himself in court charged with stabbing a local tough—"one of the Forty Thieves" as he called him—in a brawl in the street outside the kitchen. A sympathetic jury found him not guilty.²³

Spying on the Fenians

On 12 March 1868 the Queen's son, Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, first royal visitor to the Australian colonies, was shot by Henry James O'Farrell at a harbourside picnic at Clontarf. The Prince quickly recovered, but Colonial Secretary Henry Parkes saw in the blaze of anti-Fenian hysteria the path to re-election. His government quietly recruited special constables—police spies—to root out the plotters. One of the recruits (though never one trusted enough to be formally sworn in) was William, who had previously written to Parkes warning

²¹ See e. g., *Illustrated Sydney News*, August 16, 1865, 14, and September 16, 1865, 14. The National Library holds a copy of the prospectus in leaflet form—Bib ID 192686.

²² Letter Campbell to Parkes, July 24, 1867, Parkes Papers, 1833–1896, SLNSW, CYA 920, 728–31. For William's correspondence with the Council from Sackville Reach, see SANSW: NRS 2621, 1/751–53, Reel 1793, ff.246–87. See also Sydney Diocesan Archives, [1993/052/008] Bishop of Sydney—Correspondence 1862–1867 Mr. W. Campbell at Sackville Reach School.

²³ The affair was reported extensively in the press—see e. g., *Empire*, January 7, 1868, 3, and *SMH*, February 12, 1868, 2.

him of threats to his life. Over the next three months, from his home in a terrace in Mitchell Street on the Glebe Estate, William reported on the suspicious characters frequenting the streets of the suburb and city. Whispered conversations half overheard outside pubs, sightings of suspicious milkmen, a mysterious chest of arms, responses to his sly enquiries in the brogue (“which I can do to perfection,”) all were reported in paranoid detail to the Inspector-General of Police. After a time his services were discreetly dropped.²⁴

Around this time, however, William found work for a few months with the virulently anti-Catholic and pro-Orange *Australian Protestant Banner*, a paper newly established by a small group of zealous evangelical Protestant clergymen. His verse, stories and articles adorned its pages, appearing under his full name and the pseudonyms “W. M. C. C.” and “Clarence” of the “Theological Observatory.” Once more we encounter reminiscences of British North America like those in the English papers and the *Bathurst Free Press*, but this time they are shot through with sectarianism. Even the gentle Rodolph, only fourteen, is recruited to submit a mocking “Rosary of Conundrums.” His father’s verse ranges from patriotic doggerel to a genuinely moving prayer of guilt and despair, “When He Came to Himself.”

The fundamentalist bile in some of his work for the *Protestant Banner*, though it conformed well enough with the paper’s politics, is all the more puzzling given that William was—to judge by style and content—likely to be the anonymous correspondent whose anti-Cowper ministry satires had been printed in the Catholic *Freeman’s Journal* as recently as 1863.²⁵

Eurobodalla

Towards the end of 1868, after William had been unemployed for seven months and with Charlotte ill, his begging letters to officialdom were finally answered. The family embarked in December for distant Eurobodalla on the south coast of New South Wales where he had been given charge of the little public school. There, on the banks of the Tuross River, in a hut (“a rookery quite unfit to be a dwelling-place”) rented from the widow of the poet Charles Harpur, the family struggled for a year on a rural teacher’s stipend. In debt and with his enrolments falling, William desperately sought a transfer. Then, in a bizarre twist, he wrote a long letter to the Council of Education accusing the chief member of the local school board, prominent landowner and publican Michael Manusu, of open adultery and complicity in two cases of child murder—one by means of “steel

²⁴ William’s reports to the Inspector-General and Parkes are at SANSW: NRS 906, 4/768, Special bundles [Colonial Secretary].

²⁵ See *The Australian Protestant Banner: A Journal of Political and Religious Freedom* for June 13, 1868 through to December 26, 1868. For an anti-Cowper squib very likely to be his, see e. g., *Freeman’s Journal*, October 7, 1863, 4.

filings”—and secret burial. “Even an imaginary cry of innocent blood in the land,” William wrote, “is too horrible to think of.” Manusu took the allegations to the police and, when the Attorney General declined to prosecute for libel, instituted civil proceedings. He won £10 damages and, said the judge, would have been awarded ten times the amount had he sought it.²⁶

With the school closed up, the Campbells—near starvation, if his letters can be credited—somehow held on at Eurobodalla. William reported for the Sydney press on the savage Tuross floods of May 1870, describing how he and Rodolph fought through the waters to the aid of Mary Harpur at “Euroma” next door. It was some of his best journalism. He wrote a lament over the recent grave of Charles Harpur (who had died on his farm a few months before the Campbells arrived), and nature verse such as “A Night-Visit to the Oaks at Eurobodalla.” Then in August he found what he sought so fervently: a new start, up the coast at the little settlement of Runnymede (today called Runnyford) on the Buckenbowra River. In that part of the world he would spend his remaining years.

A Cottage in the Wilderness

Runnymede, lying near where the Buckenbowra joins the Clyde River just inland from Bateman’s Bay, comprised a river crossing, scattered farms and a bush hut on the riverbank intended for a school. William swept in, dazzled the locals, and opened a little provisional school, his modest fees augmented by a salary of £48 from the Council of Education in Sydney. It was a struggle: he had to purchase with his own money a boat to ferry his pupils over the river. The only teacher’s residence was a hut three miles up the river, along a bush road with creeks and gullies to cross and the often-flooded Reedy Swamp to wade through. In time enrolments dwindled and, as at Sackville Reach and Eurobodalla, William fell out with school patrons and parents. “I endure great hardships,” he lamented,

Six miles trudging per day, to & from school,—no fire there all winter for the want of a chimney! Always at my post at proper hours! All for £48 per ann. Bland cheating me out of my hard earnings. I can get nothing from him. Yahoos getting into my schoolhouse through the aperture for a chimney, writing obscenities in my girls books, and all manner of stuff on my very blackboard.

“Three years and a half among so uncivilized a people have almost wearied me out but, as I began the school, I am willing to try again,” he complained in January 1874, but with insufficient enrolments the Council closed the school.²⁷

²⁶ For correspondence from Eurobodalla, see SANSW: NRS 2621, 1/775, Vol. 41, and 1/812, Vol. 78. A brief report on the trial is in, e. g., *Empire*, July 16, 1870, 4.

²⁷ William’s correspondence from Runnymede school is at SANSW: NRS 2621, 1/853, Vol. 121; 1/883, Vol. 151; 1/917, Vol. 186; 1/951, Vol. 223; and 1/976, Vol. 248.

Although the lower reaches of the Buckenbowra had been settled for over forty years there was Crown land still to be had upriver. William found enough to put down the £26 deposit required for conditional purchase of 104 acres (43 hectares) on narrow flats at a river bend about five kilometres upstream from Runnymede. He called his place “Lordsland,” perhaps in echo of Lansdale Cottage, the forest home of his childhood. He and the boys built a cottage there—the best and most nicely situated on the creek according to Rodolph—and carved a farm out of the tall timber. “My family requires all I can make by the hardest of work on a new farm in the wilderness,” he wrote in 1876. “It is almost more than I can do to keep out of debt. Neither my two sons nor myself ever knew what manual labour is until within the last few years. But we are alike willing & my delicate wife has to do the housework. We have no servant.”²⁸ From Lordsland he sent lyrics to journals that would accept them, corresponded with pioneer geologist W. B. Clarke and wrote cranky articles for the Freemasons challenging what he took to be the godless science of Thomas Huxley.²⁹ He also had charge for a while of the little public school at nearby Mogo.

William died at Lordsland on 25 April 1878, the cause of death disease of the heart and lungs. He was 70 years old. He was buried two days later at Buckenbowra, most likely on his property as was the custom with remote small settlers in that area. The service was read by Moruya dairy farmer George DuRoss, and a neighbour, John Robb, was witness. The newspaper that carried an obituary—or even a brief death notice—has yet to surface.³⁰

The claimant

It is hard to say how much Rodolph—who is named as informant on the death certificate—really knew of William’s early history, or for that matter what Charlotte knew. Some details in the certificate accord with what we know, others not. For example his place of birth, Devonshire, is at odds with other family birth, marriage and death records. But what the certificate states about William’s parentage is startling: father—George IV; father’s occupation—King of England; mother—Lady Mary Campbell.

William’s claim to royal blood was not new, though the details seem to have changed with the passing years. In 1868, not long after the assassination attempt on the Duke of Edinburgh, William had somehow managed to gain the ear of the Duke’s retinue if not of the great man himself. Preserved among Henry Parkes’s papers in the Mitchell Library is a note from the Duke’s equerry:

²⁸ Letter W. M. C. Campbell to Rev. W. B. Clarke, September 6, 1876, SLNSW MLMSS 139, Vol. 35.

²⁹ *The Australian Freemason*, July 1876, 10, and September 1876, 10–11.

³⁰ NSW BDM, 1878/04912. Relevant issues of the *Moruya Examiner*, the local paper most likely to have carried any death notice, have not survived.

His Royal Highness has desired me to ask you to enter on the list of applicants for Government Employment here, the name of a man, for whom His Royal Highness would like to hear that something had been done, viz: Mr. William Montague Clarence Campbell, Dixon Street, Sydney.

Written in a distinct hand on the fly leaf, in quotation marks, is the following cryptic comment: "Son of the Duke of Clarence by the Lady Mary." The Library's catalogue identifies the annotation as made by Parkes.³¹ The following week William wrote to Parkes to explain himself:

It is almost necessary for my own justification to inform you how I came by the name Campbell. Major Genl Sir Archibald Campbell, K. C. B. (then Lieut. Governor of New Brunswick) adopted me under Royal Instruction, and by the name Campbell I was put in commission as a Military Officer. Originally I was simply called William Montagu Clarence. I know that you can feel for a gentleman in very impoverished circumstances, who, but for the Royal Marriage Act, might this day have been Monarch of the Realm; and who, notwithstanding his purely accidental rejection, is one of the most loyal of British Subjects.³²

He told a similar story to Henry Wager, the detective sent to interview him for suitability as a police informer:

he states that he formerly held a Commission in the Army and that he is the son of His late Majesty King William the 4; that his proper name is Clarence, but having been adopted under Royal Authority by Major General Sir Archibald Campbell he had in consequence assumed the latter name; that His Royal Highness Prince Alfred had sent for him, and had made arrangements for the education of his eldest son at the Royal Military College, at Sandhurst, and for his youngest son to enter the Royal Navy.³³

Prince William, first Duke of Clarence and St. Andrews, third son of George III and younger brother and successor to George IV, acceded to the throne in 1830 as William IV. He had no living legitimate children at his death, but he was survived by eight of the children he had fathered with actress Dorothea Jordan. He is said to have been the last British monarch to openly acknowledge his illegitimate offspring. "Lady Mary Campbell" is impossible to identify with any certainty. As for Sir Archibald, he was indeed Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick, but between 1831 and 1837 when William was in his twenties. Official biographies list two sons and three daughters, making no mention of adopted children.

³¹ Note Arthur B. Haig to Parkes, April 2, 1868, in Parkes Papers, 1833–1896, SLNSW, CYA 888, 285–87.

³² Letter Campbell to Parkes, April 8, 1868, in Parkes Papers, 1833–1896, SLNSW, CYA 878, 205–07.

³³ Memo Henry Wager to Inspector-General of Police, April 16, 1868, SANSW: NRS 906, 4/768/1.

There were other, more minor inconsistencies. William was mocked in Muswellbrook for “his self-vaunted relationship to Sir Somebody Campbell, of Indian reputation and celebrity,” and newspaper items in later years spoke of Rodolph’s father holding “some of the highest commissions in the Imperial Army” and coming from “the same stock as good old ‘Colin Campbell’ of Crimean fame, and subsequently commander in chief in India (tempo the mutiny), and finally Lord Clyde.” It seems the story evolved over time.³⁴

At least some of William’s contemporaries, both in New Brunswick and New South Wales, thought him crazy. Parkes, for example, in his blunt directive to the Inspector General of Police wrote “I think this man is mad but you may as well see what he means.” School inspector McIntyre, in his recommendation that William be appointed to Runnymede, added “I do so with great reluctance, because I am of opinion he suffers from aberration of intellect,” and he was later reported as remarking, to William’s great distress, “Mr. Campbell is a madman, & nobody would give him any kind of employment but madmen!”³⁵ There is evidence that William suffered occasional psychotic episodes, some of his public actions scandalising his missionary colleagues in Bermuda and in New Brunswick on his return from the islands. We might detect something similar in the Muswellbrook affair. In a rare moment he conceded privately, “That my head was affected in the West Indies while I was working under the influence of a severe affliction of the biliary organs, is true”—perhaps a reference to the yellow fever then endemic in the West Indies. His physician there referred to “paroxysms” of “mental excitement” produced by over-exertion in the tropics.³⁶ But this was before William came to New South Wales. His writing here, when it touches on this subject, is unapologetic. “They fancy me demented when I sing of spirit-things / Uprising from the chrysalis of my imaginings,” wrote the Woollahra Hermit in 1865. And in Bathurst fifteen years earlier, where “perchance the passing crowd / Regards me with inquiring wonder:”

I am not that I was! nor will
Be what I am, in future story!
(Magician of the mind be still!
Or give me back my former glory!)³⁷

³⁴ *Singleton Times*, August 16, 1862, 3; *Hawkesbury Advocate*, February 2, 1900, 7; *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, June 11, 1904, 9.

³⁵ Parkes’s annotation on letter Campbell to Parkes, April 13, 1868, SANSW: NRS 906, 4/768/1. Memo W. McIntyre to Council of Education, September 24, 1870, SANSW: NRS 2621, 1/853, Vol. 121. Memo Campbell to Council of Education, August 5, 1871, SANSW: NRS 2621, 1/883, Vol. 151.

³⁶ Letter Leggett to Rev. Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missions, London, March 4, 1845, PANB, MC990, F9733, Wesleyan Methodist Church Foreign Missions.

³⁷ “What Am I?,” The Woollahra Hermit, *Illustrated Sydney News*, August 16, 1865, 14; and “Stanzas from an Unpublished Work,” W. M. Leggett, MA, *Bathurst Free Press*, March 16, 1850, 6.

What of his other claims? Rodolph, in a newspaper notice of his own marriage, described himself as “eldest son of the late Captain W. M. C. Campbell, MA, Kt. of Malta, R. C. and H. S.” William did indeed sign himself “formerly known as Captain Campbell,” and he claimed to be a member of the Dragoon Guards and to have “once freely shed his blood for his country.” While we know that at fifteen he was Clerk of the 2nd Battalion of the Kings County Militia in New Brunswick, we have yet to locate any record of higher rank in the militia; certainly he is not listed among the county’s militia officers. And he came to New South Wales a private in a British Army convict guard, and a private he remained.

Secondly, he consistently attached the letters “MA” to his name, as both Leggett and Campbell, and in both England and New South Wales. The earliest instance occurs in a Bermuda newspaper report of April 1845. None of the university colleges in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, however, lists him among its alumni and, though he assured the New South Wales Council of Education that he was an “MA of St John’s, Cambridge,” he cannot have been in England long enough to have earned a degree there.³⁸

He claimed to have been private secretary to the Governor-General of Canada and subsequently a stipendiary magistrate in the West Indies, but he had left New Brunswick well before Canadian federation, and his Montserrat letters make no mention of a magistracy.³⁹ And I have yet to find any evidence to support the claim in the Canadian sources that he was ordained as an Anglican priest in New Brunswick in 1845. In fact by his own account he was offered ordination by the Bishop of London just before he left England for New South Wales, but “Alas! I refused.”⁴⁰ “Knight of Malta, the Red Cross and the Holy Sepulchre,” on the other hand, we must allow, as there is plenty of evidence of his connection with Freemasonry and in particular with the Knights Templar.

Did his family and friends in New Brunswick ever know what had become of him? It seems unlikely. By 1859 his people there had apparently given him up for dead: the marriage notice of Mary Cameronia described her as “only daughter of late Rev. W. M. Leggitt [*sic*] and granddaughter of William Stevens,” and his wife Mary Ann, who died in 1886, was described variously as the relict and the widow of William M. Leggett.⁴¹

³⁸ *The Bermudian*, April 19, 1845, as reported in *The Head Quarters* (Fredericton, N. B.), May 28, 1845, 3. The Cambridge claim is in an Application to the Council of Education for Aid to a Provisional School, Runnymede, August 15, 1870, SANSW: NRS 2621, 1/853, Vol. 121; William also called himself “a bona fide graduate of Cambridge” in a memo to the Council two years later.

³⁹ Memo Campbell to Council of Education, July 20, 1872, SANSW: NRS 2621, 1/917, Vol. 186.

⁴⁰ Letter Campbell to Bishop of Sydney, November 6, 1866, Sydney Diocesan Archives, [1993/052/008] Bishop of Sydney—Correspondence 1862–1867 Mr. W. Campbell at Sackville Reach School.

⁴¹ *Carleton Sentinel* (Woodstock, N. B.), November 26, 1859; August 14, 1886; *The Daily Telegraph* (St. John, N. B.), August 16, 1886, all via Daniel F. Johnson’s New Brunswick Newspaper Vital Statistics, PANB, at <http://archives.gnb.ca/Search/NewspaperVitalStats/>.

We are left with many questions. What drove him to sever his ties with home? Why did he change his name in England? Why did he revert to his original name Leggett for a brief year or so in New South Wales and, what is more, choose to marry—bigamously—under that name? What if anything did his Australian family, particularly poor Charlotte, know of his New Brunswick one? His correspondence affords no clues, and a trustworthy memoir has yet to emerge.

His descendants

Charlotte, living with her sons, survived her husband by sixteen years. She passed away on 14 August 1894 at Nerrigundah, the old gold-mining village in the mountains above the Tuross valley where Rodolph was teaching. William's descendants, it seems, inherited his literary gene. Rodolph's verse (as R. A. C. Campbell) appeared in small Hawkesbury region newspapers following his relocation to the school at Yarramundi. He was remembered there as a friend of the Harpurs, and wrote a touching tribute, "Up on the Hill," on Mary Harpur's death in 1899. Alpheus stayed in the bush, selecting blocks along the Buckenbowra to expand the farm, working as a sleeper cutter, union official and shipping agent and, as "Buckenbours," peppering local newspapers with his light verse, opinion pieces and articles on forestry and mining. He would never marry. The charming light verse of Myra May Campbell, only child of Rodolph's first marriage, decorates the *Sydney Morning Herald* of the 1920s and 30s. She shares a gravestone in Sydney (and perhaps a grave as well) with her uncle Alpheus. The two children of Rodolph's second marriage distinguished themselves in other fields: Persia Gwendoline Crawford Campbell as a professor of economics in the United States and a pioneer advocate of consumer rights, and Rodolphe William Clarence Campbell as a soldier, engineer and businessman.

Looking for William

The discovery of the fate of William Martin Leggett would have been difficult if not impossible without the Internet. A few years ago I joined the crowd that trawls through the pages of the Australian newspapers digitised on the National Library's Trove website, correcting the sometimes garbled machine-readable text which makes it possible to search, at the click of a mouse, millions of pages of news reports, articles, stories, reviews, letters to the editor, family notices and advertisements. I soon found myself drawn to the newspaper verse. Here the reader encounters some of the earliest published work of greats such as Harpur and Kendall, but I was attracted by the oddities and eccentrics: the drolleries of Harry Dashboard and Felix, Beverley Suttor's shameless doggerel and the eerie lines of James Bat, *Dictus Noctivagus*, the poet-nightwatchman of 1840s Sydney.

When I stumbled on the work of William M. Leggett, MA, in the *Bathurst Free Press* of 1850 I was intrigued. Here was a verse romance set in the American

wilderness, a 700-line epic of love and war entitled “Scenes in the Ancient Terra Incognita, Since Converted into the Province of New Brunswick, British America: or Sketches of Indian Life.” Here too were the “Reminiscences of a Traveller,” rambling articles on life in rural New Brunswick. The author plainly knew the place and the people, but who was he and what was his stuff doing in a little country paper on the other side of the world? Koral LaVorgna’s valuable article in the online *New Brunswick Literary Encyclopedia* revealed not only that Leggett was known in British North America, and indeed celebrated there as a young prodigy, the “Bard of New Brunswick,” but also that Canadians had lost sight of him when he had left for England around 1845. What had become of him?

My first piece of luck was an entry on early photographer George Cherry in the online *Dictionary of Australian Artists*. It quoted a snatch from an ode dedicated to Cherry by a fellow-passenger aboard the ship *Bangalore* heading south to Hobart Town and Sydney in 1848. The author signed himself “a Knight Templar, XIth Foot (late the Bard of New Brunswick).” The National Library put me in touch with Mrs. Jenny Baume in Sydney, whose family holds the Cherry papers—and there was the full poem, a sheet of manuscript in a hand I would come to know well.

A search of the online register of NSW Births, Deaths and Marriages turned up a Leggett marriage at Bowenfels in 1851, while a birth notice in a Trove newspaper revealed that a short time later the same couple were calling themselves Campbell. I turned up a possible candidate in the British Army records, William Alonzo Campbell. Attestation papers had been lost, but Campbell’s career as a soldier in England and New South Wales could be traced in microfilmed Muster Rolls and Pay Lists at the National Library. The British Library’s newspapers, digitised on the British Newspaper Archive and the Gale Historical Newspapers collection had meanwhile thrown up a good handful of English and Irish poems and articles attributed to Leggett, “Alonzo” and the “Knight Templar.”

I was lucky too that William’s best-known work, *The Forest Wreath*, was available in its entirety on the wonderful non-profit Internet Archive. Librarian Joe Wickens at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, generously provided images of the much rarer *Sacred Poetry*, the flyleaf annotated by the author himself. Under the guidance of archivist Janice Cook, researcher Rose Staples combed through microfilm of William’s early missionary correspondence in the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB) at Fredericton and turned up youthful poems and stories in newspapers at the Harriet Irving Library at UNB. I located a few more on the Internet, via Early Canadiana Online and Google News. Tracing the Leggetts in New Brunswick was made much easier by another online resource, Daniel F. Johnson’s Database of Vital Statistics from New Brunswick Newspapers, hosted on PANB’s web site. I found William’s missionary letters from Montserrat and Bermuda among the Methodist Missionary Society holdings at the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

Most of the New South Wales newspapers cited in this essay are available on Trove, the main exceptions being the *Singleton Times and Patrick's Plains Advertiser* (NLA, microfilm) and the *Australian Protestant Banner* (NLA, hard copy). I found William's correspondence with Henry Parkes among the Parkes papers at the State Library of NSW in Sydney, which also has the *Australian Freemason*. State Archives NSW at Kingswood holds William's reports on the Fenians and his school correspondence from Sackville Reach, Eurobodalla and Runnymede. It also has papers on the establishment of the National School at Bowenfels, including correspondence from and about William. Ian Beasley's *History of the Bowenfels National School* (1980, NLA manuscript) ably mines this material. The Sydney Diocesan Archive, Anglican Diocese of Sydney, holds William's letters to the Bishop of Sydney seeking ordination. William's royal claims were first examined by Denis Woodhams and Michael D'Arcy in their four-part "Buckenbours's Royal Blood—William Montague Clarence Campbell," *Journal of the Moruya and District Historical Society*, June 1999 to March 2000. They too, I found, had made a tentative connection between the names Campbell and Leggett but lacked the blessings of today's Internet—particularly the access it provides to digitised historical newspapers—in following the scent.

My thanks go to the many historians, archivists and librarians in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, the West Indies, Bermuda, Britain and Australia who helped me so generously. There is no room to acknowledge them all, but I owe a special debt to Dr. Gwen Davies at the University of New Brunswick for her guidance, to Janice Cook at PANB, and to two most patient researchers, Rose Staples in New Brunswick and Andrew Lewis in London. My thanks also to Jenny Baume in Sydney for the pivotal *Bangalore* ode, and to William's great-grandchildren, Michael Campbell and Judy Patten in Sydney, for their interest and support. Above all, thanks to Trove and the National Library of Australia.

Canberra.

A Select Bibliography

A listing of all of William's publications and newspaper poems, articles and letters is beyond the scope of this paper. Below is a selective list of work published in England and Ireland (1846–1847) and Australia (1848–1876). It omits most of his newspaper letters.

In England and Ireland

Poem "Freemasonry," by The Rev. Brother W. M. Leggett, MA, *Freemasons' Monthly Magazine* (Boston), August 1, 1846, 308. "Dedicated to the Right Worshipful J. Stuart Hunter, Esquire, M. D., Provincial Grand Master of the Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, in the Bermudas; with the Author's best respects." Although published in an American journal this poem is dated "London, April 1, 1846." See also "Ode to Free Masonry," 1848, below.

Article "Recollections of a Traveller," by W. M. Leggett, MA, *Liverpool Mail*, September 5, 1846, 6.

Article "Life in the Bermudas," by W. M. Leggett, MA, *Liverpool Mail*, September 12, 1846, 2.

Article "West Indian Nuisances," by W. M. Leggett, *Aberdeen Herald*, September 19, 1846, 4; extracted from the *Liverpool Journal*, n.d.

Article "Reminiscences of British America," by W. M. Leggett, MA, *Derry Journal* (Londonderry), September 23, 1846, 4.

Poem "The Song of Bread! Bread!," by William Martin Leggett, MA, *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin), October 10, 1846, 2; dated "Liverpool, 6th October, 1845" [*sic*]. Previously appeared as "The Song of Bread! Bread! Bread!" in *The Pilot* (Dublin), October 9, 1846, 2, undated and attributed only as "the production of an Englishman" which had been forwarded from Liverpool. Reprinted unattributed in several Irish regional newspapers during October 1846.

Poem "Reflections in the Old Convent Chapel, New Tavern Fort, Gravesend. Most respectfully inscribed to the Colonel commanding Detachments here and in Tilbury," by A Knight Templar, 11th Foot, *Kentish Independent* (Gravesend), October 2, 1847, 2. Dated "11th Sept., 1847."

Poem "Signs of the Times. (Pathetically versified with notes, by Alonzo, 11th Foot)," *Kentish Independent*, October 30, 1847, 7. Dated "Tilbury Fort, 11th October, 1847."

Articles "A Series of Letters on the North American Colonies including the British West Indies. [From a Correspondent.] By a Knight Templar, XI Foot," *Kentish Independent*, October 30, 1847, 5; November 6, 1847, 2; and November 20, 1847, 3.

Poem "The Thunder Storm," by A Knight Templar, XIth Foot, *Kentish Independent*, November 13, 1847, 2. This would be reprinted in *Bell's Life*, Sydney, 1848 (see below).

At sea

Poem "Lines Addressed to Mr Cherry, the Daguerotype [*sic*] Artist by A Knight Templar, XIth Foot (late the Bard of New Brunswick)," Manuscript in private hands, Sydney. Dated "H. M. S. Bangalore 1848."

In Australia

Poem "Ode to Free Masonry," by A Knight Templar XIth Foot, *Bell's Life in Sydney*, August 26, 1848, 4. Dated "New Barracks, Sydney, 30th July, 1848." A variant of "Freemasonry," published in 1846 under Leggett's name and dated London (see above).

Poem "The Thunder Storm," by A Knight Templar [*sic*], XI Foot, *Bell's Life in Sydney*, September 23, 1848, 3. Undated. Previously published in England in 1847 (see above).

Poem "A Soldier's Life," by Ignoramus Thingumbob, Esq., O. N. P., *Bell's Life in Sydney*, September 30, 1848, 1. Dated "Working Barracks, Deserts of Arabia, September 25, 1848." Attributed on basis of content, style, location and date, and use of the fictional honorific "O. N. P.," "One of Nature's Peers," an abbreviation and term uniquely William's (see below). He was still a serving soldier at this point.

Articles "Reminiscences of a Traveller. By William M. Leggett, MA British America." *Bathurst Free Press*, April 27, 1850, 6 (Nos. I and II); May 4, 6 (No. III); May 11, 7 (No. IV); May 18, 7 (Nos. V and VI); May 25, 7 (No. VII and VIII); June 1, 7 (Nos. IX and X); June 8, 7 (No. XI); June 15, 7 (Nos. XII and XIII); June 29, 7 (No. XV). All undated. The *Bathurst Free Press* for June 22, presumably containing instalment No. XIV, has not been preserved.

Poem "Melody. Inscribed to the Lady of Lansdale," by William M. Leggett, MA, *Bathurst Free Press*, June 1, 1850, 6. Lansdale Cottage, Sussex Vale, was the New Brunswick home of the Leggetts. The Lady is probably William's mother, Mary Martin Leggett, a poet in her own right.

Poem "From Solitary Rambles in Australia. (An Unpublished Work)," William M. Leggett, MA, *Bathurst Free Press*, June 8, 1850, 6. Dated "Near Bathurst, 1st June, 1850."

Poem "Scenes in the Ancient Terra Incognita, Since Converted into the Province of New Brunswick, British America: or Sketches of Indian Life," by William M. Leggett, MA, *Bathurst Free Press*, June 15, 1850, 6 ("Premonition" and Canto 1st, "The Surprised Encampment"); June 29, 6 (Canto 3rd, "Journeyings of Oola, and an interesting discovery"); July 6, 6 (Canto 4th, "Doings Among the Micmacs"); July 13, 6 (Canto 4th [*sic*], "A Solitary Wigwam"); July 27, 6 (Canto 6th, "Edoona Surprised"); August 3, 6 (Canto 7th, "Thrilling Occurrences at the Micmac Camp, and Escape of Edoona"); August 10, 6 (Canto 8th, "Mysterious Disclosures Overheard by Oola"); August 17, 6 (Canto 9th, "Battle at the Place of Graves"); August 31, 6 (Canto 10th, "Scene at the Looshtork Falls"); September 7, 6 (Canto 11th, "Edoona discovers her long lost Brother, whom she supposes to be dead" and Canto 12th, "Oota suspects Edoona's love for Oola. A shipwrecked European"); September 14, 6 (Canto 13th, "Meeting of Oola and Edoona" and Canto 14, "Oola and Peetwaagen discover they are kinsmen"); September 21, 6 (Canto 15th, "Affair between Oola and Oota"); September 28, 6 (Canto 16th, "The mind of Oola perplexed with

conflicting creeds"). All undated. Despite a footnote "To be continued" the poem does not progress beyond Canto 16th. The *Free Press* issue for June 22, presumably containing Canto 2nd, has not been preserved. The fifth canto (July 13) is misnumbered Canto 4th; the next canto appears two issues later, correctly numbered.

Poem "The Properties of Being," by William M'Leggett, MA [sic], *Bell's Life in Sydney*, November 23, 1850, 1. Headed "For Bell's Life in Sydney;" dated "Bowen's Fell [sic], 14th Nov., 1850."

Poem "Fragment" ("Why is it that the Christian Church—by Heaven designed to be") by William M. Leggett, MA, *Bathurst Free Press*, December 7, 1850, 4. Undated.

Letters to the Editor, from Alonzo, *The Empire*, April 29, 1851, 3, on the need for reform; No. 2, April 30, 4, on the inutility of sceptres and crowns; No. 3, May 1, 3, on justice and John Dunmore Lang; No. 4, May 2, 3, on constitutional reform and independence; No. V, May 5, 4, on libel laws and the future government of the colony; No. VI, May 5, 4, on England's mistreatment of her colony; No. VII, May 6, 4, "British America v. Australia,"—a comparison, with an emphasis on land policy; No. VIII, May 7, 3, on "Moral and Intellectual Progress,"—the challenge for the rising generation; No. IX, May 8, 3, on the advent of the true liberty of reason; No. X, May 9, 3, on a delegation to London following the example of New Brunswick; No. XI, May 14, 3, an appeal to the Friends of Freedom; No. XII, May 15, 3, "Is the Law as it Ought to Be?;" (unnumbered), May 21, 3, on "Gold Properly Controlled;" No. XIV, May 21, 3, on the new constitution; No. XV, May 22, 3, on "Qualifications of a Member."

Poem "Lines Suggested by the Advice of a Friend to 'Take Things Easy'" by Alonzo, *The Empire*, May 6, 1851, 3. Dated "May 3rd, 1851."

Poem "To Alonzo," by Not A Faithless Imogene, *The Empire*, May 9, 1851, 3. Dated "Bowenfels, 1st May, 1851." Attributed, but the author's pseudonym (an allusion to the popular Matthew 'Monk' Lewis ballad "Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogene") and location suggest this may actually be the work of Charlotte Leggett.

Letter to the Editor, "The Ophir Mines," from W. M. L., *The Empire*, July 4, 1851, 3. Dated "Ophir, Tuesday night, June 24, 1851."

Letter to the Editor, "The Ophir Diggings," from W. M. L., *The Empire*, July 11, 1851, 3. Dated "Saturday Afternoon, July 5, 1851."

Article "General Orders to the Advancing Line of Conservatives," by Mrs. Man of the Caves, Private Secretary; "Serious Allegement," by Man of the Caves, O. N. P.; "Internal Resources," by Man of the Caves, O. N. P.; "Cart and Terse," by Man of the Caves; poem "Impromptu" by The Man of the Caves; "Problem to Exercise the Laboured Ingenuity of 'Le Blanc,'" by Man of the Caves, O. N. P.; letter to the Editor from A Reading and Thinking Lady, *Singleton Times*, June 21, 1862, 2. Dated "June 17th, 1862."

Poem "Musings," by The Man of the Caves, *Singleton Times*, June 21, 1862, 3. Dated "Wombo Mountains."

Poem "Sentiments at Home—In the Wombo Mountains," by The Man of the Caves, O. N. P., *Singleton Times*, June 25, 1862, 2. Undated.

Article "Advertisement. (Payable in kind)—By the O. N. P.;" "Oblong Squares. Fidelity! Fidelity! Fidelity!" by U. E. C., 256; "Errata," by The Man of the Caves; "Old Horace's Bridge," by Man of the Caves, O. N. P.; "Proposed National Column. O. N. P.," by Man of the Caves; "Election Notice," by O. N. P., *Singleton Times*, June 25, 1862, 2. Dated "Wombo Mountains."

Poem "The War in Parliament. Musclebrook Edition," by C., *Singleton Times*, September 3, 1862, 4. Undated. Reprinted in *Bell's Life in Sydney*, September 6, 1862, 2, crediting "C." and the *Singleton Times*. The target is David Buchanan, radical member for Morpeth in the N. S. W. Legislative Assembly, 1860–62.

Poem "Law of Marriage and Divorce. Musclebrook Edition," by C., *Singleton Times*, September 10, 1862, 4. Undated

Poem "Melody" (Air—"Oft in the stilly night,") by Campbell, *Singleton Times*, October 22, 1862, 4. Undated. Variant of a poem originally appearing in *The Gleaner* (Miramichi, N. B.), August 22, 1837, 6, ascribed to "W. M. L."

Poem "The Pilgrim-Bard," by Campbell, *Singleton Times*, October 22, 1862, 4. Undated. This poem shares a title but nothing more with one published under Leggett's name in the *New Brunswick Courier* (St. John), April 3, 1834, 4.

Poem "Mammon," by Campbell, *Singleton Times*, November 1, 1862, 2. Dated "Musclebrook." A variant would appear in the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1865, ascribed to "The Woollahra Hermit" (see below).

Article "The Soul of Education. An Essay. [From the Prose Pen of The Woollahra Hermit.]" *Illustrated Sydney News*, December 16 1864, 11; and January 16, 1865, 4 and 14.

Article "Eighteen Hundred and Sixty Five, or The Great Wheel in Motion," by The Woollahra Hermit, *Illustrated Sydney News*, February 16, 1865, 14.

Poem "Mammon," by The Woollahra Hermit, *Illustrated Sydney News*, May 16, 1865, 10. Undated. A variant of the poem published in the *Singleton Times* in 1862, ascribed to "Campbell" (see above).

Poem "A Melody of Sadness," by The Woollahra Hermit, *Illustrated Sydney News*, June 16, 1865, 10. Dated "Woollahra Academy."

Poem "What Am I?," by The Woollahra Hermit, *Illustrated Sydney News*, August 16, 1865, 10. Dated "Woollahra Academy.—Aug. 9, 1865."

Poem "Individuality; or, A Historical Sketch of the Mind of an Honest Man, struggling to surmount Religious, Political, and Literary Obstacles. Introductory Lines," by The Woollahra Hermit, *Illustrated Sydney News*, August 16, 1865, 14. Literary prospectus. A copy of the prospectus in leaflet form is held in the National Library of Australia (Bib ID 192686, available online at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-107112618>).

Article "Capital Punishment," by The Woollahra Hermit, *Illustrated Sydney News*, November 16, 1865, 14. Dated "Woollahra Academy, 10th July, 1865."

Poem "To Victoria," by William Montagu Clarence Campbell, *Illustrated Sydney News*, March 16, 1866, 10. Dated "Sydney, New South Wales." A headnote explains that "Mr. Campbell, the Woollahra Hermit" had the previous August sent the poem direct to the Queen in manuscript, receiving a letter of thanks from Windsor Castle.

Poem "To-Morrow," by The Woollahra Hermit, *The Australian Journal*, April 21, 1866, 542. Dated "Sydney, 1866." A heavily revised version would appear in *The Australian Protestant Banner* in 1868 over the name "W. M. C. Campbell."

Poem "Thoughts en passant," by W. M. C. Campbell. Manuscript, in a letter addressed "To the Honorable Henry Parkes, &c. &c. &c.," dated "Dixon House, Dixon Street West, (Off Liverpool Street) 24th July, 1867." State Library of N. S. W., Sir Henry Parkes—Papers, 1833–1896, CYA 920, 728–31.

Poem "To-Morrow," by W. M. C. Campbell, *The Australian Protestant Banner*, June 13, 1868, 2. Undated. A revised version of the poem appearing in the *Australian Journal* of 1866, ascribed to "The Woollahra Hermit" (see above).

Poem "A Tribute to Loyalty Inscribed with profound respect to His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh, &c., &c., &c., by his obedient, much obliged, and grateful servant, William Montagu Clarence Campbell, MA," *The Australian Protestant Banner*, June 20, 1868, 2. Dated "Sydney, N. S. W., 16th June, 1868."

Story "Consistency Rewarded. An Unvarnished Tale," by W. M. C. C., *The Australian Protestant Banner*, June 27, 1868, 9 (Chapters I and II); and July 4, 9 (Chapters III and IV). Undated.

Story "Hope in the End. A Tale of 1835. From Reminiscences of British America," by W. M. C. C., *The Australian Protestant Banner*, July 11, 1868, 6 (Chapters I to III); July 25, 9 (Chapters IV to VI); August 1, 5 (Chapters VII and VIII); and August 8, 9 (Chapters X to XII and Conclusion). Undated. Chapter IX is skipped, in an apparent misnumbering.

Poem "When He Came to Himself" (Air—"Nearer My God to Thee"), by W. M. C. Campbell, MA, *The Australian Protestant Banner*, July 18, 1868, 2. Dated "27th May, 1868."

Story "Horrible Intermarriage Disclosures. A Tale of the Day," by W. M. C. C., *The Australian Protestant Banner*, August 15, 1868, 9 (Chapters I and II); August 22, 10 (Chapters III and IV); and August 29, 9 (Chapter V). Undated.

Poem "Written over the grave of the remains of the late Charles Harpur, Esquire, the first Native Poet, in the order of time, of acknowledged celebrity," by William Montague Clarence Campbell, MA, *The Australian Protestant Banner*, December 26, 1868, 7. Dated "Eurobodalla, near Bodalla, 12th December, 1868."

Poem "A Night-Visit to the Oaks at Eurobodalla," by W. M. C. Campbell, MA, *The Australian Journal*, September 1, 1869, 38. Undated. A reworking of "Strollings at Eurobodalla. A night-visit to 'The Oaks,'" by W. M. C. Campbell, manuscript dated "Eurobodalla Public School, 1st May, 1869" (State Archives NSW: Council of Education; NRS 2621, Miscellaneous letters received 1867–75, 1–812, Vol. 78, f.56).

Poem "Song Alamode," by "Eurobo Dalla Esquire, F. R. S. and K. T.," unidentified newspaper cutting in possession of Campbell family, dated "3rd April, 1870." Attributed.

Article "The Flood at Eurobodalla [From a Correspondent]," *Evening News*, May 6, 1870, 3. Undated. Attributed. This article also appeared in *The Empire*, May 9, 3, and the *Australian Town and Country Journal*, May 14, 7.

Article "Another and More Destructive Flood at Eurobodalla," by W. M. C. C., *Australian Town and Country Journal*, June 4, 1870, 7. Dated "Eurobodalla, 21st May."

Poem "Night Scene at Eurobodalla," by W. M. C. C., *Australian Town and Country Journal*, August 20, 1870, 18, 7. Dated "August, 1870."

Poem "My Grotto Melody," by W. M. C. C., MA, *The Australian Journal*, May 1, 1873, 523. Dated "Lordsland Cottage, N. S. W."

Poem "Drop Melody," by William Montagu Clarence Campbell, MA, *The Australian Journal*, July 1, 1873, 642. Undated.

Poem "Bondi Melody," by W. M. C. Campbell, MA, *The Australian Journal*, August 1, 1873, 660. Dated "Lordsland Cottage, N. S. W."

Poem "Song for Australians," by The late Captain W. M. C. Campbell, MA, Kt. of Malta, R. C. and H. S., &c., *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, November 2, 1900, 1. Dated "Lordsland, Buckenbourn [*sic*], N. S. W." Published posthumously; probably supplied to the paper by William's son Rodolph.