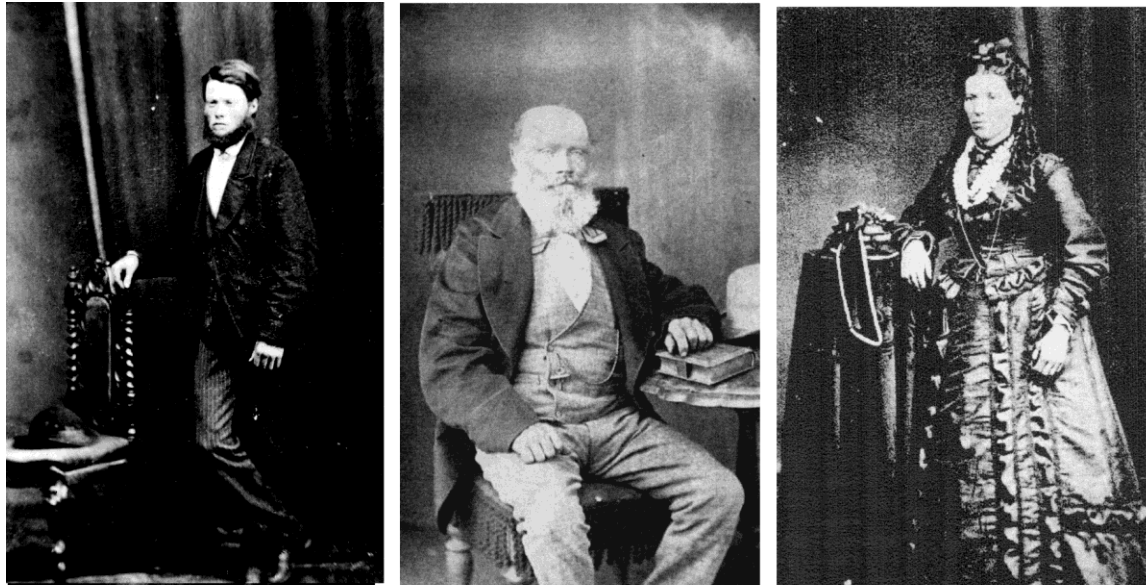


The rise and fall of John Retallack (1826-1890)

Revised November 3, 2020

by Michael L. Retallack, “Millamolong” via Mandurama, New South Wales, Australia.



A. John Retallack ca.1853

B. John Retallack ca.1870

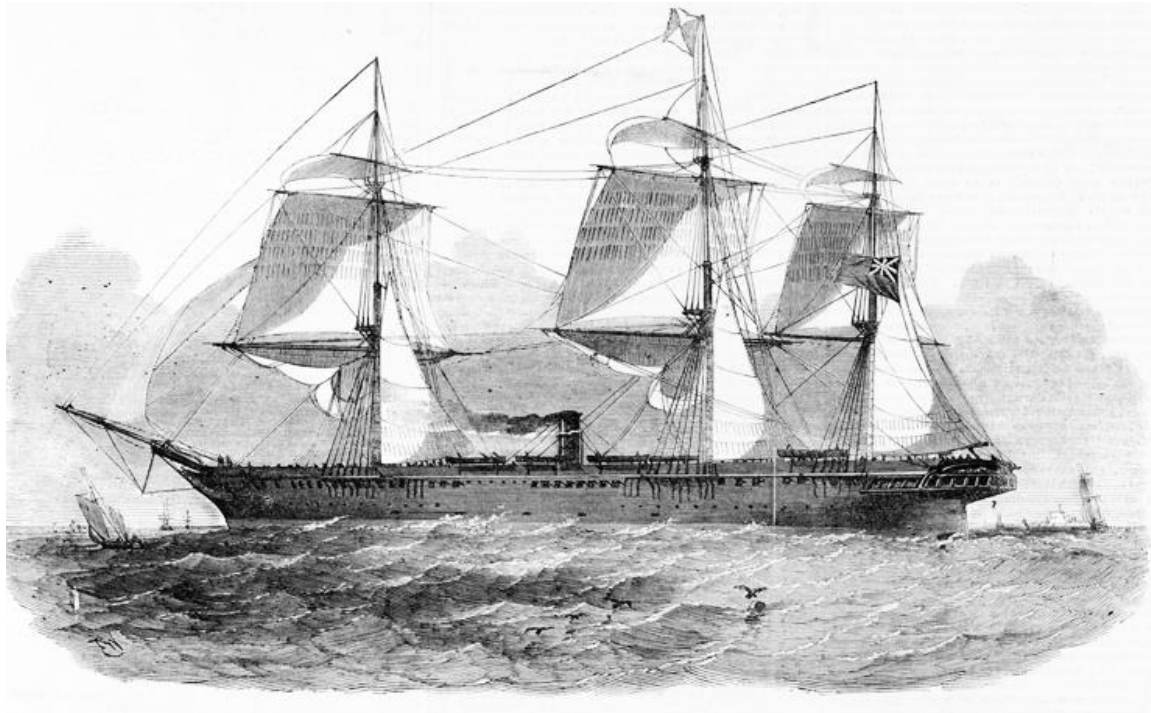
C. Caroline Retallack ca.1853

Figure 1. Studio photos of John and Caroline Retallack (courtesy of Wendy Gollan).

The arrival of John Retallack (Fig. 1A-B) in Adelaide from Cornwall, has long been a mystery because there is no record of his passage to Australia in ships mentioned in family records¹⁻³: neither on the 1849 voyage of the “Himalaya”⁴, nor on the 1851 voyage of the “Caucasian”⁴. John’s date of birth is also uncertain: about 1828 is indicated by the age of 25 on his marriage license⁵ of 1853, but about 1821 by his death certificate⁶ age of 69 in 1890. Finally his Cornish town is uncertain, and given as either Redruth¹ or Penzance². Thus his Cornish ancestors and background have been a mystery.

John may have been the first Retallack to enter Australia, if he came on the “Himalaya”, and lack of a passenger record is unproblematic, because before 1852 only government sponsored passengers were listed⁷. Two others also came early, John Retallick as a convict to Moreton Bay, Brisbane⁸⁻¹⁷, on the “Bangalore” in 1850, and John Retallack as a free settler to Sydney¹⁹⁻²⁶ on the “Joseph Some”²³ in 1852. These two other Cornish emigrants were older^{8,19}, and still in Sydney, New South Wales²⁶, and Toowoomba, Queensland¹⁶⁻¹⁷, respectively, when John Retallack began our branch of the family by marrying Caroline Rashleigh in Adelaide⁵ in 1853.

There were 14 John Retallacks in Cornwall with birthdates between 1819 and 1830, and all but one can be eliminated as the founder of the Retallack-Rashleigh line²⁷⁻⁷⁹. The John Retallack most likely to have been the South Australian immigrant may have been christened 16 July 1826 in the Bible Christian Church in Luxulyan, Cornwall to William and Lydia Retallack, and thus is listed in the Non-conformist Register rather than Church of England parish records⁸⁰⁻⁸¹. The Bible Christian Church split from Wesleyan Methodism over interpreting the King James version of the Bible



*Figure 2. The steamship Himalaya in 1854*⁸⁷

as the word of God to be taken absolutely literally in every sense⁸¹. A less fundamentalist Bible Christian tenet was recognition of women as preachers. The Bible Christian Church was founded by William Bryant who was born in Luxulyan, Cornwall, of Wesleyan Methodist parents. His application to be a Wesleyan preacher was rejected and he broke away to form his own ministry in 1815, on an itinerant preaching circuit starting at Week St Mary, Cornwall, and then organized a foundational group of farmers in Shebbear, Devon.⁸² Originally known as the Bryanites, Bryant himself preferred the title of Arminian Bible Christians, following the doctrines of Arminius, a Dutch anti-Calvinist⁸³. By 1849, some 1333 Bible Christian missionaries had emigrated to found churches in North America, New Zealand and South Australia⁸². Conversion of Retallacks to fundamentalist Christianity may go back to William Retallack's parents, Richard and Amelia moving to Luxulyan¹ by 1807, and encountering charismatic preachers in the Luxulyan Bible Christian Church. Emphasis on the bible is ironic because John Retallack was illiterate, as indicated by his later signature with an X on the birth certificate of his son Charles from 25th May 1868 in Angaston⁸⁴. The Bible Christians targeted especially underserved rural people and women, and their evangelical aspirations delivered information, purpose and funding for emigration to English-speaking colonies⁸².

The paternal lineage of William and Lydia Retallack can be traced in Church of England christenings back to Mark Retallack¹, born in 1535 and a church warden at St Columb Major in 1589. In the 1841 census, their son John Retallack age 15 (thus born about 1826) was a farm servant under farmer William Retallack age 35 (thus born about 1806) at Trewothack, St Anthony Parish, Kerrier Hundred, Cornwall⁸⁵. This William Retallack was not immediate family, because John's parents William and Lydia had

emigrated, perhaps as Bible Christian missionaries, to St Columbus, Ontario, Canada¹, where their sixth child Amelia was born 18 August 1833. Other farm servants at Trewothack listed in 1841 were also unrelated: Joseph Mathews, Thomas Martin, Nicholas Pearce, Mary Chinn and Mary Dunn. William Retallack at Trewothack was not an uncle¹, but a more distant relation, who may be the basis for John's insistence late in life that he had an inheritance in Cornwall⁸⁷. Trewothack village is also near Penzance (25 miles to the west), which also has been considered John's city of origin².

Passage of John Retallack to Australia on the "Himalaya" in 1849 (Fig. 2) rather than the "Caucasian" in 1851, is more likely, because he is unlisted on either ships list. Only sponsored passengers were listed before 1852 and the sponsoring South Australian Company required settlers be "real labourers, going out to work for wages in the colony, of sound mind and body, not less than fifteen nor more than thirty years of age and married"⁷. At that time John was the right age, but unmarried. By 1850 the marriage requirement had been dropped, but not the age requirement⁸⁸. The "Himalaya"⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰ embarked from Plymouth on 1 August and arrived in Adelaide on 21 November 1849. He was apparently expected in Adelaide, where the post office advertised unclaimed letters for him in three lists⁹¹⁻⁹³ advertised 31 December 1851, 31 August 1852, and 30 November 1852. Presumably these were letters from Bible Christian colleagues in England, and lay unclaimed because of his absence at the gold rush in Bendigo, Victoria, mentioned in unpublished family letters².

The Victorian goldfields would have been a major attraction for a young unskilled labourer in the years 1851-1853, and took much of the labour force of Adelaide⁹⁴. Nevertheless, Bendigo would have been very disconcerting for a fundamentalist Christian for a variety of reasons. Thievery, brothels, and widespread drunkenness⁹⁵⁻⁹⁶ would have been disturbing. The large numbers of Chinese at the diggings⁹⁷ may also have evoked racist feelings rationalized as a mark of Cain. Crowding and lack of privacy would be trying for a country boy, as was the way that so much land was turned upside down (Fig. 3), and then reworked again by the Chinese. There were also ridiculously inflated prices for everything on the gold fields⁹⁹.

Finally, the years 1851-1853 were increasingly troubled by miner unrest, culminating in the massacre of the Eureka Stockade of 3 December 1854. As recounted in newspapers¹⁰⁰ "It was in 1853 that the agitations on the goldfields had reached a height. Not only were the diggers dissatisfied with the iniquitous license fee of 30s per month, but the whole population was harrassed by the mode in which the authorities collected it and their tyrannical conduct also in reference to the sale of liquor....At a meeting held in Camp Reserve, near where Charing Cross now is, on the 6th June 1853, the licensing system and the tyrannical proceedings of the camp officials were denounced in no measured terms. A memorial was prepared in reference to this and other questions, and, at the end of July it had been signed by 23,000 diggers of Bendigo and Castlemaine, 8,000 signatures from Mclvor swelling it up to 31,000. The memorial was taken to Melbourne for presentation, Mr Thomson being one of the delegates, but the reply of the Lieutenant-Governor (Mr La Trobe) was, that the Government were not inclined to make any change in the existing laws. He was satisfied the diggers were mere grievance mongers, and that he knew what was his duty, and he would do it at all risks. If the



Fig. 3. Zealous gold diggers in Bendigo⁹⁸ in August 1854.

diggers troubled the Government, much more he would let them hear how cannon could roar." This prediction may have been enough warning for John Retallack to return to the Bible Christian congregation in Mitcham.

John thus avoided the climactic events of 3 December 1854, when a force of 276 police from Ballarat and soldiers from British garrisons 12th (East Suffolk) Regiment of Foot and 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment of Foot approached a makeshift stockade near the Eureka gold lead and its 148 defenders who had raised the Eureka flag featuring the southern cross. The ragtag group of miners was no match for professional police and soldiers, and were routed within 10 minutes. Some 14 miners died inside the stockade and an additional eight died later from injuries. Most diggers were marched off to the Government camp nearby. With imposition of martial law, armed resistance collapsed, but the Eureka stockade and its Australian flag have remained a symbol of Australian independence and democracy¹⁰¹.

John Retallack may have spent some time in Adelaide in 1849, enroute to Melbourne and the Bendigo goldfields, but he was certainly back by 1853 in Mitcham⁵, 11 km south of Adelaide (Fig. 4). The village of Mitcham, now a suburb of Adelaide, was a center of the Cornish community and of the Bible Christian Church in Australia¹⁰². There John met Caroline Rashleigh (Fig. 5), his future wife, and step-daughter of a past minister of the Bible Christian Church.

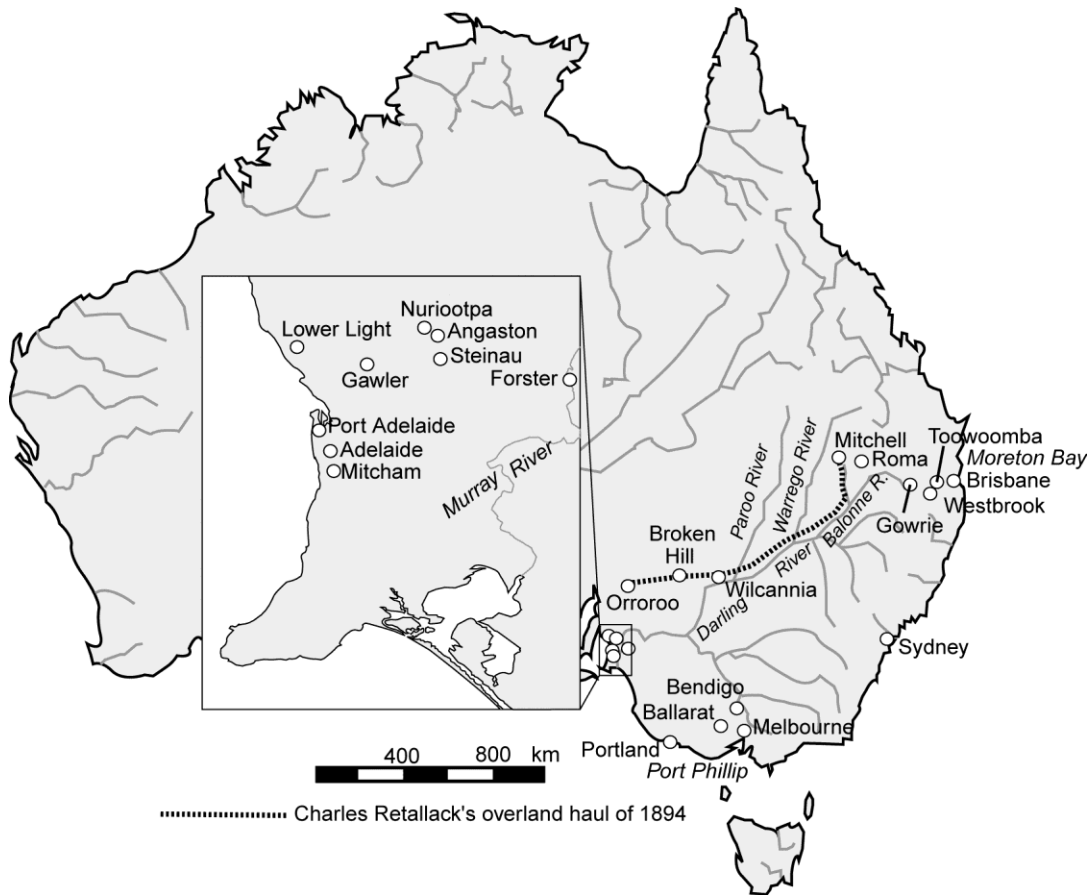


Figure 4. Localities in the life of John Retallack and the 1894 overland route of his son Charles Retallack

Caroline's story in the following paragraphs owes much to an account by Terry Moyle¹⁰³. Her father was John Rashleigh, the son of John and Margaret Rashleigh (née Allen), born 13th September, 1795, and baptized at St Keverne, Cornwall on 15th, November, 1795. John Rashleigh married Phyllis Symons, the daughter of Robert Symons and Elizabeth (née Richards), in 1821. John was a yeoman farmer at Porthkerris a cove on the south Cornish coast between Porthallow and Porthoustock in St Keverne Parish. John and Phyllis had six children. Their first son was John (born 1822), then John James (1824), Elizabeth (1826 died young), William Richards (1827), Elizabeth Symons (1829), Caroline (1832), and Thomas Henry (1833). The family had strong ties to the Bible Christian chapel at Porthallow. Some of the children were baptized by the Bible Christian minister there, but others were baptized at St Keverne church. John Rashleigh was bed ridden for several years before he died but Phyllis Rashleigh managed the farm and developed business skills that stood her in good stead later in Australia. John died on 19th July, 1833, and was buried at Manaccan on 23rd July, 1833.

Caroline Rashleigh's stepfather, William Kinsman was born in Morenstow, north Cornwall, in 1799. He began his Bible Christian ministry in the Scilly Isles in 1825, and by 1833 he was preaching in Mevagissy¹⁰⁴. William may have left the Methodist ministry, but continued to preach for the Bible Christian church. He appeared in St Keverne in 1833, and perhaps ministered to the ailing John Rashleigh at



Fig. 5. The older Rashleigh-Kinsman girls about 1853, Elizabeth Symons (Rashleigh) Rowe, Caroline Rashleigh, Philippa Rashleigh and Mary Jane Kinsman (left to right). Rosina and Grace Kinsman are not pictured.

Porthkerris. On 14th August 1834, William Kinsman, bachelor of St Keverne, married Phyllis Rashleigh, widow, by licence at St Keverne church. Over the next ten years, Phyllis had six children with William Kinsman, five girls and a boy. Three of the children, Rosina, Grace and Phillipa (Fig. 5), were baptized on 10th March 1843 at the family home at Porthkerris by the local Bible Christian minister. In both the 1841 and 1851 census returns, the Kinsman-Rashleigh family was at Porthkerris. Phyllis continued to manage the farm for fifteen years after marriage to William Kinsman. In the meantime, Phyllis's eldest daughter Elizabeth Symons Rashleigh (Fig. 5) had married her boyfriend Francis Rowe, and had emigrated to South Australia. Elizabeth had sent glowing letters home about life in Mitcham, South Australia. For some years the Kinsmans lost money because of potato blight, which also decimated Irish potato crops at the time¹⁰⁵. As there was only a life left before the Porthkerris farm lease would end, they decided to emigrate to South Australia. On 11th November 1851, William and Phyllis together with their 6 children, plus William, Caroline and Thomas Rashleigh sailed from Plymouth on the 565 ton barque "Caucasian"⁴. The passage was sponsored by the South Australian Company, but William Kinsman was required to pay an excess fare of £37, because he had a large number of children and his daughter Phillipa was blind. William and Phyllis gave their ages as 30 for the passenger list of the *Caucasian*, when they were actually over 53 years old. This was due to a requirement of the South Australian Company that sponsored passengers be under 30 years of age^{7,88}. Kinsman experience of

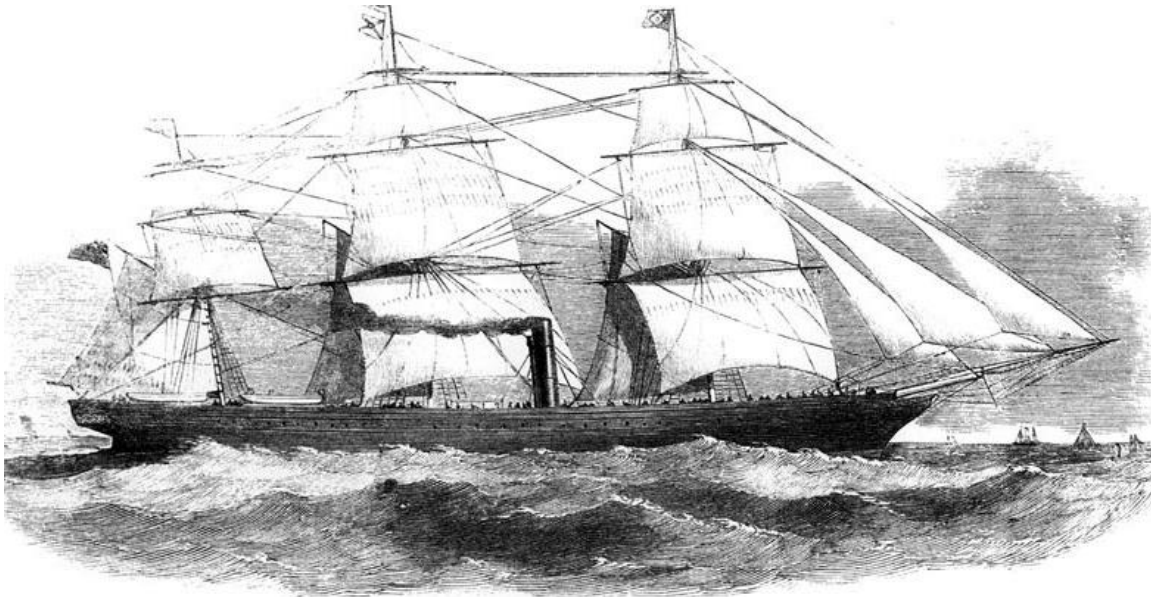


Figure 6. The steam ship "Cleopatra"¹⁰⁹.

farming was also important to meet the South Australia Company's occupation criterion. The Kinsman-Rashleighs arrived in Adelaide 8th February 1852.

The Rashleigh-Kinsman story in Australia can now be taken up from the memoirs of Thomas Playford¹⁰², who married Caroline's half-sister Mary Jane Kinsman (Fig. 5) in 1860. Thomas Playford was an orchardist and prominent politician: Member of South Australian Parliament for Onkaparinga 1868-1871, Premier of South Australia 1887-1889 and again in 1890-1892, and involved in planning the Federation of the Commonwealth of Australia, and drafting the Australian Constitution¹⁰⁶. "I was most intimate with a family who came to Mitcham about the year 1852. For I married into that family. Some of the children were named Rashleigh and some Kinsman for Mrs Kinsman had been married twice. I heard the Rev. Kinsman preach twice in our little chapel, and thought he was a good preacher. He was a tall, well built man with pleasing serious looking face much liked by his children. In the meantime, gold had been found in Victoria and the men in the colony were flocking there. Mr Kinsman resolved to go also and take William and John Rashleigh with him. He stayed long enough to see the rest of his family settled, then departed by ship for Melbourne. He and the two Rashleighs duly landed in Melbourne and acquired horses and carts to carry their luggage to the diggings near Bendigo. They made a late start and camped for the first night not far from Melbourne. Mr Kinsman was troubled with a bad attack of dysentery and told the boys that they were to go on, and that he would walk back to Melbourne and procure some medical advice and medicine, and that he would catch them up later. William and John Rashleigh went on but he never turned up, and that was the last time he was seen alive by anyone according to diligent enquiry made by Mrs Kinsman and others. Phyllis was informed that a man answering to William Kinsman's description had boarded a vessel bound for Port Adelaide but that he had died before the vessel reached the heads and was taken ashore there to be buried. However, there is no record of his death or burial." This informant may have been John Retallack as he, as well as "Elizabeth Symons and infant" (perhaps Elizabeth Symons Rowe) are listed as passengers on the steamship "Cleopatra"

(Fig. 6) leaving Adelaide May 14 1853 for Portland and Melbourne¹⁰⁷⁻¹⁰⁸. This trip of investigation was short, as John was back to marry Caroline in Mitcham⁵ on 7 November 1853.

The story of the Kinsman's misadventures in the Victorian goldfields, shares many elements with Catherine Spence's novel of 1854, *Clara Morison: a tale of South Australia during the gold fever*, which takes the view of the women left behind. There is no evidence from Catherine Spence's biography that she knew the Kinsmans or Rashleighs¹¹⁰.

Playford¹⁰² continues "Poor Mrs Kinsman was thus left to fight her own way in life, mysteriously bereft of her husband. With the little money she had, she purchased some cows and sold milk and butter. She realized that there was an opening for a passenger conveyance to the city so she bought a cart and drove to town in the morning, returning in the evening 3 days a week. Later she obtained the mail contract in 1855. As the traffic increased she procured a bus and her son drove it. Mr James of the Norfolk Arms kindly gave her the use of his stables and despite competition from other buses the people of Mitcham supported her venture." A bus in those days was a horse-drawn omnibus (Fig. 7).

Playford continues¹⁰². "Soon after the Kinsman's arrival in Mitcham, I fell in love with Mary Jane (Fig. 5), obtained her love, and we courted for seven years before we married. Mrs Kinsman died on Feb 21st, 1866, of gastric fever and was buried in Mitcham. I was one of the executors of her will together with William Rashleigh and Francis Rowe. We found that she was worth several thousand pounds which was divided up in equal shares among all her children except Phillipa, her blind daughter, who was



Fig. 7. Phyllis Kinsman and the Mitcham-Adelaide bus¹¹¹ ca 1855.

left for life with the interest of 550 pounds to keep her. I was the acting executor and since then have invested Phillipa's money, paying her board and giving her pocket money to purchase books for the blind. Her sister Mrs Williams boards her for 18 shillings a week. However of late the interest rate has been so low so I have been compelled to take some of the capital to meet expenses, and if she lives many more years, all the capital will be used up."

There is also an account of the Kinsmans arrival in Adelaide¹¹². "On landing at Port Adelaide they reached the city by means of a bullock dray and slept the night in a shed in Hindley Street, before continuing the next day to Mitcham where the family settled." Mitcham was evidently a predetermined destination for William Kinsman as a centre for the Cornish community and Bible Christian Church in Australia. This congregation included John Retallack, then an old hand in Australia. He married Caroline only 20 months after her arrival on 7th November 1853, but curiously at St Michaels Church of England and Ireland, in Mitcham, Not the Bible Christian Church. On their marriage license⁵, John is listed as labourer and bachelor 25 years old, and Caroline as spinster 21 years old. This may have been a forced marriage, and so refused by the Bible Christian Church, because their first son Seth was born on 17th July 1854 in Mitcham¹, only 251 days after marriage (normal pregnancy term is 266 days, and 1854 was not a leap year).

For the first 2 years, John and Caroline lived with Phyllis and the other Kinsmans. In 1854, John signed among 157 prominent citizens in the newspaper to the same political candidate as his future brother in law Thomas Playford¹¹³. When John and Caroline departed for Angaston, John sold part interest in his Mitcham property to Phyllis Kinsman¹¹⁴, so he was a man of some means by then.

Sometime around 1856, John Retallack and his family moved to Angaston, in the Barossa Valley, 77 km northeast of Adelaide, as an employee of George Fife Angas⁸⁸, founder of the South Australian Company⁷. George Fife Angas was a devout non-conformist Christian, and his stated ambition was to found a society free of established churches and convicts where its members could enjoy civil and religious freedom. One of the largest groups persuaded to emigrate were Silesian German Lutherans under Pastor August Kavel, eager to escape religious oppression by King Frederick William III of Prussia. George Angas personally advanced £8000 to the Germans for emigration, and thus established German traditions, including wine making to the Barossa Valley. By 1851, George Angas had moved to Adelaide with his wife and youngest son, to a substantial estate of 4000 acres, "Lindsay Park", with a spacious house, chapel, roads and bridges. Caroline and John Retallack would have fitted Angas's employment criteria, Caroline being the daughter of a deceased minister of the Bible Christian Church and John with his farming skills.

At Angaston, son John, also known as Jack, was born to John and Caroline Retallack 19th April, 1857, and William a year later, 20th Aug 1858. Another son, Thomas was born 18th May, 1860, but he only lived 3 years and died at Angas Park¹. During his time at Angaston, John Retallack worked as a carrier¹¹⁵⁻¹¹⁶. He was active on the local council promoting road improvements¹¹⁷⁻¹¹⁹. He laid claim to title of crown property under the Real Property Act¹²⁰ in 1859, and was appointed Crown Land Ranger for the district of Light¹²¹ in 1860.

On the 16th December, 1860, Caroline's half sister Mary Jane Kinsman married Thomas Playford. The Kinsman children and Playford had attended Thomas Muggs school, which was operated from the Union Chapel. Thomas Playford was from a leading Adelaide family living in Mitcham¹⁰⁶, and the Rashleighs and Retallacks would have been socially elevated with such a marriage.

Charles Retallack was born to Caroline and John¹ in 1862, but only lived 15 months. Caroline's and John's first daughter was born at Nuriootpa, in the Barossa Valley on 4th April 1864, and christened Elizabeth. In 1865, they moved to Steinau, south of Angaston. Another son Thomas was born there in July 1866, followed by Charles on the 25th May 1868. In February 1866, both Caroline's mother Phyllis and her eldest sister Elizabeth Symons Rowe died, and Caroline and John inherited money from Phyllis's estate¹⁰².

In late 1869, John and Caroline and their family moved to Gawler, 44 km north of Adelaide. Small farms had become available for selection around Gawler, and flour milling, foundries and the railway from Adelaide were established in town. Bullock teams were employed in moving copper ore south from the Burra copper mines. On 13 September 1872, another son James Retallack was born at Gawler, but he only lived 3 months. The last child born to Caroline and John Retallack at Lower Light in 1873 was Francis Rowe Retallack 1873, named after Caroline's brother in law, who had been married to her eldest sister Elizabeth Symons Rowe (née Rashleigh), but following her death had remarried in 1867 to Amanda Box. Lower Light on the Samphire coast 52 km northeast of Adelaide, was the home of the Rowe family. Elizabeth had 6 children with Francis Rowe, who subsequently had a further 8 children with Amanda Box. Caroline was 41 and John 52 when the last of their 11 children was born after 21 years of marriage¹.

John and Caroline's oldest son Seth Retallack was married 22nd December 1873 at the Wesleyan Parsonage, Norwood, a suburb of Adelaide, to Sarah Constable, and they remained around Adelaide until moving 47 km south to a farm near Wiltunga in 1890. Another son John Retallack married Margaret McDonald 13th February 1883. Daughter Elizabeth married John Mannix, 14th July 1883 at Trinity Church Adelaide, and then moved to Western Australia. Son William married Amelia Edson 31st August 1887 at Norwood, South Australia.

Son Charles hauled foreclosed farm implements from Orroroo, South Australia, via the Warrego River to Mitchell, Queensland¹, as a youthful adventure in 1894. Charles founded a Queensland branch of the family with his marriage to Margaret Jane Dobbin 19th March, 1893, in Brisbane, and settling on Cocaigne Station near Mitchell, Queensland¹. Charles' adventurous overland trip may have been inspired by the famous Bowen Downs cattle duffers¹²², Henry Arthur ("Harry") Redford (also "Readford"), George Dewdney (also "Doudney") and William Rooke. Redford was the model for Captain Starlight of Rolf Boldrewood's (1888) novel "Robbery Under Arms"¹²³. Rolf Boldrewood was the pen name of Thomas Alexander Browne, a contemporary writer and acquaintance of Catherine Spence^{94, 110}. Realizing the difficulty of keeping track of cattle in this remote part of western Queensland near Longreach, Redford and his mates built yards at the back of Bowen Downs Station, mustering and drafting 1000 head of cattle, including a prize imported bull. They drove their mob through the Channel Country of

the Barcoo River, Coopers Creek and Strezlecki Desert in March 1870, where only 9 years before Burke and Wills had perished¹²⁴⁻¹²⁵, finally selling the cattle at public auction at Blanchewater Station near Maree, South Australia. Months afterward, the manager of Bowen Downs noticed in an Adelaide Auctioneers Circular, the sale of a bull answering the description of their expensive imported sire¹²⁶. The thieves were tried at Roma and the crime proven, but the droving feat so impressed the jury that they returned a verdict of not guilty. “Judge Blakeney was visibly staggered. He stared at the jury as if he had misheard the verdict. “Would you mind repeating your verdict gentlemen.” “Not guilty.” Those who were close enough to the judge saw the blood rush to his face and his hands tremble as he fought for self-control. When he spoke he made no attempt to keep the bitterness from his voice. “I thank God”, he said deliberately, “that the verdict is yours, gentlemen, not mine.” His hard eyes raked the figure of [Harry] Redford standing in the dock. “The prisoner is discharged.” And a cheering crowd led Big Harry to the nearest public house... Redford’s trial was but one instance of how bushman sympathies were overwhelming justice in Roma at the time. On 5 April 1873 the governor of Queensland ordered the criminal jurisdiction of the District of Roma be withdrawn for two years”¹²⁷

On 9 March 1876, Caroline had separated from John and registered birth to a son named William Henry Jackson. She labelled herself Caroline Jackson, but no record of the marriage has been found. On the form she identified her maiden name as Caroline Rashleigh, the father as local bus driver Henry Jackson, and her address as Marryatville, a suburb of Adelaide with livery stables where Jackson worked¹²⁸. This did not meet the approval of her eldest son Seth Retallack, living in Unley Park, a nearby Adelaide suburb. Seth posted two newspaper advertisements stating “I will not be responsible for any debts contracted by my mother Mrs J. Retallack after this date” which was the 14th and 15th April 1876¹²⁹. By the time young William Henry Jackson was 11 in 1887, both he and his father left Caroline and Adelaide for Newtown in Sydney¹³⁰. Caroline died of heart disease and dropsey on the 8th of August 1896 in Forster, on the banks of the Murray River, 163 km east of Adelaide¹³¹. Seth and Caroline had evidently reconciled by that time because the death certificate is signed by Seth¹³¹. Seth’s third son Walter James from Sarah Constable was born in Wiltunga on 15 January 15, 1891, and Sarah died there 2 February 1891¹³². Perhaps Caroline had rejoined Seth near Forster after the death of his wife Sarah. On 12 February 1896, Seth advertised for a housekeeper on a farm at Caurnamont, 20 km south of Forster, South Australia¹³³. Seth’s second marriage to 25-year-old Ruth Greatorex 27 March 1897 in Caurnamont lasted only five years: she was buried in Forster 11 May 1902¹³⁴. Caurnamont is still billed as “a collection of Murray riverside shacks” and “an affordable holiday on the Murray River.”¹³⁵

John Retallack died of “heart disease and senile decay” at the age of 69 in the Destitute Asylum, Adelaide, on 8th August, 1890, according to his death certificate⁶. Desertion by his wife in 1876 would have been depressing, and his uncollected correspondence in the Bushmen’s Club in Adelaide was advertised¹³⁶. From then until his death he may have found sympathy and support from sons living in Adelaide, especially William³, but eventually he was homeless and admitted to the asylum. He was buried in West Terrace Cemetery, then the pauper cemetery on the banks of the Torrens River, west of the South Australian Museum. John Retallack was an alcoholic, and becoming increasingly incoherent. He was considered delusional because in his final

years he told the family that he was the son of a Cornish squire, but too ill to travel home to reclaim his inheritance⁸⁷.

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1. Retallack, G.J. 2000. What does the name Retallack mean? *Cornwall Family History Society Journal*, v.98, p. 14-15. (see also extended version "Retallack Surname" posted online <http://pages.uoregon.edu/dogsci/directory/faculty/greg/main>, accessed September 15, 2015).
2. Unpublished letter from Gertrude Elizabeth Retallack (daughter of John or "Jack" Retallack, at Toowong to Wendy Retallack, Epping, Sydney 28th July 1965 (collection of G.J. Retallack). John Retallack "came from Cornwall (Penzance). I don't know the name of the ship, but he came to Angaston SA and worked on George Fife Angus's estate, that is where the first Angus cattle was bred. I would think they were married and died there, also most if not all the children would be born in or about Angaston. He at one time went to the Bendigo gold diggings"
3. Unpublished letter from Sylvia May Retallack, daughter of Charles Retallack at Mt Gravatt to Wendy Retallack, Epping, Sydney 22nd May 1966 (collection of G.J. Retallack).
4. Unpublished letter from G.L. Fischer, Public Archivist of the Public Library of South Australia, to Wendy Retallack, Epping, Sydney, on 26 August 1965 has Caroline Rashleigh age 20 passenger on the Caucasian from Plymouth on 11 November 1851 arriving at Port Adelaide on 8 February 1852, accompanied by Thomas H. Rashleigh (18) and William R. Rashleigh (24). He could not find any record of John Retallack's arrival in Australia (collection of G.J. Retallack).
5. Certified Copy of Registration of Marriage of John Retallack and Caroline Rashleigh 1853 District of Mitcham (collection of G.J. Retallack).
6. Certified Copy of Registration of Death of John Retallack 1890 District of Adelaide (collection of G.J. Retallack). John Retallack labourer died 8 August of senile decay, heart disease at age 69 (thus born about 1821) in the Destitute Asylum and buried in West Terrace Cemetery Adelaide (collection of G.J. Retallack)
7. Capper, H., 1838, *South Australia containing hints to emigrants: Proceedings of the South Australian Company*. Robert Tyas, London, 118 pp (Available from Google books).
8. On the 29th June 1847, John Retallick, age 34 (thus born about 1813), was charged with stealing a quart of barley and given a sentence of 7 years and transportation at Bodmin Quarter Sessions⁹. He was married at the time and exchanged letters in gaol with his wife Mary Ann⁹. On the 1st January 1850, the convicted John Retallick was deported to Australia in a fleet carrying 2400 convicts. John was transported with 302 others, on the barque "Bangalore"¹⁰, one of 4 ships turned away from Port Philip, near Melbourne, after they accepted 9 other ships with 1720 convicts. The "Bangalore" proceeded to Sydney, but New South Wales had not accepted convicts since 1840 and officially abolished transportation 1st October 1850. So the "Bangalore" continued to Moreton Bay as the last convict ship accepted there¹¹. On arrival in Brisbane on the 1st September 1850, John Retallick was one of 297 convicts who survived the passage and were granted their ticket of leave before disembarkation, because Brisbane had not been a penal colony since 1842. Technically then, John Retallick was an "exile", rather than a "convict" in the usual Australian sense. There was some expectation of drunken riots¹², which had followed release of convict exiles in Brisbane from the "Mountstuart Elphinstone" in 1849, but the official report of Superintendent McLean¹³ was complimentary, and is quoted here. "I inspected such portions of the ship as were occupied by prisoners, which I found in all respects to be both clean and wholesome; the men themselves presented a very orderly and creditable appearance, fully bearing out the very excellent character given of them by the surgeon-superintendent, and with whose treatment during the voyage they expressed themselves perfectly contented. One remarkable fact is worthy of notice – that not a single punishment of any prisoner occurred since their embarkation. After the muster and personal description of the men were completed, persons were permitted to visit the ship, but only under a written order from the police magistrate, and in eight days from that period the whole number was engaged, with the exception of three, who, by concurrence of Captain Wickham, were landed at Brisbane and received into barracks: two of those men were clerks and the other a Jew, and were expected to be specially applied for. The wages obtained by the labouring portion of the men ranged from 13/- to 16/- a-year, and to mechanics and domestic servants were given 18/- to 30/- per annum, in each case with the usual rations. The readiness with which these men were applied for, and from various sources of information derived in the district, it is evident that there is still a great demand for this description of labour in the surrounding districts of Moreton Bay, and I am fully persuaded that had another vessel arrived with the "Bangalore" having on board the same number of men, they would have been eagerly sought for, and speedily disposed of. I may perhaps be permitted to remark that one agent alone at Brisbane had instructions from various persons to obtain 180 men, but of course was not successful in hiring so large a proportion from one vessel." The demand is understandable, because these "wages" were very low, even for the time and including food and board. John Retallick found employment on Gowrie, now a village, but then the sheep station of Henry Hughes, northeast of Toowoomba, on the Darling Downs, 137 km west of Brisbane¹⁵. John Retallick was still there at Westbrook near Toowoomba advertising for a lost horse in 1859¹⁶⁻¹⁷.
9. British Home Office, 1892, *Criminal Registers, England and Wales, Series HO 26 and HO 27*; The National Archives of the UK (TNA), Kew, Surrey, England (available online in Criminal registers 1791-1892 at <http://search.ancestry.co.uk>). *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)* record 19334 <http://www.cornwall-opc-database.org>.
10. British Home Office, 1867, *British Convict Transportation Records 1787-1867* (copy from Australian Joint Copying Project. Microfilm Roll 92, Class and Piece Number HO11/16, Page Number 146; available online at <http://www.convictrecords.com.au/convicts/retallick/john/29891> accessed July 7, 2013).
11. *Illustrated London News*, Saturday 17 May 1851, v.18, p.422.
12. Unpublished email of Brown, S. 2008, Joseph Sayre and 1850 about the exiles. (available online <http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/AUS-CONVICTS/2008-01/1199517048> downloaded July 7, 2013).
13. Laverty, J.F. 2009. *The making of a metropolis*: Brisbane. Boolarong Press, Brisbane, 248 pp.

14. McLean, M.C., 1851, Report of the principal superintendent of convicts respecting the arrival and distribution of convicts by the "Bangalore" *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons, Convict Discipline and Transportation, Session 4 February-8 August 1851*, v. 45, p. 168.
15. Forbes, D., 1900, Reminiscences of the early days of the present colony of Queensland which is soon to form one of the states of the Australian Commonwealth. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, v. 15, p. 50-62.
16. *North Australian, Ipswich and General Advertiser* Tuesday 15 March 1859 volume 4 issue 181 p.2 ADVERTISEMENT £2 REWARD. LOST, from One-Mile Creek, on Wednesday night. 23rd February, a DARK BAY MARE, branded JHB conjoined on die near-shoulder, short switch tail. Any person delivering her to GEO. WRIGHT. Baker. Brisbane Street, Ipswich; or, to JOHN RETALLICK. Westbrook, Drayton, will receive the above reward. (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
17. *The Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser* Thursday 30 June 1859 volume 2 issue 56 p. 3 ADVERTISEMENT £10 Reward. Stolen or strayed from One Mile Creek about three months ago a DARK BAY MARE branded JHB conjoined on die near shoulder, with a small white streak on her withers. The above reward will be paid on conviction of the thief if stolen; and £2 if strayed on delivery to this address. JOHN RETALLICK. Westbrook, May 20, 1859. (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
18. John Retallack was christened at St Keverne¹⁹ in 1808, and in 1833 at Manaccan he married Elizabeth Nicholls "with the consent of parents" (she was only 19 and age of consent was 21)²⁰. In the 1841 and 1851 censuses²¹⁻²² he was at Rosenithon near St Keverne as an agricultural labourer, as his family grew from 4 to 6. On 3 Feb 1852 the entire family of 9 boarded the "Joseph Somes" steamship in Wales and headed for Sydney, Australia²³. According to the passenger document, Elizabeth already had two cousins in Australia. In 1860 he obtained a publican's licence for the Queens Arms on Windsor road²⁴⁻²⁵. He died and was buried in Windsor²⁶ in 1864.
19. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1808, 6 January christening of John Retallack in St Keverne, Cornwall, son of Anthony and Grace Retallack (online at <http://www.cornwall-opc-database.org/>)
20. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1833, 21 April marriage of John Retallack to Elizabeth Nicolls in Manaccan, Cornwall (online at <http://www.cornwall-opc-database.org/>)
21. British Home Office, 1841, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallack age 30 (thus born about 1811) born in St Keverne and living in Rosenithon, St Keverne Parish, as head of household with wife Elizabeth age 25-29 and children Jane, Susanna, Grace and Mary (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013).
22. British Home Office, 1851, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallack age 43 born in St Keverne (thus born about 1808) agricultural labourer with wife Elizabeth and 6 children at Rosenithon, St Keverne Parish, St Keverne Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013).
23. New South Wales State Records, 1850, Index to convict exiles 1846-1850. (available online <http://srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/> accessed July 6, 2013).
24. New South Wales State Records, 1852, Assisted immigrants Reel 2136, [4/4790] Page 134; Reel 2463, [4/4925] :John Retallack arrived 1852in Sydney on ship "Joseph Somes" as a weaver and farm labourer (available online <http://records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/> accessed July 6 2013)
25. *The Empire* (Sydney), Saturday 21 August 1860, issue 2675 p. 4 "PARRAMATTA. ANNUAL LICENSING MEETING. A meeting for the purpose of granting Publicans' Annual Licenses, for the police district of Parramatta, was held on the 17th instant. Messrs. Keyes, Parnell, Jones, and Watson were present, and the following licences were granted - John Retallick [sic], Queen's Arms, Windsor-road" (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
26. *Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 24 July 1862, volume 94 issue 7529 p.6 ADVERTISEMENT MR JOHN RETALLICK [sic], of the Queen Arms Hotel, on the Windsor Road, twelve miles from Parramatta, and eight from Windsor, begs respectfully to announce to his friends and the public generally that his commodious premises have just undergone a thorough renovation and embellishment to render it a first class inn. From the balcony of the establishment the most magnificent views of the surrounding country is presented, the scenery is beautiful and the atmosphere healthy and invigorating, offering a choice spot for picnic and wedding party desirous of seclusion from the busy hum of the city. Coaches run twice a day from the Queen Arms' Hotel to the railway terminus at Parramatta. The house is replete with every luxury, and the cellar contains the choicest description of wines, ales, and spirits anywhere to be found in the colony. J R invites but one call, when he is confident of giving satisfaction. (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
27. Certified death certificate for 14 September 1864 of John Retallack farmer, age 57 (so born about 1807), son of Anthony Retallack and Grace Freeman, buried in Church of England Cemetery, Windsor, NSW after 13 years in NSW (so emigrated about 1851) leaving widow Elizabeth and 8 children (collection of G.J. Retallack).
28. The 13 other candidate ancestors born 1819-1830 are as follows. (1) John Retallick born in St Wenn²⁸ in 1819, and at Black Moor in the 1841 census²⁹, but emigrated to South Australia³⁰ in 1879 and died there in 1904, (2) John Retallack was a Camborne draper born about 1821, and listed there in the censuses³¹⁻³² of 1841, and 1861. He married Mary Edwards³³ in 1840, and may have been convicted³⁴ for riot and assault in 1845. (3) John Retallick a farmer born about 1821 is in all the censuses³⁵⁻³⁸ from 1841 to 1871 at St Wenn, and was buried in 1871 at St Columb Major³⁹. (4) John Retallack a cattle dealer was born in Helston⁴⁰ in 1822, and married there⁴¹ in 1844. He was still near there in the 1861 and 1871 censuses⁴²⁻⁴³. (5) John Retallack was born in St Keverne⁴⁴ in 1826, and is listed in the 1841 census⁴⁵, and was married there⁴⁶ in 1860. (6) John Retallick was born in Colan⁴⁷ in 1826 and buried at age 16 in nearby St Columb Major⁴⁸ (7) John Retallick of St Blazey was born in 1826 but died of whooping cough at the age of three⁴⁹. (8) John Retallick born in St Columb Major⁵⁰⁻⁵¹ in 1826, was still there in the 1841 census⁵², but a copper miner with a young wife at St Leonards for the 1851 census⁵³. He emigrated as a single man to the Victorian goldfields⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵ in 1855, and died in Ballarat⁵⁶ in 1866. (9) John Retallack was born in St Keverne⁵⁷ in 1828, but was an orphan servant in St Stephens about 1830 in the 1841 and 1851 censuses⁵⁸⁻⁵⁹. He married in St Keverne⁶⁰ in 1860 and was an agricultural labourer there in the 1861 census⁶¹. (10) John Retallick was born in St Wenn⁶² in 1829, then a stream miner at Ennisvarth in the 1851 census⁶³. By the 1861 census he is married in Roche with 4 children⁶⁴, and added two more by the 1871 census in Luxulyan⁶⁵. (11) John Burnberry Retallack was born in Finsberry⁶⁶ in 1829 and buried in Liskeard⁶⁷ in 1912. (12) John Retallick born in St Stephens about 1830 is on his parent's property Ashwell Farm south of Launceston in every decadal census⁶⁸⁻⁷² from 1841 to 1881. (13) John Retallack born in St Keverne in about 1830 was a farm servant there⁷³ in the 1851

- census. He married Susanna Pentecost Lory⁷⁴ in 1853, and is listed with her and family in various parts of southwest Cornwall in the decadal censuses⁷⁵⁻⁷⁸ of 1861-1891.
29. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1819 births and christening: John Retallick christened 2 May 1819 to Thomas and Mary Retallick at St Wenn (online at <http://www.cornwall-opc-database.org/>)
 30. British Home Office, 1841, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 20 (thus born about 1821) in household of Ann and William Retallick farmer, each age 70 on Black Moor tenement, Ladock Parish, Powder Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013).
 31. *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), Tuesday 12 July 1904, volume 47 issue 14,269 p. 4 Tuesday 12 July DEATHS. RETALLICK - On the 11th July, at her son-in-law's residence, Mr. R. Perkins, Gilbert-street, Bowden, Elizabeth, relict of the late John Retallick, colonist of 25 years (thus immigrated about 1879), aged 85 years (thus born about 1819). (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
 32. British Home Office, 1841, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 20 (thus born about 1821) draper living with Mary Retallick also 20 on Treloar Warren Street, Camborne, Penwith Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013).
 33. British Home Office, 1861, *UK census returns series RG 9*: John Retallick age unknown because absent Sunday night from Union Street, Camborne, Redruth Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013).
 34. *West Briton* (Cornwall), Friday 24 April 1840, Marriage last Monday (thus 20 April) of John Retallick draper of Camborne and Mary Edwards of Truro at St Marys Church, Truro (available online www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/ accessed July 6, 2013).
 35. British Home Office, 1892, *Criminal Registers, England and Wales, Series HO 26 and HO 27*; The National Archives of the UK (TNA), Kew, Surrey, England: 1845 Cornwall County Sessions in Bodmin John Retallick at age 25 on 14 October 1845 (thus born about 1820) conviction for riot and assault for one month and sureties (available online in Criminal registers 1791-1892 at <http://search.ancestry.co.uk>).
 36. British Home Office, 1841, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 20 (so born about 1821) living with Polly and Thomas Retallick (ages 60 and 70) at Carpot, St Wenn Parish, Pydar Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
 37. British Home Office, 1851, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 31 (so born about 1820) agricultural labourer living with Polly and James Retallick (ages 69 and 41) at Carpet, St Wenn Parish, Pydar Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
 38. British Home Office, 1861, *UK census returns series RG9*: John Retallick age 40 (so born about 1821), retired farmer and brother-in-law living with Richard and Hannah Retallick and their 5 children in St Wenn Parish, St Columb Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
 39. British Home Office, 1871, *UK census returns series RG10*: John Retallick age 51 (so born about 1820), retired farmer and boarder living in Carpet, St Wenn Parish, St Columb Hundred with Richard and Hannah Retallick and their 4 children (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
 40. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1875 death registration: John Retallick Jul-Aug-Sept. at age 55 (thus born about 1820) in St Columb Major (online at <http://www.cornwall-opc-database.org/>)
 41. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1822, births and christening: John Retallick 10 February at Wesleyan Church, Helston Circuit, Cornwall to John and Jane Retallick (online at <http://www.cornwall-opc-database.org/>)
 42. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1844 marriages: 24 March marriage of John Retallick and Elizabeth Penaluna Ralph in Helston, Cornwall (online at <http://www.cornwall-opc-database.org/>).
 43. British Home Office, 1861, *UK census returns series RG9*: John Retallick born in Helston and age 38 (thus born about 1823) Pig and Bullock Jobber living with wife Elizabeth and 3 daughters at Gwealangears, Wendron Parish, Helston Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013) .
 44. British Home Office, 1871, *UK census returns series RG10*: John Retallick born in Helston and age 48 (thus born about 1823) cattle dealer and head of household for wife Elizabeth and two daughters in Gwealangears, Wendron Parish, Helston Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
 45. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1826 births and christenings: John Retallick christened 2 April 1826, St Keverne, Cornwall to Sarah and James Retallick (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013)
 46. British Home Office, 1841, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 15 (thus born about 1826) in household of Sally and James Retallick, Agricultural Labourer at Laddenwean, St Keverne Parish, Kerrier Hundred, Cornwall (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
 47. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1860 Marriage: John Retallick, labourer of Laddenwean and son of James Retallick, married 18 December 1860 to Elizabeth Cole widow and daughter of George Matthews labourer, witnessed by Thomas Odgers and Jacob Lory (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013)
 48. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1826, births and christening: 27 March 1826 christening of John Retallick at Colan, Hundred of Pydar, Cornwall to John and Dinah Retallick (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013)
 49. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1842 Burial: John Retallick age 16 (thus born 1826) on 29 March 1842 at Fair Street, St Columb Major (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013)
 50. *Saint Blazey Families Project*, 2015, John Retallick baptized 16 July 1826 and died 7 September 1829 at age 3 of whooping cough son of William Retallick (born 18 July 1790 in St Austell) and Lydia Beason Besant (born about 1790, married to William 25 October 1811 at Winchester St Thomas, Hampshire. (<http://www.wjohnson.net/famhist/stblazey/> accessed online 11 September 2015).
 51. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1826, Baptisms: St Columb Major baptism of John Retallick 27 March 1826 in St Columb Major (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013).
 52. *Family Search Genealogy*, 1826, Family Tree: John Retallick son of John Retallick (1793-1872) and Maria Bunt (1798-1860). (available online <https://familysearch.org/> accessed July 6, 2013)
 53. British Home Office, 1841, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 15 (thus born about 1826) agricultural labourer in household of John and Maria Retallick of Fair Street, St Columb Major, Pydar Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013).

54. British Home Office, 1851, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 25 (thus born about 1826) born in St Columb Major copper miner with miner wife Fanny age 24 at St Leonards, Bodmin Parish, Lanlivery Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
55. *South Australian Register*, Friday 20 April 1855, volume 19 issue 2672 p.2 SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE. ARRIVED. Thursday, April 19—The barque Hooghly, 465 tons, H. R. Rich, master, from Plymouth January 3. Elder and Co., agents. Mr. R. Robertson, Surgeon-Superintendent. Government emigrants—William, Elizabeth, Mary, James, Charlotte, Elizabeth, and William Retellick, Single men—John Retallick (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
56. *New South Wales State Records*, 1855, Assisted immigrants; John Retallick age 29 (thus born about 1826) arrived in Portland January 6 on ship “Birmingham” (available online <http://records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/> accessed July 6 2013)
57. *Star* (Ballarat), Monday 5 February 1866, volume 11 issue 31 p. 3 “THURSDAY, 8th FEBRUARY. RARE OPPORTUNITY OF Securing a First-class Business Site in Ballarat West, Opposite the Star office, Sturt Street, and a few paces from the photographic rooms of Messrs Solomon and Bardwell. JAMES ODDIE and CO. have received instructions from the executors of the late Mr J. Retallick to sell by public auction, on the ground, on Thursday, 8th February, at one o'clock, all that piece or parcel of land, being portion of Allotment 11, Section D, parish of Ballarat, having a frontage to Sturt street of twenty-two feet by a depth of one hundred and thirty-two feet, together with the wooden buildings erected thereon, comprising blacksmith's shop and dwelling house, and the right of half of the adjoining gable wall. As an investment or a site for business purposes there is nothing comparable to it in the market. It is undeniably, retail business position No. I. Title, Crown grant. Terms at Sale. (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
58. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1828, Baptisms: 18th September 1828 baptism by Vicar James Pasco of John Retallick, son of Mary and Anthony Retallick, farmer of Tregaminion, Cornwall (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013).
59. British Home Office, 1841, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 11 (thus born about 1830) male servant in house of John and Sarah Lobb at Tregarn, St Keverne Parish, Kerrier Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
60. British Home Office, 1851, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 22 born St Keverne (thus born about 1829) was single orphan servant in household of John and Sarah Ann Lobb in Tregarn, St Keverne Parish, St Keverne Hundred, Cornwall (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
61. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1828, Marriages: 16 December 1828 marriage of John Retallick to Elizabeth Cole at St Keverne (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013)
62. British Home Office, 1861, *UK census returns series RG 9*: John Retallick age 34 born St Keverne (thus born about 1827) agricultural labourer was living with wife Elizabeth in Laddenwean village, St Keverne Parish, Helston Hundred, Cornwall (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
63. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1829, Marriages: baptism of John Retallick on 8 February 1829 to John and Ann Retallick at St Wenn (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013)
64. British Home Office, 1851, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 23 born in St Wenn (thus born about 1828) stream miner living with Ann and John Retallick ages 48 and 50 and six other children at Lower Ennisvarth, Luxulyan Parish, Lanlivery Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013).
65. British Home Office, 1861, *UK census returns series RG 9*: John Retallick age 32 born at St Wenn (thus born about 1829) miner with wife Mary Ann and 4 children, eldest born in Luxulyan and others in Roche, living at Bilbery, Roche Parish, St Austell Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013).
66. British Home Office, 1871, *UK census returns series RG 10*: John Retallick age 42 born at St Wenn (thus born about 1829) miner with wife Mary Ann and 6 children at Trescoll, Luxulyan Parish, Lanlivery Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
67. Unpublished GED file of Keith Retallick: baptism of John Hartnoll Burnberry Retallick 8 March 1829 to John and Lydia Retallick in St Luke Old Street, Finsberry (available online <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/kretallick/index.htm> accessed 1998).
68. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1912, Death registration index: John B. Retallick Jan-Feb-Mar age 82 (thus born about 1830) at Liskeard, Cornwall (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013).
69. 1841 census John Retallick age 12 (thus born about 1829) living with Elizabeth and Thomas Retallick farmers at East Tremollelt, North Hill Hundred, East Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
70. British Home Office, 1851, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 25 born in St Stephens (thus born about 1826) farmers son of Elizabeth and Thomas Retallick in Exwell, Linkinhorne Parish, Callington Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
71. British Home Office, 1861, *UK census returns series RG 9*: John Retallick age 31 borne in St Stephens (thus born about 1830) farmer and son of Thomas Retallick at Ashwell Farm, Linkinhorne Parish, Liskeard Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
72. British Home Office, 1871, *UK census returns series RG 10*: John Retallick age 41 born in St Stephens (thus born about 1830) farmer and son of Thomas Retallick at Ashwell, Linkinhorne Parish, Callington Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
73. British Home Office, 1881, *UK census returns series RG 11*: John Retallick age 51 born in St Stephens (thus born about 1830) farmer and son of Thomas Retallick at Ashwell, Linkinhorne Parish, Callington Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
74. British Home Office, 1851, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallick age 21 born in St Keverne (thus born about 1830) was a farm servant in the household of Anna and John Glascot Vawdrey and their 8 children in Buzzurell, Gwinear Parish, Camborne Hundred, Cornwall (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)

75. *Online Parish Clerks (Genealogy)*, 1853 Marriages: 13 December 1853 marriage of John Retallack age 25 (thus born in 1828) to Susanna Pentecost Lory age 23, at St Keverne, Cornwall (available online www.Cornwall-opc-database.org/ accessed July 6, 2013).
76. British Home Office, 1861, *UK census returns series RG 9*: John Retallack age 32 born in St Keverne (thus born about 1829) was married to Susanna (serving wife age 29 and also born in St Keverne) in the household of John Thomas of Wall, Gwinear Parish, Redruth Hundred, Cornwall (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
77. British Home Office, 1871, *UK census returns series RG 10*: John Retallack age 41 born in St Keverne (thus born about 1830) living with wife Susan and daughter Fanny in Camborne Parish, Camborne Hundred, Cornwall (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
78. British Home Office, 1881, *UK census returns series RG 11*: John Retallack age 52 born in St Keverne (thus born about 1829) living with wife Susannah and daughter Fanny in Weeth, Sithney Parish, Wendron Hundred, Cornwall (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
79. British Home Office, 1881, *UK census returns series RG 12*: John Retallack age 60 born in St Keverne (thus born about 1831) living with wife Susan in Meaver, Mullion Parish, Helston Hundred (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
80. 1826 England and Wales non-conformist register John Retallack baptized 16 July to William and Lydia Retallack at Bible Christian Church, Luxulyan Circuit, Cornwall
81. *Family Search Genealogy*, 1826, Family Tree: John Retallack birth 28 June and baptism 16 July to William Retallack (born 18 July 1790 in Redruth, died May 1843 in Ontario, Canada) and Lydia nee Beason (born about 1795 died 18 May 1869), middle child with siblings Jemima (born 1820), Emilea (born 1824), Lydia (born 1829), William Henry (born 1831), Amelia (born 1833-1906) (available online <https://familysearch.org/> accessed July 6, 2013).
82. Shaw, T., 1965, *The Bible Christians, 1815-1907 (Wesleyan Society Lecture No. 31)*. Epworth Press, London, 120 p.
83. Wicke, M.J.L., 2007, *The westcountry preachers: a new history of the Bible Christian Church (1815-1907)*. Jamaica Press, Hartland, 58 p.
84. Bangs, C., 1971, *Arminius: A study in the Dutch Reformation*. Abington Press, New York, 382 p.
85. Certified copy of Registration of Birth of Charles Retallack District of Angaston (collection of G.J. Retallack).
86. British Home Office, 1841, *UK census returns series HO 107*: John Retallack age 15 (thus born about 1826) farm servant in farm of William Retallack at Trewothack, St Anthony Parish, Kerrier Hundred, Cornwall, (but no mother Lydia Retallack listed) (FreeCEN, UK historical censuses online, 2000; <http://www.freecen.org.uk/> accessed July 6, 2013)
87. Unpublished letter from Eric Retallack 15 September 1965. John Retallack claimed late in life that he needed "to have gone to Cornwall to claim an inheritance, but he was ill, and said he would die on the way over, so he did not go. He did die not long after."
88. *Illustrated London News*, Jan-Jun 1854, v. 24, p. 48.
89. Hodder, E., 1891, *George Fife Angas, father and founder of South Australia*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 440 pp. (available online from Google books).
90. *Adelaide register*, Tuesday 26 January 1826, article volume 91 issue 26,546 page 12 of Tuesday 26 January 1926 has only one arrival of ship Himalaya between 1848.
91. *South Australian Register*, 1852, Immigration Report: departure of Himalaya from Plymouth on 1 August and arrival in Adelaide on 21 November 1849: (transcribed online by Robert Janmaat <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/australia/caucasian1852.shtml> accessed July 6, 2013).
92. *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday January 17 1852, volume 10 issue 447 p.3. UNCLAIMED LETTERS.—DECEMBER 31, 1851.- John Retallack (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
93. *South Australian Register*, Wednesday 15 September 1852 volume 16 issue 1872 p.3 UNCLAIMED LETTERS.- AUGUST 31, 1852. John Retallack (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
94. *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 10 December 1853, volume 9 issue 546 p. 6 UNCLAIMED LETTERS, NOVEMBER 30, 1852.- John Retallack (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
95. Spence, C.H., 1854, *Clara Morison: a tale of South Australia during the gold fever*. Parker, London (reprinted in 1971, by Rigby, Adelaide, 426 pp.).
96. *Bendigo Advertiser*, Friday 17 August 1860, volume 7 issue 1633 p.2, "EAGLEHAWK POLICE COURT. Thursday, 10th August, 1860. (Before Mr. J. H. Alley, P.M. and Dr. Barnett, J.P.) LARCENY--James Watts was brought up charged with stealing a pair of blankets, value 25s, from the tent of a digger named Moyle, at Elysian Flat. The prisoner pleaded, guilty and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labor. The same prisoner also pleaded guilty to a second charge of stealing a pair of boots from the tent of a minor [sic] named Retallack, and was sentenced to a further term of three months' imprisonment with hard labor, the second sentence to commence at the expiration of the previous one." (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
97. *Bendigo Advertiser*, Wednesday 31 July 1861, volume 8 issue 1930 p.3, "DISTRICT POLICE COURT. Tuesday, 30th July, 1861. (Before Mr. M'Lachlan, P.M.) VIOLENT ASSAULT.-Thomas Mitchell and Henry Retallack were brought up on remand, on the charge of assaulting Frederick Drickman, at Ironbark on the night of the 14th of July. ... The three witnesses examined differed from each other so greatly, that no jury would be found to convict the prisoners on such evidence, and the prosecutor had evidently perjured himself. The fact was it was a row in a brothel, and Drickman was the managing man. The young men had gone there intoxicated, and a row had been the result." (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
98. *The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, Friday 25 August 1854, volume 7 issue 347 p. 2. THE CHINAMEN.—We are credibly informed that there are several Chinamen on these diggings, who have constantly in their employment from 50 to 60 of their fellow countrymen. These gentlemen are to be distinguished from the others by their adoption of smart European dresses, and, whether it arises from the difference of costume, a longer intercourse with Europeans, or from natural energy, they certainly appear to possess a much greater amount of activity and animation than is usually observable in the Chinese we have among us. There are great numbers at present on Bendigo, to which fresh arrivals nearly every day are adding

- considerably. They are exceedingly persevering as diggers, though we believe they confine themselves almost entirely to the old workings.—Bendigo Advertiser (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
99. *National Gallery of Australia*, 2005, accession NGA 2005.509.38 paper lithograph from one stone by S. Gill (available on <http://artsearch.nga.gov.au/Detail-LRG.cfm?IRN=145159> accessed September 12, 2015).
 100. *The Northern Champion* (Taree), Wednesday 18 October 1939, volume 27 p. 2. THEN AND NOW. If you think house hold commodities are dear now, what about the prices in years agone? 'At Bendigo, in 1851-1853 a 200lb bag flour varied between £16 and £20, butter £5/ per lb, onions £4/lb,' spuds £8/lb, and cabbages from £3 to £10 each. (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
 101. *Mount Alexander Mail*, Saturday 19 January 1889, issue 9288 p. 2.
 102. Wright, C., 2013, *The Forgotten Rebels of Eureka*. Text Publishing, Melbourne, 428 p.
 103. Playford, T., 1915. Unpublished memoirs (collection of Terry Moyle).
 104. Moyle, T., 2006, The Rashleigh/Kinsman story. St Keverne Local History Society (available online <http://www.st-keverne.com/history/family/Rashleigh-Kinsman.html> accessed July 6, 2013).
 105. Beckerleggein, O.A., 1968, *United Methodist ministers and their circuits: being an arrangement in alphabetical order of the stations of ministers of the Methodist New Connection, Bible Christians, Arminian Methodists, Protestant Methodists, Wesleyan Methodist Association, Wesleyan Reformers, United Methodist Free Churches and the United Methodist Church, 1797-1932*. Epworth Press, London, 268 pp.
 106. Leifchild, J.R., 1857, *Cornwall: its mines and miners*. Longman, Brown, Green, Longman & Roberts, London, 303 pp.
 107. Playford, J., 1988, Playford, Thomas (1837-1915). *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, v. 11 (see also <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/playford-thomas-8064> accessed July 6, 2013).
 108. *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday May 14 1853, volume 11 issue 516 p. 4, CLEARED OUT. Wednesday, May 11 —The steamer Cleopatra, 1,500 tons, F Cadell, master, for Melbourne. Passengers - Retallack
 109. *South Australian Register*, Saturday May 14 1853, volume 17 issue 2079, p. 2: revised list of passengers on the ship Cleopatra per Portland and Melbourne including passengers "Retallack" and "Symons wife and infant". (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
 110. *Illustrated London News*, 1852, v. 21, July-December, p. 181
 111. Spence, C.H., 1910, *An autobiography*. W.K. Thomas, Adelaide, 156 pp.
 112. Mitcham Local History Service and Heritage Research Centre, 2004, *Mitcham village chronology*, 8 pp (available online www.mitchamcouncil.sa.gov.au/ accessed July 7 2013)
 113. *South Australian Register*, Tuesday 11 July 1854, volume 18 issue 2436 p. 3, ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF WEST TORRENS.—REQUISITION to Mr. ALDERMAN REYNOLDS. We the undersigned, being electors of West Torrens District, having witnessed with satisfaction your public consistency and zeal in the advocacy of those important political principles which we consider are calculated to advance the well being and prosperity of our colony, request that you will allow yourself to be nominated as a Candidate to fill the vacancy in the Legislative Council of South Australia occasioned by the resignation of C. S. Hare, Esq., and in which case we cordially tender you our support. 157 signatories including Thomas Playford and John Retallack (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
 114. Unpublished email Beth Hallam 19 Sept 1998: business partnership of 11 June 1856 John Retallack farmer of Barossa Valley with Phyllis Kinsman on land in the village of Mitcham.
 115. Unpublished email Beth Hallam 19 Sept 1998 John Retallack was carrier at Angas Park in 1863
 116. Unpublished email Beth Hallam 19 Sept 1998 John Retallack was carrier at Nurioopta in 1864
 117. *South Australian Advertiser*, Tuesday 14 August 1860, volume 3 issue 649 p.3 Tuesday 14 August "ANGASTON. SATURDAY. AUGUST 4. Present -The whole Council. Mr. Holmes attended relative to alteration of road through sections 509 and 434; Mr. Clark, as Mr. Angas's agent to be requested to furnish information. Retallack was paid £11.9s. 4d. (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
 118. *South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), Monday 22 July 1867, volume 10 issue 2737 p.3, DISTRICT COUNCILS. ANGASTON. July 8.—Public Meeting of Ratepayers. Letter read from Mrs. Masters requesting road to be examined and repaired between Retallack's and Thorn's. Mr. W. Clark waited on Council relative to roads beyond Tanwatta, offering to accompany any Councillors who might be appointed to inspect same. Messrs. Hams and Pepperell to visit the various roads (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
 119. *South Australian Register*, Tuesday 13 August 1867, volume 31 issue 6481 p. 3, DISTRICT COUNCILS. ANGASTON. July 27. Present— Messrs. Jepson (Chairman), Green. Harris, Pepperell, and Kieran. Messrs. Pepperell and Harris reported that they had examined the various roads mentioned last Council day, and that five chains of forming and metalling was required at Smith's Hill near Tarrawatta, and a large hole to be filled up or fenced. Also that a cutting and ford were required near Retallack's and the rocks removed near Kevan's. (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)
 120. *The South Australian Advertiser*, Friday 17 June 1859, volume 1 issue 290 p.1, REAL PROPERTY ACT NOTICES WHEREAS the persons named and described at foot hereof have each respectively for himself made and subscribed declaration before the Registrar-General, setting forth that he is seized of an estate in fee simple in the lands set forth and described after his name at foot hereof, and hath made application to have the said lands brought under the operation of Act of Parliament No. 15 of 1857-8, entitled "The Real Property Act:" Notice is hereby given, that, unless caveat be lodged with me by some person having estate or interest in the said lands, or any of them, or by some person duly authorized on behalf of a person having estate or interest therein, on or before the expiration of the period herein below for each case described and specified, I will proceed as by law directed, to bring the said pieces of land under the operation of the said Act JOHN RETALLACK ; Residence, Angaston ; Property, Section 778, Hundred Moorooroo, County ANGASTON (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015).
 121. *South Australian Advertiser*, Thursday 22 March 1860, volume 2 issue 529 p.3, DISTRICT COUNCILS ANGASTON SATURDAY, MARCH 17. -Present-H. Pepperell (Acting Chairman), J. Bridgway, J. Fiedler, and S. Jaeschke. Slaughtering licences granted to D. Mutton, W. Hartwig, A. Wishert, and Ç. Fechner. John Retallick was appointed Ranger to the district Light. Date up to and inclusive of which caveat may be lodged, July 16. (available online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/> accessed September 12, 2015)

122. Boldrewood, R., 1888, *Robbery under arms: a story of life and adventure in the bush and in the goldfields of Australia*. Remington, London, 3 vols (reprinted 2006, University of Queensland Press).
123. Bonyhady, T., 1991, *Burke and Wills: From Melbourne to myth*. David Ell Press, Balmain, 383 pp.
124. Van der Kiste, J., 2011. *William John Wills: pioneer of the Australian outback*. History Press, Stroud, 156 pp.
125. K.J. Retallack personal communication to M.L. Retallack c. 1964.
126. McCarthy, P., 1987, *The man who was Starlight: the life and times of Henry Readford, stock thief, pathfinder and folk hero*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 171 pp.
127. Finger, J., 2012, *A cavalcade of Queensland's crimes and criminals: scoundrels, scallywags and psychopaths, the colonial years 1859-1929*. Boolarong Press, Brisbane, 218 pp. (available on google books).
128. South Australian District Birth Certificate Transcript: Surname Jackson: Given names William Henry: Year of registration 1876; District Name Adelaide: Date of Birth 9 March 1876; Name and surname of father: Henry Jackson; Rank, Profession and Occupation of Father Bus Proprietor; Name and Maiden Surname of Mother Caroline Rashleigh; Present and former name of Mother Jackson; Signature of informant Caroline Jackson Maryatville, Description of Informant Mother; When registered 12 April 1976; Place of Registration: Adelaide
129. "I WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE for any DEBTS contracted by MY MOTHER Mrs J. Retallack after this date SETH RETALLACK UNLEY PARK" This advertisement was placed in the South Australian Register Friday 14 April 1876, p2, and also in The Express and Telegraph Adelaide Saturday April 15, 1876.
130. Email from Alyssa Fitzgerald 36A Middle Harbour Road, Lindfield, NSW 2070 November 18, 2020 in possession of G.J. Retallack
131. Death certificate in possession of G.J. Retallack: 1896 District of Talunga, When died: 8th August 1896. Name and surname: Caroline Retallack. Sex: F. Age: 64 yrs. Rank or Profession: widow of the late John Retallack. Usual residence: Hd Forster. Cause of death: heart disease & dropsy. Place where death occurred: Hd Forster. Signature Description and residence of Informant: Seth Retallack from Hd Forster. Signature of Registrar: S.H. Mehirdy. Entered at the District Registry Office this 8th day of August 1996, W.I Moffat District Registrar.
132. The Express and Telegraph Thursday February 12, 1891 p. 167: "DEATHS RETALLACK—On the 2nd February, at Hope Farm Wiltunga, Sarah, the beloved wife of Seth Retallack, age 20 years".
133. The Evening Journal October 16, 1896 vol XXVIII No 8101 "PERSONS WANTED HOUSEKEEPER for farm, between 20 and 40 years of age. Apply Seth Retallack Cauramont."
134. Geni website <https://www.geni.com/people/Ruth-Greatorex/6000000018724403638>, visited 2 December 2020
135. "Caurnamont is pretty much connected to Purnong and only a short drive from Mannum. The small settlement of Caurnamont is a collection of Murray riverside shacks and houses and a great spot to take a ski. You'll also see some great limestone cliffs as you take the riverside drive to the Purnong Ferry if coming from Mannum. You can hire a river house (commonly referred to as shack) which works out to be an affordable holiday on the Murray River." <http://www.murrayriver.com.au/caurnamont/> accessed November 3, 2020
136. Unclaimed letters at the Bushmen's Club in Adelaide include J. Retallack listed October 12, 1876, and published Monday October 16, 1876 in the South Australian Register, p. 2 (available at TROVE online).