

The Bullocks of Cornwall and their Connection to the Roberts family of Ruan Lanihorne (updated 15 September 2003)

Origins in the parish of Egloshayle

The Bullock family of Cornwall (most if not all Cornish of that name up till about 1850 appear to be related) first appears in the Cornish records in the late 14th century. This record, dated 6 February 1392/3 concerns the grant by Walter Bollek of Trerovel of a “message, ferling of ploughland with common of pasture for 7 sheep, 1 horse and 1 pig in Trerovel (alias Cridis)” to John Karedov and his wife Matilda. It is possible that Walter Bollek was ancestor to the later Bullocks whose story is told here because Trerovel (alias Cridis) appears in the bequests to the Charity of Lanivet, which later Bullocks had much to do with. Trerovel is near Padstow in north central Cornwall, not far from where the next records of Bullocks appear almost 100 years later. These records concern the message (an area of farmland with house and buildings) of Treglith or Tregleath¹ in the parish of Egloshayle. Treglith was leased to a certain John Bullock by John Dymbyth on 26 September 1484. Five years later, in 1489, Richard Flamank, apparently now the owner of the land, confirmed the rights of John Bullock to Treglith². In October 1505 we find John Bullock of the parish of Lanivet granting to Edmund Bullock, Petrock Rechard, Richard Trevelle and John Lesquite “lands in Penstrassa, Bovarnell, Treglygh (Treglith) and Tremaben; also 4/- rent out of Trevelle and tinworks in Creekbargus, Hyrrysmore, Trevellemore and Potawenmore”, in the parish of Luxulyan. Because of the connection with Treglith it is quite reasonable to assume that John Bullock of Lanivet and Edmund Bullock were the sons (or possibly grandsons) of the original John Bullock of Treglith. Edmund Bullock, of the Hundred of Pydar, appears in the 1522 Survey and Loan assessed at £25.

It is likely that the John Bullock of the parish of Lanhydrock, who we will call ‘of Lanhydrock’, a parish several kilometres to the south of Treglith, together with his son who was recorded as being possessed of a ‘full harness’ in the tanners’ muster roll drawn up in about 1535 was related to the above John of Lanivet, perhaps they were one and the same. The tanners’ muster roll was prepared for King Henry VIII as a register of who was armed and what weapons they possessed in the event that England was invaded by Spain. A ‘full set of harness’ was a full set of armour though in this case it probably consisted merely of a padded leather jacket and a metal helmet. John Bullock of Lanhydrock, or perhaps his son John again appears in the records of a court case relating to the detention of deeds of a message, land, and tin-works in Penstras and Crukbergus. Defending the case with John Bullock were John Wynne and Richard Penhale, their adversary was Edmund Kendall (Public Record Office C1/328/47). Crukbergas (also spelled Crukebergens), now called Bargas, also features in a quitclaim of John Lequite to Nicholas Kendall and John Bullock, the property being described as ‘two doles of tinworks with leats, byleats, poles, gurtres, ponds, tyes and courses of water in Crukebergens in the Stannary of Blackmoor’. As with many Cornish families the Bullocks were to have a connection with tin mining over many years.

The Kendalls of Treworgy and Pelyn were landowners and allied to other families of this class in central Cornwall such as the Glyns, Littletons, Trewolleys, Roscarrocks and Sawles. It is likely that the Bullocks leased farmland and tinworks from them. One of their number, a Lawrence Kendall, had married a niece of the Prior of Bodmin and it was through this and other connections that allowed the Kendalls and their like to take advantage of the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII (A.L.Rowse, ‘Tudor Cornwall’, 1941). In another court case dating from the 1540s Nicholas Kendall of Pelyn, in the parish of Lanlivery, and John Bullock of Lanhydrock were allied in an action against John Lesquite

¹ In 1869 Treglith was comprised of 24 acres together with house, barn and outbuildings.

² Cornwall Record Office, reference numbers P110/25/19 to P110/25/27.

(mentioned above) and Petrock Jenkyn. regarding detention of deeds of the messuage and land at Treglith of the gift of William Bullock (PRO C/836/12-13). In 1544 John Bullock and his friend Nicholas Kendall granted to eleven feoffees the land at Treglith and the tinworks at Crukbergas the rents to be used for the Lanivet Charity, a charity that was still operating 400 years later. Several descendants of John of Lanhydrock were involved in administering the Lanivet Charity, for instance in 1654 a Thomas Bullock and in 1669 a George Bullock, both of Lanivet, were amongst the overseers of the charity involved in leasing Treglith to members of the Badcocke family for £8 per annum ³

John Bullock of Lanhydrock was assessed in the subsidy rolls of Henry VIII in the 1540s as being worth £14, equivalent to about £5000 in today's money. John was perhaps not a wealthy man, but through their alliances with landowning families such as the Kendalls and Littletons his children and grandchildren built up a collection of scattered leasehold properties so that 100 years later they were distinctly of the prosperous 'yeoman class'.⁴ John Bullock of Lanhydrock died in 1563 and was buried at Lanhydrock church which stands in the shadow of the splendid manor house built by the Robartes family after 1620. He was probably the father of the Richard Bullock recorded as being possessed of a 'bill, sallet and jack' in the muster roll of 1569. Another son, not mentioned in the muster and born before the Lanhydrock parish registers began, was another John Bullock ('the elder'), who died in 1621 and was the ancestor of all subsequent Bullocks.

John Bullock 'the elder' and his wife, Constance (a Willcock from the parish of Broadoak), had four children; Thomas, also called 'the elder' (b. 1563), John 'the younger' (b. 1568/69), Richard of Lanivet, and a daughter who married John Wendon sometime churchwarden of Lanhydrock. The eldest son, Thomas, a substantial yeoman, died in 1644 at the advanced age of 81 years and was buried at Lanhydrock. He bequeathed over £220 plus property in his will. Thomas 'the elder' left his estate called 'Crose Towne' in the parish of Duloe about 5 miles south east of Lanhydrock plus £30 each to his grand nephews John and Richard Bullock, whose father Thomas 'the younger' was a son of his brother John. Thomas the elder remembered many of his kin in his will, including the sons and daughter of his brother Richard who had moved west to live in the parish of St Enoder in about 1630. Thomas 'the elder' did not marry but a story may be told by the bequest he made to one Dorothie Treacan and her son to whom he left 'one table board, one cupboard, household pannes and brasse crock and one half dozen of pewter dishes all now in the possession of said Dorothie also I give unto her £5'.

Thomas 'the elder' had appointed his great nephew Thomas executor of his will, but because Thomas was only 12 years old executors in trust were to administer the provisions of the will till young Thomas came of age. These were his nephew Richard Bullock of Lanivet, John Rashleigh Esq. of 'Menabilly', Oliver Sawle Esq. of 'Penrille' and Barnabas Nankivell. Rashleigh and Sawle were local landowners of some note. Barnabas Nankivell, who was baptised in Broadoak parish in 1598, the son of Edward and Agnes Nankivell, may have been related to the Bullocks through his mother. It is a mystery why a 12 year-old boy was made executor of Thomas' will, but even with executors in trust appointed things did not work out quite as he had envisaged. At the presentation of the will to Mr Obadiah Reynolds on the boy's seventeenth birthday in July 1649 the mismanagement of the estate came to light. In February 1650 young Thomas asked for probate of both his father's and great uncle's wills. His father, Thomas 'the younger' of Lanhydrock, who styled himself 'gentleman' (the first of

³ Cornwall Record Office, reference no. P110/25/53 - 54.

⁴ An indication of the scattered nature of the Bullock holdings is provided by a survey of the Duchy of Cornwall lands in 1649/50. The Bullocks, no first names are given, had a share in $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Cornish acre in the manor of Rialton together with Sir John Arundell and 3 others, a share in 1 Cornish acre together with John, Lord Robartes and John Littleton in the manor of Tredinnick in Newlyn East and in $1\frac{1}{4}$ Cornish acres together with 4 others in the manor of Cadwin.

the Bullocks to do so), had died in 1642. He had also made young Thomas his executor, and made John Rashleigh and Oliver Sawell executors in trust as well as his uncle Thomas and John Rowse 'the younger' of St Blazey. By 1650 young Thomas's cousin Richard had formally renounced his trusteeship, John Rashleigh was near death and Oliver Sawle, also a substantial landowner, had left it to Barnabas Nankivell to administer the estate. Young Thomas asked Barnabas Nankivell for an account of rents and profits received during his trusteeship and for an inventory of plate, silver, jewelry etc.

When Nankivell refused to give these details until Thomas was 21 and would even then only account to his fellow trustee Oliver Sawle it became clear that the 'trustee' had been profiting from the estate to his own benefit. Because Thomas was still a minor he was not able to take action in the courts against Nankivell so when in July 1652 at the age of 20 he sued it was through his guardian. The case was heard in London and when amongst other things Barnabas Nankivell was asked why he had not jointly administered the estate with the other trustees. In answer Nankivell described himself as '...being of mean qualitie and degree, not only by reason thereof unfitt to joine with Oliver Sawle and Sir John Rashleigh gentlemen of great worth and quality but also by reason they were formerly entrusted with managing the.... estate of Thomas Bullock the complayments father'.

With what was left of the wealth left to him by his great uncle and father young Thomas purchased the manor of 'Lancarfe' near Bodmin from Thomas Crossman as well as renting several other estates. However Thomas did not enjoy the fruits of his inheritance for very long, dying in 1656 aged only 24. As well as small bequests to the poor of Lostwithiel, Bodmin, Lanlivery and Lanhydrock, his 8 servants and various friends Thomas left a 99 year tenancy of 'Tregullan' in Lanivet and a tenement in St Pinnock to his brother Richard. The manor of 'Lancarfe' and the estate of 'Torbyne' (Trebyne) were bequeathed to his brother John. John held 'Lancarfe' until his death in 1658 at which time it passed to his Richard who sold it in 1685. Richard was the only one of the three brother to marry and have children. His family remained landowners in and near Bodmin for at least 100 years. His youngest son Robert who died in 1733 styled himself 'gentleman' as did Robert's son Richard (died 1744) who left £400 and tenements to William Wilkins son of his servant Jane Wilkins - presumably Robert was William's father.

The second son of John and Constance, John Bullock 'the younger', who had died in 1622, left a will written a few days after Christmas 1621 and from this we can glean something of his circumstances. He described himself as a yeoman. He made the usual bequests to the poor of the parishes with which he had been associated, in this case Lanhydrock, Bodmin, Lanivet, Roche, Luxulyan, Lanlivery and Lostwithiel. Next he left £20 to his wife Mary, which was owed to him by 'several persons', plus her chest with wearing apparell and 'meat, drink, and lodging fit for her degree at the charge of and with' his son Thomas. To his daughter Constance, who married Nicholas Hender of Lanteglos by Camelford that same year, he left £200 'plus £40 more if she is guided, advised and ruled by her uncles Thomas and Richard Bullock'. In addition Thomas 'the elder' stipulated that his daughter must pass her interest in the farm 'Trebell' (near Lanhydrock) to her brother (probably Thomas). His brother-in-law John Wendon was left a ewe, as were each of his brother Richard's children; the servants were to receive 12d each as were his godchildren. His son Thomas was to receive the remainder. Thomas' widow Mary outlived him by only a few months, dying intestate in November or December 1622. The administration of her estate, which was appraised by her brothers-in-law Thomas and Richard, found that she had wearing apparel and money in her purse valued at £3 6s 8d, 6 cows valued at £6 and the £20 in debts owing mentioned in her husband's will.

The youngest brother, Richard of Lanivet, died in early 1639 leaving a will. His will was more detailed than others of that period and gives a fair bit of information about his 'goods and chattels'. He provided well for his wife Agnes, leaving her their dwelling and

household goods, half of his farm 'Penstrate' (also called 'Penstrassa' and 'Penstras') and one third of his land in 'Tremore' during her life. In addition she was to receive 4 cows, 2 two year old heifers, his 'grey nagge', his best mare colt, the best beststead and two of the best beds 'furnished'. She was further to be provided with 10 of the best ewes, 10 yearling sheep and sufficient corn to maintain her until a year after Michaelmass. Richard left his third son, John, the close in Curris called 'Great Park', a pan given to him by his uncle John Willcock, plus £20 to be paid at the end of two years. Unfortunately young John died soon after his father - his widow Constance to provide for their four young children, married Charles Mitchell at Lanhydrock two years later. His second son, Edmund, who was about 28 years old, was bequeathed only £6 13s 6d and one new crock 'which holds about fower gallons'. However Edmund, who was living in the parish of St Enoder, may already have been provided for by his father. Sons Thomas and George were each to be given £120 while Thomas was to get a tenement in Bostedock and George all his father's right and interest in the farm of 'Trevosa' in St Enoder. Each of his granchildren were to get £6 13s 6d when they reached 7 years, his son John's wife 2 ewes, Edmund's wife 4 ewes and his daughter Agnes (who had married Walter Hicks of Luxulyan), 6 ewes. His three servants were to be given a ewe each.

The St Enoder Branch

It is at this stage that we move to the parish of St Enoder where Edmund Bullock, whose descendant Elizabeth married William Jenkin Roberts 150 years later, had migrated in about 1630. Edmund's reason for moving to St Enoder was probably to work on his father's farm 'Trevosa', a short distance north west of the village. In 1634 Edmund had married Elizabeth daughter of John Pearce the parish constable. John Pearce, a husbandman or small farmer, had come from the nearby parish of Colan. His father Edward Pearce, a yeoman of Little Colan, died in 1641 leaving a will inventoried to the value of £410, which apart from nine silver spoons, six pewter dishes and a brass crock consisted of £400 in debts owed to him. Edmund's younger brother Thomas, a yeoman of Lanivet, married Elizabeth's sister Dorothy Pearce. Edmund and Elizabeth had seven children; Edward (b. 1635) who married Mary Andrew, John (b. 1637), married Katharine Trethewey and was ancestor of the Bullocks of St Issey, Grace (b. 1640), Edmund (b. and d. 1643), Richard (b. 1647), Elizabeth (b. 1649) and Renatus (b. 1652) who left by far the largest number of descendants of all the Bullocks.

Edmund Bullock was a far from weathy man and supported his family by farming in a small way (he was referred to as a husbandman) and as a weaver. As did eight of his Bullock cousins and uncles he signed the Protestation Returns pledging loyalty to the king in 1641. He was left £4 by his wife's grandfather in 1641 and 20s by his father in law in 1666, but as we have seen his father bequeathed him significantly less than was left to his brothers. Perhaps he had had a falling out with his father and this was one of the reasons he had gone to live in St Enoder. Elizabeth died during winter 1673 and Edmund married Ann Mohun seven years later when he was in his seventieth year. A year later old Edmund himself was dead. The inventory of his possessions at the time of his death carried out by Joseph Jolley and Stephen Hoblyn, members of two of the wealthier families of the parish, amounts to a value of only £30. One small pig, a mare and three geese and poultry are all the livestock mentioned in the inventory. Other items include material and tools associated with Edmund's weaving to the value of £2 10s as well as the usual kitchen items such as table board, cupboard, brass crocks, pans, skillets, flagon and pewter dishes.

Little is known of Edmund and Elizabeth's children. They are mentioned and left small sums in the wills of their grandfathers on the Bullock and Pearce side but none of them is known to have left a will themselves. The daughters Elizabeth and Grace are not known to have married and may have died in their early twenties, the youngest child Joan, married Melchizedeck Tonkin at St Enoder in 1683. The sons who reached adulthood, Edward, John and Renatus may have been weavers like their father as well as supplementing their income as

tanners and agricultural workers. Renuus, the youngest child, about whom we know virtually nothing, married a lady named Ann and two weeks before Christmas 1684 their first child was baptised, a son named Edmund after his grandfather. Their only other child, Thomas, was baptised four years later. Thomas, who died in the parish of Perranzabuloe in 1719, is not known to have left any descendants. His two sons died as infants in 1718 and his daughter died at the age of twenty. Edmund Bullock the younger, however, left a large number of descendants who spread the Bullock blood throughout central Cornwall as well as to the Americas and Australia.

As with his father we know little about Edmund, apart from the details provided by the St Enoder parish register of his marriage, the baptism of his children and his death aged about 69 years in 1755. Like his father he probably leased a small amount of land for farming and supplemented this with tinning on the nearby moors. Celia Fiennes, who journeyed through Cornwall in the 1690's described the tin mines on the high country to the north west of St Austell which is the same area the Bullocks and their relatives the Vivians worked for tin up till about 1800.

'I went a mile farther and soe came where they were digging in the Tinn mines, there was at least 20 mines all in sight which employs a great many people at work, almost night and day, but constantly all and every day includeing the Lords day which they are forced to, to prevent their mines being overflowed with water; more than 1000 men are taken up about them, few mines but then had almost twenty men and boys attending it either down in the mines digging and carrying the oare to the bucket which conveys it up, or else are draineing it...'

There was also some surface prospecting and panning for tin ore, but by the late 1600's most of the surface tin had gone and mines were being dug as described above. Cornish will inventories of this time except for the wealthy almost always refer to a much prized 'panne' used for tinning.

Edmund Bullock married Mary Vivian at St Enoder in May 1709. Mary was probably the daughter of William Vivian a tinner and husbandman of the parish of St Mewan near St Austell. They had ten children, all boys, of whom eight survived to adulthood these being John (1710-1799), William (1711-1746), Edmund (1712-1773), Joseph (1715-1795), Richard (1717-1784), Thomas (1722-1796), Francis (1724-1767), George (1726-1775) and Stephen (1727-after 1764). Edmund senior died intestate in 1759, the administration of his estate (his son Thomas was executor) referred to him as a yeoman but the bond of only £40 indicates that his assets were not great. The sons John, Francis and George rented land at 'Havenna Down Park', part of the manor of Arralas owned by the Rashleighs. The records of this manor provide evidence of an association with it by John, Francis and George Bullock and their descendants for over 150 years.

The Manor of Arralas

John Bullock is the first to appear in the manor records when he took over the tenancy of 'Havenna Down Park', from one Thomas Hobbs, in 1739. 'Havenna Down Park' was just over a kilometre north east of St Enoder village and adjacent to 'Trevosa' (or 'Trevuzza') farm with which the Bullocks had been associated in the 1630's. The rent on this land was £2 2s in 1738. In 1751 John Bullock was one of five officials of the Manor of Arralas to pay homage to the lord of the manor, Jonathon Rashleigh Esq. at the annual 'Court Baron'. Interestingly, he was the only one of the five not to be distinguished by the suffix 'gent' after his name. Three years later John Bullock was no longer one of the manor officials paying homage at the Court Baron. However, at the 1754 Court Baron the death of John's brother Francis at the early age of 32 years was announced because he was one of the 'lives' on the

tenancy of 'Havenna Down Park'. The younger brother, George became Reeve of the Manor of Arralas in 1771 for the tenement of 'the late Thomas Hobbs' (presumably 'Havenna Down Park') and together with Phillip Thomas, he was to be 'Viewer of Repairs' for the said manor. In the following year George was one of those presenting homage to the lord of the manor, together with Nicholas Francis, who was evidently a family friend - his children were left money in the will of George's elder brother, Thomas Bullock (1722-1801). In 1776 both John and Thomas Bullock paid homage to the new lord of Arralas, Phillip Rashleigh Esq. Four years later both George Bullock and Nicholas Francis again appear in the Court Baron records as Viewers of Repairs. In 1786 a George and Richard Bullock are listed as Viewers of Repairs; it is probable that these were the sons of George, who were born in 1755 and 1757 respectively. Edmund Bullock 'the younger' died in 1773 probably at his house at 'Higher Hallone' about 1½ km north of St Enoder on the road to St Columb Major. He left the bulk of his estate to four of his sons, Thomas, Edmund, James and John with the other one, William, to receive £5 on marriage. His married daughter, Grace Coal, was bequeathed £3 and his unmarried daughter, Catherine, was to get £5, except if she married one Peter Curtis, when it was going to be only one shilling. This inducement did not work however, Catherine married Peter at St Enoder the following year. Edmund's younger brother George died in 1784 shortly after writing his will. His eldest son George (1755-1813) was to get the first choice of his several houses plus the adjacent fields, and also the tenement known as 'Spark's' at Higher Fraddon on the edge of Fraddon Down 'except two fields at east part and one orchard and two gardens' which were to go to his youngest son Richard. The house at Higher Fraddon was left to his 24 year-old unmarried daughter Elizabeth (who married her cousin Joseph Bullock at the age of 42) while his married daughter Phillipa Grigg was to get one shilling.

After 1786 the Bullocks do not appear in the Arralas manor records again until 1821 although members of the family retained the tenancy of 'Havenna Down Park' throughout this time. In 1821 a Sarah Bullock was recorded as having the tenancy of 'Penrose Sophia' (sometimes called Penrose Soaper). This Sarah was probably the widow of William Bullock (born 1750) son of the John who originally took out the tenancy on 'Havenna Down Park'. In a note about the 'Penrose Sophia' tenancy in 1821 it was stated that it had originally been taken up by this family in 1808 and that 'Mrs Bullock [who] is at Treffry in Lanhydrock with her son John will farm it. Mr Wm Bullock applies to take this Ten[emen]t which he says is 27 acres tillable'. William Bullock took over the tenancy on 'Penrose Sophia' farm (which adjoins the St Enoder parish church) the following year. This William (b. abt 1796) was probably another son of William and Sarah Bullock, however, it could have been any one of another five William Bullocks, who were all his first cousins. The tenancy of 'Penrose Sophia' was taken for 14½ years from Michaelmass 1822 at a yearly rent of £45, which was a substantial amount. By 1834 this tenement had passed to a Tom Bullock, who was undoubtedly one of the many descendants of Edmund and Mary Bullock, but precisely which 'Thomas' he was is not known.

Another Manor of Arralas tenement held by members of the Bullock family was one of 8½ acres on Havenna Common 'on which a dwelling house is to be built' (the house was built by 1834). This was taken up by James Bullock (son of Thomas Bullock and Ann Basely) by 1828 for an annual rent of £2. His sons James (born 1811), Henry (born 1813) and daughter Mary (born 1816) were the 'lives' on the tenement. James, Henry and Mary Bullock were still the 'lives' on this '8½ acres on Havenna Common' in 1871 even though the actual tenant had been Thomas Hassell for at least the previous 10 years. Meanwhile, 'Havenna Down Park' (also called 'Down Park in Havenna') was being rented by Ann Bullock, the widow of George of Higher Fraddon, in 1828. The lives on the tenement were Ann, her son Joseph aged 25 years and her unmarried brother-in-law Richard Bullock. The rent was only 5 shillings per year, which indicates that the tenement was either not very big, or was of little value. Ann Bullock lived to a ripe old age - in 1861 at the age of 82 years she is

still listed as the tenant of 'Down Park in Havenna'. By 1871, however, the tenancy had passed to her son Joseph, now 67 years old. Along with Joseph the 'lives' on the tenement were Elizabeth Ann Bullock aged 19 (probably a granddaughter) and one James P. Langdon aged 18 years, who was a distant cousin being descended from Stephen Bullock (b. 1727). Inflation had not affected the rental, it had remained at 5 shillings from 1828 to 1871.

In 1861 other tenancies of the Manor of Arralas held by members of the Bullock family were '2 cottages and gardens part of Ennis in St Enoder' held by William Bullock (born 1800) son of Edmund and Phillipa Bullock, and '4 fields or closes of land, part of Higher Havenna' also held by a William Bullock. This second tenement, which had Thomas Bullock (b. 1806) and John Bullock Jnr (b. 1824) as its 'lives', had been rented by William Bullock since 1844 for £6 per year. It was taken over from one Francis Clemow after the payment of £1 1s heriot (a tax by the manor following the death of a tenant). An unusual tenancy taken out by James Bullock (again it is not clear which of the James Bullock cousins) was for 30 loads of 'marle' (a fine grained rock containing lime and silt used as a fertilizer) to be taken from Havenna Common at 15 shillings per yard. The yearly rent for these 'marle pits' was to be 5 shillings, but by 1871 the rent had been waived on them. The manor records for 1896 show some Bullocks still renting land from the manor of Arralas. A Joseph, Hart, John and Ann Bullock appear, but the records do not give any details on the tenements. Joseph, John and Ann were probably the descendants of George (b. 1726) 'Viewer of Repairs' for the Manor of Arralas in 1780 and their cousin Hart Bullock (b. 1861) was the great great grandson of his brother Edmund Bullock (b. 1712).

The Connection to the Roberts family

Stephen, the youngest child of Edmund Bullock and Mary Vivian married Frances Vivian, daughter of Ralph and Joan Vivian on 25th November 1749 at St Stephens in Brannel a neighbouring parish. Ralph Vivian was a thatcher who travelled around central Cornwall re-roofing houses. He was possibly the younger brother of Mary Vivian thus making Stephen and Frances first cousins. Stephen and Frances' first child, Ann, was baptised at St Stephens on the day they were married. The young couple took up residence in St Enoder parish though it is not known exactly where they lived or how Stephen earned a living. It is a safe bet, however, that it was with a combination of farm work, perhaps for his brothers and tin mining. Stephen and Frances had five more children, baptised at St Enoder, Stephen (b. & d. 1751), Joan (b. 1752), Jane (b. 1755), Stephen (1757-1836) and Elizabeth (1760-1816). All five children who survived to adulthood married, Ann to Thomas Pearce, Joan to William Bond, Jane to William Langdon, Stephen to Mary Nocollas and Elizabeth to the farmer William Jenkyn Roberts. The families of Stephen and Elizabeth were to become much entwined through marriage (see Roberts family history).

The Clay Miners

A large number of Bullocks and descendants of the Bullocks worked in the China Clay quarries between St Enoder and St Austell in the latter part of the 19th century. The 1871 census reveals many of the family engaged in the industry. In general the work was back-breaking and poorly paid, but John Bullock of Bennalack Cottage near Summercourt, (a great grandson of John Bullock of 'Havenna Down Park') a 'Tin and Clay Agent' in 1871 was probably reasonably prosperous. His sons 22 year-old William and 17 year-old John, who were living at home, were working as tin miners, while 14 year-old Joseph was a 'scholar'. The immediate family of his distant cousin, another John Bullock (b. 1817), (great grandson of Edmund Bullock of 'Higher Hallone') who lived for the latter part of his life at Ruthvoes in St Columb Major parish were predominantly employed in the clay works. John himself, who was a maltster at the time of his marriage in 1839, was a 'tin mine captain' in the 1850's and in 1871 he farmed 35 acres as well as working as a clay labourer. His daughter Elizabeth

married a lay labourer named John Kessell and three of his sons, John, William and Albert were clay labourers. William rose to be the 'captain' of a china clay works. Another son, Richard, escaped all this by migrating to the United States of America in the early 1870's leaving his young wife and child behind. After prospecting for gold in the Black Hills for ten years he became a bullion guard for the Homestake Mine. His sharp shooting exploits in protecting the Deadwood stage, later immortalised in Buffalo Bill's Wildwest Show, earned him the name of 'Deadwood Dick'. About 40 Bullocks and their relations were employed in the china clay industry in the latter part of the 19th century. Sometimes both husband and wife would work as clay labourers, such as Rachael Bullock (b. abt 1834) and her husband (and cousin) John Bullock (b. 1829) of 'Stonegwins' near St Stephens.