

**James and Susanna
Pollard**

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Beginnings

James Pollard's paternal grandfather James Pollard, a shopkeeper in Horsham, Sussex, died six years before James was born, but his paternal grandmother, Mary (née Hall), lived well into James's lifetime, so I will have more to say of her here.¹

His maternal grandfather, Haddock Thomas Hughesdon, a blacksmith from Deptford, Kent, also died before James was born. Though his maternal grandmother, Grace Hughesdon (her maiden name isn't known), lived into James's lifetime, she died soon after James's 3rd birthday, and it's doubtful whether they ever met, let alone whether he's likely to have remembered her.²

Susanna Bourn's paternal grandfather, Richard Bourn, was a yeoman, with properties in Billingshurst, Sussex. He lived well into Susanna's lifetime, so she probably knew him. The same can't be said of her paternal grandmother Hannah Bourn (maiden name unknown), who was buried in Billingshurst in 1793.³

Her maternal grandfather Henry Penfold, a yeoman of Slinfold, Sussex, died before Susanna was born.⁴ Quite possibly, though, she knew her grandmother Elizabeth Penfold (née Furlonger), who lived locally, probably into about Susanna's eighth year, so it seems possible that Susanna would have remembered her in her later life.⁵

James Pollard's father Samuel Pollard was born in Horsham on the 21st December 1760.⁶ As a young man, he began his independent working life, after serving an apprenticeship in Southwark, as a carpenter in Clapham, Surrey.⁷

James's mother Catherine Hughesdon was born in Deptford, probably in 1767; she was baptised at St Nicholas's parish church in Deptford on the 12th July of that year.⁸ How Samuel and Catherine met is unknown, but they were married on the 20th July 1784, at Holy Trinity Church in Clapham.⁹ As Catherine was a minor (apparently just 17 years old), the marriage was by a licence obtained the day before, witnessed by her mother, who gave her consent.¹⁰ Samuel was a member of Horsleydown monthly meeting (of the Society of Friends), and it's no surprise that Friends took exception to his "Marriage by the Priest to a Person not of our Society".¹¹ By 1785 the couple had taken up residence in Horsham, and it was Horsham Friends who acted upon the request of Horsleydown monthly meeting by visiting Samuel and reporting back to them, in

favourable terms. They found that, up to the 5th December 1787 (the date of the report) "his attendance of Meetings has been pretty constant and his Conduct in other respects so far as appears to us." In the following February Horsham received a further communication from Horsleydown, to the effect that, until Samuel had condemned "his former Outgoing of being

¹ TNA: RG 6/610; RG 6/847; RG 6/715; RG 6/1135.

² London Metropolitan Archives DW/MP/124/020/a-b; Greenwich Local Studies Library microfilm NX 52/1, LMA microfilm X097/250.

³ Billingshurst Land Tax data on Find My Past; TNA: IR 26/316/81; Leonard J. Maguire (1985) *The General Baptist Meeting House now known as the Free Christian Church (Unitarian) Billingshurst*.

⁴ RG 4/2729; Surrey Marriage Index; West Sussex RO PR 176/1/1/4; Slinfold parish register; bishop's transcript

⁵ RG 4/2729; Maguire

⁶ RG 6/1258.

⁷ London Lives, ref. GLCCMC251010302; marriage bond at London Metropolitan Archives DW/MP/124/020/a-b.

⁸ LMA DW/MP/124/020/a-b, Greenwich Local Studies Library microfilm NX 52/1.

⁹ William Pollard: 'Some Descendants of James and Mary Pollard', Ms book now at West Sussex Record Office (hereafter referred to as 'Pollard book'); LMA P95/TR11/109/001 (X078/020).

¹⁰ LMA DW/MP/124/020/1-b.

¹¹ RG 6/609.

Married by a Priest”, “we do not consider it proper to pass by the offence.” On the 9th March 1788 Samuel wrote the following note to Horsham monthly meeting, which they in turn copied to Horslydown:

To the friends of Horsham Meeting Under a weighty consideration of the many offences I have been guilt of, particularly that of being Married by a priest it appears to me to be my duty to condemn them all in this Manner, being fully convinced they were not of the Truth, and I am truly desirous that the friends of that Meeting of which I have been so unworthy a Member may have no further Grief or Trouble on my account. – Sam^l Pollard.

On the 4th May 1788 Horslydown replied: . . . “believing the same to be sincere, it is agreed to accept his Acknowledgement, hoping his future conduct will continue to demonstrate the sincerity thereof.”¹ Samuel was quickly rehabilitated, for by January of 1789 he had begun attending Monthly Meeting regularly on behalf of Horsham Friends, and by September of 1789 he had begun representing his monthly meeting at Sussex and Surrey Quarterly Meeting. He was to attend both faithfully, throughout the rest of his life.²

Quakerism, of course, was part of the culture into which Samuel had been born, for the Pollards had been Quakers since the 17th century. Certainly his mother had always taken an active part in the administration of Quaker affairs, having attended Women’s Monthly Meeting in Horsham from at least 1766. By 1778 she had begun participating in meetings of Ministers and Elders at Horsham, and did so regularly from 1783. And in June 1787 she subscribed three guineas towards the construction of the new meeting house there.³

In 1789 Mary Pollard rented a property in West Street, Horsham, at a rental of 3s. 10d., and was assessed on it in February for 7s. rates, and in December for 5s. 3d. She had this property for at least the next ten years. Next door—apparently—lived Samuel, from 1789 to 1791, paying the same rental, and assessed for the same level of rates, as his mother. He had earlier, however, apparently begun buying property, having been recorded in 1787 as the owner of a property in the west part of Southwater, Horsham, occupied by a William Vane, on which he was assessed for 14s. Land Tax. Part, at least, of his income for much of his life would seem to have derived from his activities as a landlord.⁴

Susanna’s father Richard Bourn was in about 1754, and at the time of Susanna’s birth was a farmer at Billingshurst.⁵

Her mother Elizabeth Penfold was baptised in Slinfold, Sussex, on the 21st February 1756.⁶ They married, by licence, at Slinfold parish church, on the 8th May 1781. At that date Richard was a resident of the parish of Wisborough Green, and Elizabeth was still living in Slinfold. Both were able to sign the marriage register.⁷

Samuel and Catherine Pollard brought three children into the world before James: Mary was born in April 1785, but only lived till June. Grace was born in April 1786, and Samuel junior in

¹ Surrey Record Centre 6189 Box 5.

² SRC 6189 Box 6; East Sussex Record Office SOF 1/3.

³ SRC 6189 Boxes 6 & 7; ESRO SOF 1/3.

⁴ WSRO PAR 106/30/3; WSRO QDE/2/1 (MF 637-9); TNA: PROB 11/1951 quire 637.

⁵ RG 4/2729 f44; Maguire; WSRO NC/GB4/7/6.

⁶ WSRO PAR 176/1/1/4.

⁷ RG 4/2729; WSRO PAR 176/1/1/4.

September 1787.¹

Richard and Elizabeth Bourn had at least four children before Susanna: James was born around June 1783, but died in February 1789, and was buried at Horsham General Baptist church on the 2nd March that year. Sarah was born in Warnham in October 1785. Ann was born in Warnham in June 1787, but only lived seven weeks, being buried on the 7th August at Horsham General Baptist church; the note of her burial does not even accord her the dignity of a name, describing her merely as “An Infant of Rich^d Bourn’s”. Richard Bourn junior was born at Warnham in August 1788, his birth being registered by Horsham General Baptist church.²

James Pollard was born at Horsham on the 19th June 1789—less than a month before the storming of the Bastille. His birth was witnessed by D. Dubbins Jr, surgeon, an illiterate Martha Nye, and his grandmother Mary Pollard.³

Susanna Bourn was born in Warnham, Sussex—immediately north-west of Horsham—some time around 1790; regrettably no record has yet been found of her birth or baptism, though her parentage is reasonably sure, as records of baptism *have* been found for some of her siblings.⁴

¹ Pollard book; RG 6/609; RG 6/846; RG 6/1644; SRC 6189 Box 5.

² RG 4/2729; Maguire; ESRO baptism index.

³ Quaker birth note now at WSRO; Pollard book; RG 6/609; RG 6/846, RG 6/1644; SRC 6189 Box 6.

⁴ The 1851 census suggests a birth year of 1790 or 1791, her death certificate a birth in 1789 or 1790. Horsham General Baptist church records the baptisms of earlier siblings, but none after 1788; however the register has been kept exceedingly carelessly, and there is clear evidence of omissions in that the burial register has an entry for a sibling for whom it failed to record the baptism. Though Susanna *may* have been born and/or baptised elsewhere, I think it pretty likely that she was born at Warnham, as she told the census enumerator in 1851—as were her older siblings—and even that she was baptised by Horsham General Baptist church, but that the minister simply omitted to record the event.

Early childhood

Mary Pollard attended Quarterly Meeting at Lewes in September 1789, the first occasion on which she's known to have done so; she appears not to have attended Quarterly Meeting again for another five years.¹

The first of James's younger siblings, Andrew, was born at Horsham on the 11th December 1790, the event witnessed by his grandmother.²

Their elder sister Grace died shortly before James's 2nd birthday, on the 23rd June 1791. She was buried in the Friends' burial ground in Horsham.³ It was during this year that Samuel Pollard senior was a defendant in a suit in the Court of Chancery, *Hall con. Pollard and others*. This concerned ongoing problems with the settlement of the estate of his grandmother Rebecca Pollard, who had earlier herself inherited a considerable estate from an uncle dying intestate. A claim was being made by the second husband of one of Rebecca's daughters, which naturally was being contested by the immediate family.⁴

Some time between May and October of 1791 Samuel Pollard took alternative premises within West Street, Horsham, on which the rental was 6s. and rates were 12s. It was thus larger and/or better in quality than his previous property.⁵ The 1792 *Universal British Directory* described Samuel Pollard as a "salesman" in Horsham. It seems likely that this was another way of saying that he was a shopkeeper, as he's described later.⁶

In late July 1792 James's grandmother Grace Hughesdon died. Described as a widow, from King Street, Deptford, she was buried at St Nicholas's churchyard, Deptford, on the 29th of that month.⁷ James's brother Thomas was born at Horsham on the 21st August 1792, the event again witnessed by Mary Pollard⁸, as was that of his brother William, also at Horsham, on the 20th February 1794,⁹ and of his brother Theophilus, born there on the 29th December 1795.¹⁰

On the 9th April 1794 Catherine Pollard applied to be taken in as a member of the Society of Friends. Three members of the Women's Monthly Meeting were appointed to visit her and report. Following their report in August, the Men's meeting also appointed two Friends to visit her, and on the 14th September that year, "finding nothing to object", in the rather lukewarm phrasing of the minute, she was received into membership.¹¹ Catherine straight away entered into the life of the Meeting, and from 1794 until within three years of her death she normally attended at least one Women's Monthly Meeting each year, and usually more (in 1800 she attended nine). From 1796 she also attended Women's Quarterly Meeting occasionally—rarely in the 1790s, more frequently from 1806.¹²

In June and September 1794 James's grandmother Mary Pollard attended Women's Quarterly Meeting, in Ifield, Sussex. In view of her infrequent attendance at Quarterly Meeting, it seems

¹ ESRO SOF 3/2.

² Pollard book; RG 6/609; RG 6/846; RG 6/1644; birth note, now at WSRO.

³ Pollard book; RG 6/610; RG 6/847; RG 6/946.

⁴ A number of documents from this period survive, now all at WSRO; the case is amply documented in Chancery records in The National Archives.

⁵ WSRO PAR 106/30/3.

⁶ *Universal British Directory*; RG 6/714; RG 6/846; RG 6/1134; ESRO SOF/1/3

⁷ LMA St Nicholas, Deptford, Composite register: baptisms Nov 1786 – Aug 1793, burials Dec 1781 – Mar 1794, P78/NIC/006.

⁸ Pollard book; RG 6/609; RG 6/846; RG 6/1644; ESRO SOF 59/4; birth note, now at WSRO.

⁹ Pollard book; RG 6/609; RG 6/846; RG 6/1644; ESRO SOF 59/4; SRC 6189 Box 6; birth note, now at WSRO.

¹⁰ Pollard book: RG 6/714; RG 6/846; ESRO SOF 59/4; SRC 6189 Box 6; birth note, now at WSRO.

¹¹ SRC 6189 Boxes 6 & 7.

¹² SRC 6189 Boxes 7 & 10; ESRO SOF 22/1 & 22/2.

possible that there is some connection with her daughter-in-law's application for membership, around this time.¹

In June 1795 Samuel Pollard represented Horsham Monthly Meeting at Quarterly Meeting in Ifield, and it was on this occasion that he was given responsibility for collecting and forwarding subscriptions to Ackworth School. He was to act in this capacity—one of Ackworth's 'agents' in the country—for a further 40 years or so.² In December that year, described as a shopkeeper, he was appointed a trustee of Friends' premises at Charlwood.³

In 1796 the eldest surviving child in Samuel and Catherine's growing family, James's brother Samuel, went away to Ackworth School. At 8½, it was found that his reading was "middling", he could spell "2 syllables well", but had no arithmetic.⁴

In February 1797 Samuel was distrained for small tithes, the first of many occasions on which he was subject to this punitive measure. The records of the sufferings of local Friends document each occasion, and it's interesting to note the items seized in lieu of tithes and other imposts to which Friends took exception. Samuel was clearly a draper, and on this first act of distraint 6 yards of cloth were taken, valued at 10s. (representing 2/6 small tithes, 7/6 charges).⁵

James's sister Martha was born at Horsham on the 9th November 1797, witnessed, as before, by her grandmother.⁶

In February 1798 Samuel Pollard was again distrained, this time on the Cavalry Act; 28½ yards of brown holland were taken.⁷

In mid-September 1791 local landowner Robert Hurst conveyed to Susanna's father Richard Bourn, for life, 'All that messuage situate within the Borough of Horsham . . . parcel of the tenement called Perry Place . . . etc.'⁸

Susanna's grandmother Elizabeth Bourn, a widow of Nuthurst, died on the 4th November 1796, and was buried at Horsham General Baptist church on the 6th.⁹ Her maternal grandmother Elizabeth Penfold, a widow of Slinfold, died on the 8th January 1798, and was buried on the 12th at Horsham General Baptist church.¹⁰

¹ ESRO SOF 3/2.

² ESRO SOF 1/3, SOF 20/2 & 20/3; "Agents" . . . were the official representatives of the school in the Quarterly and Monthly meetings all over the country.—Elfrida Vipont: *Ackworth School from its foundation in 1779 to the introduction of co-education in 1946*, 1959, London: Lutterworth Press, p. 37.

³ ESRO SOF 1/3.

⁴ Ackworth School Centenary Committee: *List of the Boys and Girls admitted into Ackworth School 1779—1879*; 1879, Ackworth; West Yorks Archive Service C678; Ackworth School archives, 11/3/1.

⁵ SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁶ Pollard book; RG 6/714; RG 6/1134; ESRO SOF 59/4; SRC 6189 Box 6; birth note, now at WSRO.

⁷ SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁸ Source mislaid.

⁹ RG 4/2729.

¹⁰ RG 4/2729; Maguire.

Schooldays

Regrettably nothing whatsoever is known directly of Susanna's childhood and adolescence, or of whether she received any schooling at all—though certainly she learned to read and write, as a letter from Susanna to her son, written in 1842, survives.¹

Happily, we are in a better position to write of James's boyhood, for it's a matter of record that from 1798 to 1801 he was a pupil at Ackworth School, in Yorkshire.²

In June 1798 Samuel Pollard attended Quarterly Meeting in Horsham, and was appointed to represent QM at the next general meeting, to be held at Ackworth the following month. Samuel duly attended Ackworth General Meeting on this date, and it seems likely that he travelled to Yorkshire in the company of his son James, ensuring his safe delivery into the care of the school.³

In view of the varying standards prevailing at the time, it isn't surprising that Friends in some degree of "affluence" who had the true welfare of their children at heart often strove to obtain admission for them at Ackworth. It wasn't only because the fees amounted to no more than ten guineas a year (increased from eight guineas in James's first year there) which, according to the Bills of Admission (for some time the only means of entrance to the school), entitled the children to "Education, Board and Cloathing"; it was because religious instruction and moral training avowedly came first. Until other Friends' boarding schools were founded to give a wider range of educational opportunity, Ackworth was the only school available for the majority of Friends' children.⁴

William Howitt, who attended Ackworth immediately after James Pollard's time there⁵, gives this description of his first impressions of Ackworth, doubtless very similar to James':

The vast building, which to my eyes, accustomed to the simple houses of villages, seemed a palace; the huge rooms, the long passages and halls; the vast number of boys, all at active play on the green—180 of them;—all was strange, and fell with a depressing weight on my spirit.⁶

In 1798 there were in fact 305 pupils, of both sexes, at Ackworth, falling to 299 by 1801.⁷

. . . the change from the endearments and comforts of home was striking and cheerless enough. A vast wide house, with long stone passages; large numbers of strange boys; a severe discipline; cold hard beds at night; cold rising in the dark, early mornings; no hats allowed in the play-ground in winter—and the winters there were very sharp;—no approach to the fire on holy-day afternoons till after dark-hour; and, on rainy days, our play-place an immense open shed, supported in front by Tuscan pillars, where, thrusting our hands into our bosoms, we used to huddle together by scores to keep one another warm—and happy was he that got deepest into the throng:—could any thing

¹ Original letter in the possession of Jonathan Dale.

² Ackworth School Centenary Committee (1879) *List of the Boys and Girls admitted into Ackworth School 1779–1879*, Ackworth.

³ ESRO SOF 1/3.

⁴ Elfrida Vipont (1959) *Ackworth School from its foundation in 1779 to the introduction of co-education in 1946*, London: Lutterworth Press, pp. 28 & 88-9.

⁵ Henry Thompson (1879) *A History of Ackworth School during its first hundred years, 1879*, London: Samuel Harris & the Ackworth School Centenary Committee, p. 328.

⁶ William Howitt (1847) *The Boy's Country Book*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, p. 248.

⁷ Thompson, op. cit., pp. 338-9.

be more comfortless?¹

As Howitt explains,

Ackworth school differs remarkably from all other public schools, in the complete isolation of the children. They have ample and airy playgrounds, but are as perfectly separated from the world as if they were not in it. . . . As no vacations are allowed, the children are often three or four years there, and during that time see nobody but the members of the family, or occasional visitors; except in their monthly walk into the country, when they march two by two, under the care of the teacher on duty, and can have no intercourse with any other children.

This, for Howitt, has a remarkable redeeming feature:

It is impossible that evil communications from without can corrupt their good manners; and within, they are free from the distinctions of wealth and rank which torment the world, and excite many keen heart-burnings in most public schools. There, not a sense of them exists. The utmost equality, the most cordial harmony prevail. One child is distinguished from another only by the difference of person, of talents, disposition, and proficiency in learning.²

Beyond the simple basic curriculum which was to be made available to all Quaker children whose parents desired it for them, irrespective of means, there were two other features of the original Ackworth education which were outstanding. Learning was to be combined with manual work, not for the economic reasons normally to be expected at that period, as a means of providing cheap labour for the household and farm (an estate of some 190 acres), but as a matter of educational policy. Thus throughout the early years of Ackworth's history, the children were to be found engaging in a wide range of activities: for the boys this meant waiting at table, cleaning shoes and knives, helping in the bakery and the dairy, and—from 1787—labouring outdoors, in the garden or on the farm.³ Four boys, in rotation, would do a half day's labour, and a whole school-room of them would be employed in gooseberry picking time. In hay time, detachments of 30 or 40 boys often turned out to assist in what was supposed to be the lighter work of the harvesting. Boys were used for 'picking wicks' (couch grass), which they found very obnoxious.⁴ Howitt describes work on the Ackworth farm:

But one of the greatest treats which we got, was to go, a party of half-a-dozen of us, occasionally to help in the farm, to make hay, or reap corn. . . . The farm was large, for the establishment was large, having altogether not less than 350 people to support. There were twenty cows to supply milk, and every thing in proportion. Sometimes we were on the hills not far from the school, and at others a mile off, at what was called the Low-farm. Here we helped to make hay, and to eat great hunches of bread and butter at lunch-time, and drink cans of beer, sitting on the green sward; and when we got a little opportunity, were very busy at the side of a clear shallow brook that ran through the meadows, looking after fish; and in very hot weather have actually run up

¹ *ibid.*: 249.

² *ibid.*: 260-1.

³ Vipont: 28-9; Elfrida Vipont Foulds and Edward Milligan (1979) *So Numerous a Family. 200 Years of Quaker Education at Ackworth: Ackworth School*, p. 18.

⁴ Thompson: pp. 66-7.

and down it with our shoes and stockings on, and thought it delightful.¹

The school rules, as codified in 1785, include:

That the boys be divided into four classes, under the care of four masters. That before breakfast each of the Reading Masters shall instruct a class in reading and spelling, and each Writing Master examine a class in arithmetic; that after breakfast two classes attend the Writing Masters to be instructed in writing and accounts, and the other two classes to attend the Reading Masters to be instructed in reading, spelling, and English grammar. That after dinner the boys who attended the Writing Masters shall attend the Reading Masters, and the boys who attended the Reading Masters shall attend the Writing Masters; that twelve boys most properly qualified be nominated monitors, to assist the masters in the business of the school.

In order that punishments be inflicted with coolness and temper, and in proportion to the nature of the offence, the following method is agreed upon, viz., that the treasurer and each master keep a book and minute down offences committed within the day; that once a week or oftener they meet together and inspect these books and administer such punishments as may be agreed upon, using their endeavours to convince the children that the only purpose of correction is for their amendment, and to deter others from the commission of like offences.²



Mary Hodgson

ACKWORTH SCHOOL, FROM THE GREAT GARDEN.

Edmund Evans.

The following were the “GENERAL RULES TO BE STRICTLY OBSERVED BY ALL THE BOYS AT ACKWORTH SCHOOL, AND TO BE READ TO THEM ONCE A MONTH”:

- 1st. That they rise at 6 o’clock in the Summer and 7 o’clock in the Winter, and dress themselves quietly and orderly, endeavouring to begin the day in the Fear of the

¹ Howitt: 244-5.

² *ibid*: 40.

- Lord, which is as a fountain of life preserving from the snares of death.
- 2nd. That they wash their faces and hands, and, at the ringing of the bell, collect themselves in order and come decently into the school; that they take their seats in a becoming manner, without noise or hurry, and begin business when the Master shall direct.
 - 3rd. That they refrain from talking and whispering in the schools, and when repeating their lessons to the Master, that they speak audibly and distinctly.
 - 4th. That they should not be absent from school or go out of bounds without leave.
 - 5th. That when the bell rings for breakfast, dinner, or supper, they collect themselves together in silence and in due order, having their faces and hands washed, their hair combed, &c., and so proceed quietly into the dining-room.
 - 6th. That they observe a Solemn Silence, both before and after meals, that they eat their food decently, and refrain from talking.
 - 7th. That they avoid quarrelling, throwing sticks, stones, and dirt, striking and teasing one another, and they are enjoined not to complain about trifles, and, when at play, to observe moderation and decency.
 - 8th. That they neither borrow, lend, buy nor exchange without leave, and they strictly avoid gaming at all times; that they never tell a lie, use the Sacred Name irreverently, or mock the aged or deformed. That when strangers speak to them they give a modest, audible answer, standing up and with their faces turned toward them. That they shall not be possessed or have the use of more than one penny per week; that if any other money be found upon them it shall be taken away.
 - 9th. That they use a sober and becoming behaviour when going to, in, and coming from religious Meetings.
 - 10th. That their whole conduct and conversation be dutiful to their Masters and kind and affectionate to their schoolfellows, and that in all cases they observe the command of Christ, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so unto them."
 - 11th. That in the evening they collect themselves and take their seats in the dining-room and, after answering to their names when called over, and attending to such parts of the Holy Scriptures as may be read to them, they retire to their bedchambers and undress with as much stillness as possible, folding up their Clothes neatly and putting them into their proper places; and they are tenderly advised to close, as well as to begin the day with remembering their Gracious Creator, whose mercies are over all his works.¹

Of the teaching and other staff, Howitt wrote:

Our masters and officers were men of a day decidedly gone by—men of old-fashioned garments, and primitive lives and eccentric habits. There was William Sowerby, an old preacher—a man in a long homespun coat, buttoned to the chin, who was in no office, but delighted to be there . . . a creature as tender and innocent as a lamb, who wandered about the house and schools, from place to place; met us at coming out, dropped a word of advice to us, preached to us at meeting of "onions and garlic in the flesh-pots of Egypt," and worked with us in the fields. The very gardeners, Matthew Doney and Tommy Briggs, were characters . . . Nanny Rhodes was the laundress; and Joey Crowther the lamplighter and the prince of the washing-mill, a little broad built man, the sound of whose wooden clogs is in my ears at this moment. He was a perfect humourist . . .

The masters were strongly marked characters. There was Master Joseph—properly

¹ Thompson: 41-2.

Joseph Donbavon, the senior writing-master,—a tall slender man, with a long, thin countenance, and dark hair combed backwards. What scholar that ever knew him does not remember the good-natured eccentricities of his character? Who does not remember his snuff-box, opened with its three systematic raps; and the peculiar jerk of his elbow when he felt himself bound to refuse some petition? He was a most perfect master of penmanship, and, in our opinion, not less of the art of swimming, which he often told us he had been taught by a frog, having one end of a string tied to its leg, and holding the other in his mouth, and thus pursuing it and imitating its movements.

There was Thomas Bradshaw, the senior reading-master, a little stiff man, with a round well-fed face, and a very dry and sibilant voice. His hat was always three-cocked—his clothes always dark brown—his gaiters black. We looked upon him with awe, for he had been a naval captain, and had heard the roar of battle, as one of his legs testified, having had the calf blown away by a cannon shot. Worthy old man!—in our anger we called him *Tommy Codger*, and forgot the Pomfret cakes which he always carried in his waistcoat pocket, to bestow if he heard a cough—and heaven knows he heard many a one—as he went his evening rounds through the bed-chambers when on duty. At the bottom of our souls, however, we loved him; and he was more worthy of our love than we knew, for he had abandoned bright prospects in his profession and encountered, knowingly and undauntedly, scorn and poverty, from his conviction of the anti-christianity of war. He had suffered much; and had we been aware of this, we might have borne with him more patiently when he grew old, and kept a great fire in the school-room all the summer, and sat close to it; and still feeling himself chill, could not imagine but that we must be so too, and therefore broiled us, and kept close door and window, and made us button up our waistcoats to the throats, till we were ready to melt away. Many a time did we wish him a thousand miles off; yet when he sunk under age and infirmities, and was obliged to vacate his office, he wept, and we wept too.¹

At this time the reading found most acceptable at Ackworth consisted of Aikin's *England Delineated, Reflections and Maxims*, Goldsmith's *History of England*, a book entitled *Extracts and Original Anecdotes*, and, for occasional reading, *Collections of Debates on the Slave Trade* and Guthrie's *Geography*. To these was added Eliza Andrews' *Beauties of Sturm*, and in 1799 50 copies of Lindley Murray's *English Reader* were bought for the school.² Howitt also remembered that at this time "poetry was in high estimation all through the school."³

William Savery described the school as he saw it on a visit from America in 1797. "The children were "Obliged to give the Sense of the words they Spell, which appears to me worthy of Imitation." . . . the boys were "not a little noisy and rough in their amusements" . . . "they have Wooden trenchers and are very plainly servd"—"they are decently Lodgd two in a bed." (The boys slept in dormitories of more than twenty to a room).⁴ On the whole he found everything very satisfactory: "the Regularity, decency and order is Good and if in some things they do not come up to my Expectation in others they exceed it and I think it a Credit to friends but Considering the plainness of the Diet and Dress of the children am rather at a Loss to know how it Can Cost near 15 Guineas Each as it's Said to have done last year."⁵

According to Thomas Pumphrey's 1853 history, "In the early days of the school its juvenile groups might have reminded us of the pictures of olden time, when the cocked hat, the long-tailed

¹ Howitt: 257-8, 259-60.

² Thompson: 94 & 95.

³ Howitt: 253.

⁴ Howitt: 262.

⁵ Vipont: 53-4.

coat, the leather breeches, and the buckled shoe were the dress even of boys.”¹ School dress had not changed by James Pollard’s time.² Elfrida Vipont’s history gives a little more detail: ‘The first Clothes List allowed for each boy “1 Hat, 2 Coats, 2 Waistcoats, 2 Pair of Breeches, 3 Shirts, 3 Handkerchiefs, 3 Pair of Stockings, 2 Pair of Shoes”; . . . The boys’ hats were pooled on arrival; they only wore them on their rare excursions into the country, when the hats were brought out in large baskets and distributed indiscriminately.’³

As to the pupils’ diet in James Pollard’s day, we can speak with certainty, as a contemporary dietary survives:⁴

Breakfasts. Every Day Milk Porridge poured on bread.

Dinners

1st Day. Boil’d suet Puddings with currants, Sometimes apple pies: And in Summer occasionally other Fruit Pies or Cheesecakes.

2nd day. Beef or Mutton dress’d by Steam (sometimes a little Pork) with Turnips, Carrots, Greens or Potatoes & Bread, no Butter. Roast Meat may be substituted occasionally but not often.

3rd day Boil’d Suet Puddings with sweet sauce.

4th day Meat Soup:—In Summer this Dinner may be occasionally changed for Bacon with Beans, Peas, Lettuces or other roots or Greens & Bread—no Butter.

5th day Baked Batter Puddings with sweet sauce (sometimes Baked rice Puddings) if milk can be spared, if not, Boild Rice puddings with a few Eggs.

6th day Beef or Mutton dress’d by Steam with Potatoes Greens or other Vegetables and Bread no Butter.

7th day Meat soup.

Both Beer & Water for drink, except on first days then to have Beer & Water at Supper.

Suppers. 1st day Bread & Cheese, or Butter when Butter is plentiful, with Beer & Water.

All the rest of the week Bread & Milk.

We have some detail on the school’s overall economy: In 1798 57 lbs of butter were consumed each week (2978 lbs over the year). 30 cows were kept, of which 22 were in milk. Bread was of meslin, a mixture of wheat and rye. 33,124 lbs of meat were consumed. The school employed its own brewer, and malt and hops cost £125.⁵ In 1800, to economise, “Three hundred and ninety-seven stones of flesh-meat were saved, upon the consumption of 1799, and rice was liberally drawn upon as a substitute, as is shown by a comparison of the consumption of that article in the two years—4 cwt. supplying the family in 1799, whilst nearly 23 were consumed in 1800, although the price in the latter year was nearly double that of the former.”⁶ Staff employed by the school included not only the superintendent, masters, mistresses and apprentices but the housekeeper, the matron, the gardener, the tailor, the shoemaker, the mantua maker, the baker. Together they formed very nearly a self-sufficient community (until 1834 meat came from beasts slaughtered on the school farm).⁷

As already mentioned, Ackworth School accepted both sexes as pupils, but “Apart from worship (where, after the Quaker custom of the day, they sat on opposite sides of the house) boys

¹ Thomas Pumphrey’s *History of Ackworth School*, Ackworth, 1853, quoted in Thompson; 43.

² Thompson: 110, 150.

³ Vipont: 37.

⁴ Vipont: 47, gives the date as 1799; Foulds and Milligan: 20, gives it as 1st February 1800.

⁵ Thompson: 91-2.

⁶ Thompson: p. 98.

⁷ Foulds and Milligan: 8.

and girls were strictly segregated. Relations, however, might meet on the flags.” This was a path of flagstones, six feet wide, from the Committee Room steps to the garden gates.¹

William Howitt describes life at Ackworth, outside class, in some detail:

Well, those were delightful days!—helping each other with our gardens—reading, and talking of all that we read, and at other times joining in all the active sports of the school. There was a famous troop of lads to engage in any play, and I have often seen the whole number—180—making one long line at leap-frog, or busy at prison-bars, or run-across, making a clamour and a hum that was heard a mile off. That run-across was a grand play. Across the middle of the green ran a paved walk; under the windows of the boys’ dining room was another; the space between these was occupied by one half the boys at play, whose business was to seize any of the others who attempted to run across. If the runners got across to the pavement under the windows, they were safe; if they were caught and detained while the captor counted ten, they were prisoners, and were on parole under the dining-room till any other of their party running across could touch them, which gave them a right to attempt to run back again.²

Though the children are thrown entirely upon their own resources for amusement, these resources never fail. Besides ordinary plays, and means of play, there are their gardens; and a gardener and seedsman attend in the spring for every boy to lay in his stock of seeds and plants, which are paid for by the superintendent, their general treasurer. Then there is a flagged walk of some two or three yards wide, and reaching from the centre building to the garden, a considerable distance; a charmed promenade, marking the separation betwixt the boys’ and girls’ green; where relatives of each sex may meet and walk together, and where *only* they can meet for conversation, being kept as completely apart in the opposite wings of the building as in two distinct establishments. It’s beautiful to see brothers and sisters, and cousins (a relationship, I fancy, somewhat liberally rendered) there walking and talking, with linked arms, and words that never cease.

In winter, whenever a frost sets in, down this walk the lads pour water; and have, in a short space, a most glorious slide, whereon one hundred and eighty of them, driving impetuously, soon produce a scene of animated glee. The moment snow falls, they all set about treading it down, and speedily convert it into a broad surface of ice. There, with skates made of narrow strips of wood, they skim about with extraordinary celerity; and some, forming a team of boy-horses, imitate in imagination the Grecian heroes before Troy, in their rapid cars. Round the evening fires they tell tales and repeat verses, and in bed too . . .³

Howitt remembered with particular fondness the gardens kept by the pupils:

. . . of all the gardens of children that I have seen, none can compare with those of the lads there. Their garden ground is situated at the lower end of their play-ground, and consists of a square piece of land, lying between the end of the school and the great garden of the establishment. As there are 180 lads, the gardens are 180 in number, each being about three yards long, and a yard and a half wide. They lie parallel to each other, with a walk between each; so that every boy can have the pleasure of walking past every garden, without trespass or annoyance to any one.

These gardens are kept with admirable neatness, and in summer present one gay

¹ Foulds and Milligan: 17.

² Howitt: 253.

³ Howitt: 261-2.

scene of varied colours and sweet odours. Here the lads spend a great deal of their time gardening or reading. Every one has a neat trowel, with which he contrives to do all his work, digging, raking, transplanting, and what is more, he builds a little wall along each side of his garden, which prevents the soil from getting into the walks. These walls are made of earth, mixed with water into a stiff mud, and well tempered, as clay is for brick-making. . . . Besides these walls, they also build the most ingenious little houses in their gardens, of the same material; perhaps two feet high, as tool or seed houses, or as the occasional deposit of a book. These are sometimes made square at top—top, sides, and all being mud; others are neatly thatched, and all have regular doors, often porches, and always little glass windows. Standing amongst their gay show of flowers, they have the funniest little fairyland look imaginable. Other boys again have farm-houses, with cattle stalls in the farm-yard and sheds, with cribs and cattle and horses all cut very cleverly in wood. There are pools of water, and ducks and geese and swans upon them; and other boys amuse themselves by erecting a Tower of Babel, or a Solomon's Temple.

It's obvious that one of these works must cost a great deal of time, invention, and labour; but then it's a source of endless pleasure, especially as while it's going on, it's a matter of great curiosity to the whole school, and many are the plans and improvements suggested; and much is the enjoyment derived from the owner's companions joining him in all his schemes and labours.¹

Then there were the walks:

What are all their within-bound enjoyments, however, to their monthly rural walks? To a stranger, nevertheless, in my time, they must have presented a most laughable spectacle on these expeditions. The bell rung, they ran to collect in the shed—they drew up in two long lines facing each other, perhaps two yards apart. Large wicker baskets were brought forth from the store-room, piled high with hats of all imaginable shapes and species; for they were such as had been left by the boys from the commencement of the institution; they wear none, except on these excursions—and there they were, broad-brims, narrow-brims; brown, and black, and white; pudding-crowns, square-crowns, and even sugar-loaf-crowns, such as Guy Faux himself wore. These without ceremony were popped upon the heads of boys at random; little ones were left sticking on the very summit of great round-headed lads, ready to fall off at the first move, and great ones dropping over the noses of little ones. Away they went, however, as happy and picturesque as possible. And Oh! the pleasant memories I have of these excursions! The moving along green and bowery lanes, past cottages and cottage gardens; past groups of villagers all radiant with smiles—and well might they smile, at our grotesque array; past great waters, and woods, and gentlemen's houses, to a common—such a common! It seems to me that it was boundless, and full of all sorts of pleasant and wonderful things. There, at the lifting of a hand, a shout broke out like the shout of an army; and we dispersed in every direction. There too, when it was time to return—a time, alas! that pounced upon us sadly too soon—a handkerchief hoisted on a pole, upon some eminence, a shout raised by a little group collected with some difficulty, became the signals of retreat; and every moment the shout swelled louder and louder; and parties of “hare-and-hounds” came panting up, all warmth and animation; and stragglers were seen toiling wearily from far-distant nooks; till the last, some embryo poet very likely, roused at the latest minute from some brook-side reverie, arriving, we marched homeward.²

¹ Howitt: 75-7.

² Howitt: 262-3.

Interestingly, Howitt tells the following, of a generation of pupils which presumably included James Pollard:

The generation of lads which preceded us had been of a bold and insubordinate cast; they seemed to us to have been “giants in the land,” and the traditions of their exploits were our themes of fear and wonder. They had elected a king—it was he who dared to climb the highest up a leaden spout in the corner of the pediment in the very centre of the main building, and there cut his initials—I observe they are there to this day. Under his orders they had committed many a daring transgression; for he was absolute. They had planned schemes of escape and put their plans into execution; but always, with one solitary exception, were brought back again and punished—a result morally certain; for, not being allowed to possess money, nor to wear hats, their appearance and purses were equally hostile to long flight.¹

As ample as this picture is, it serves only as the context for the surviving details we have specifically about James Pollard’s three years at Ackworth. At his arrival there in 1798, his reading was described as “but poorly”, and his spelling “poorly”, the arithmetic column in the register was left blank.²

The Ackworth cashier recorded that, in November that year, the three Pollard brothers, Samuel, Andrew and James, had 14s. 2d. between them. They were given a further 2s. in June 1799. Samuel left Ackworth that year, by then deemed to have done “pretty well.”³ Andrew and James received 3s. 3d. in August, 2s. in September, and 3s. in January 1800. In June 1801 they were lucky enough to receive 2s. 1d. “cash found in box”; there was a further payment of 7s. on the 25th July.⁴

The debit side is of much greater interest, for the tantalising glimpses of James’s life at Ackworth. One can see him at work in the garden: in March 1799 he spent 7d. on seeds; the following spring James or Andrew spent a shilling on a watering pot, but in August 1800 they had to pay 2d. to have it mended. In March 1801 the two boys spent 4s. 8d. on seeds, and in April 6½d on a trowel. Clearly spending plenty of time out of doors, James spent 10d. on a pair of gloves, in December 1799; then on Christmas Eve of the following year James and Andrew spent 1s. 8d. on a pair of gloves each.⁵

There is evidence of James’s schoolwork, or perhaps of his writing letters home: James spending 2½d. on paper in December 1799, James or Andrew buying ropes of wax—one for 4d. in August 1799, two for 5d. in September 1800. James had to pay 2d for the repair of a box, September 1799 but, of the two brothers, perhaps it was Andrew who had to pay a further 3d. for mending a box in July the following year.⁶

There is a suggestion that perhaps James was a little disorganized, in that he twice had to pay for a key—5d in August 1799, and 4d. again in July 1800.⁷

And finally, we see James at play: in May 1799 he spent 3d. on a top and string. The previous month he had paid 1s. 6d. for a broken window—could it be that he was being encouraged to play

¹ Howitt: 255-6.

² West Yorks Archive Service C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/3/1.

³ WYAS C678, 11/3/1.

⁴ WYAS C678, 11/13/30.

⁵ WYAS C678, 11/13/30.

⁶ WYAS C678, 11/13/30.

⁷ WYAS C678, 11/13/30.

less boisterously?¹

¹ WYAS C678, 11/13/30.

From schooldays to marriage

At Ackworth James was clearly not completely isolated from his family, as his older brother Samuel was there already, and his younger brother Andrew joined him the year Samuel left, 1799 (on arrival, Andrew read “middlingly”, spelled “poorly”, and had no arithmetic).¹

Their brother John was born at Horsham on the 1st July 1799, witnessed as usual by Mary Pollard.²

In January 1800 Samuel Pollard was again distrained for small tithes. The warrant was signed by Bysshe Shelley, the poet’s grandfather. 4 yards of Irish cloth were taken, valued at 7/6.³ In December he was distrained again, this time for church rates (‘warden’s rate’). 23 yards of Brown Irish were taken, which was in excess of the amount due, so 5/1 was returned to Samuel.⁴

In 1801 there were 48 Quakers in Horsham.⁵ Mary, Samuel, and Catherine Pollard continued to play an active part among Horsham Friends.⁶

On the 29th April that year Catherine gave birth to another boy, given the name Joseph.⁷ Their brother Thomas began school life at Ackworth that year (his reading was “but middling”, spelling “but middling”, and arithmetic “none”), but it was also in 1801 that James returned from Ackworth to Horsham, and probably met his two youngest brothers for the first time.⁸

In January and December 1802 Samuel Pollard was distrained for small tithes. In January 12 yards of Brown Holland were taken, valued at 13s., and in December 12 yards of Irish cloth, valued at 13s.; in December 10d. was returned.⁹ This year Andrew Pollard returned from Ackworth.¹⁰

From 1804 Samuel Pollard owned a property in Grub Street, Roughey (just outside Horsham). Initially recorded also as the occupier (rental £1/10/-, assessed for 5/- Land Tax), in fact he rented it first to William Burstow, and later to a Mr Humphrey (rental now £1, assessed for 4/- Land Tax). In this year he purchased another property in West Street, which from 1804 to 1832 he let to a succession of tenants (eight tenancies have been identified); the rental here was £2, assessed for 9/- Land Tax.¹¹

On the 13th April 1804 James’s grandmother Mary Pollard died at Horsham, aged about 80. She was buried in the Friends’ burial ground at Horsham on the 18th April.¹²

James’s brother Thomas left Ackworth that summer, his education not having been a great success, for the school reported of him “only little improved cannot write.”¹³

Susanna Bourn probably had two three younger siblings. Mary was born in around 1792, probably in Warnham; Stephen around 1794, also probably in Warnham; William was born in Horsham, around 1795/6.¹⁴

¹ Ackworth School Centenary Committee; WYAS C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/3/1.

² Pollard book; RG 6/714; RG 6/1134; ESRO SOF 59/4.

³ ESRO SOF 5/2; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ *Victoria County History of Sussex*, Vol. VI, Pt 2 (1986): 198.

⁶ SRC 6189 Boxes 6 & 7; ESRO SOF 1/3.

⁷ Pollard book; RG 6/714; RG 6/1134.

⁸ Ackworth School Centenary Committee; WYAS C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/3/1.

⁹ ESRO SOF 5/2; SRC 6189 Box 18.

¹⁰ Ackworth School Centenary Committee.

¹¹ WSRO QDE/2/1 (MF 637-9).

¹² RG 6/715; RG 6/1135.

¹³ WYAS C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/3/1.

¹⁴ FamilySearch; censuses; TNA: PROB 11/1576 copy will.

In 1805 Samuel Pollard was recorded as a trustee of Horsham meeting house and burial ground.¹ On the 29th May of this year James's sister Mary Ann was born at Horsham.²

Two weeks later Horsham Monthly Meeting sent a certificate of removal, in respect of James Pollard, to Dorking Monthly Meeting, in the following terms:

Dear Friends

James Pollard a Minor member of this Monthly Meeting now removed to within the Compass of yours; Believing him to be of Sober Life with desires for his preservation we recommend him to your friendly care and remain
your friends

Signed in and on behalf of Horsham Monthly Meeting held at Horsham the 12th of 6th month 1805

John Cheal, John Robinson Junr, Benjⁿ Hayllar, Jos^h Holmes Jun^r, Clerk³

The purpose and the duration of this removal to Dorking are unknown.

In September 1805 Samuel was again distrained for church rates; 16 yards of cloth were taken.⁴

By 1806 Samuel had purchased a property in North Heath, which he was letting to a Henry Groombridge; the rental was £2/5/-, assessed for 9s. Land Tax.⁵

By mid-February 1806, as appears by a certificate, James's elder brother Samuel had removed to within the compass of Gloucester monthly meeting, and was living with one Isaac Butterfield, at Tewkesbury.⁶ In August their father was again distrained for church rates, 14 yards of brown Irish being taken, to the value of 14s. 10½d.⁷

There were elections in May 1807, and Samuel Pollard senior voted in two locations, presumably on the strength of his property ownership. He voted at Lewes for the Hon. Chas W^m Wyndham (brother to the Earl of Egremont) and Warden Sergison, Esq; and at New Shoreham for Timothy Shelley, Esq., and Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, Bt, the winning candidates.⁸ According to William Albery, the historian of Horsham, in this year Samuel was recorded as a draper, the freeholder of a house in West Street almost directly opposite the Albery saddlery (at 49), rated at £20/5/-.⁹ On the 15th May 1807 was born, at Horsham, the last child in Samuel and Catherine's family, named Josiah.¹⁰ In December Samuel was distrained for church rates, and 10½ yards of Dowlas were taken, to the value of 14s. 10½d.; 9d. was returned.¹¹

In January 1808, for the first time, Samuel brought one of his sons with him to Monthly Meeting, in Horsham—Theophilus, only twelve years of age. The precedent having been set, he introduced James (aged nearly 19) to Monthly Meeting at Ifield, in May that year. Thomas accompanied his father in July, but in December James attended Monthly Meeting at Ifield, with

¹ ESRO SOF 9/1.

² Quaker birth note, now at WSRO; Pollard book; RG 6/714; RG 6/1134.

³ SRC 6189 Box 6.

⁴ ESRO SOF 5/2; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁵ WSRO QDE/2/1 (MF 637-9).

⁶ SRC 6189 Box 6.

⁷ ESRO SOF 5/2; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁸ Poll books.

⁹ Letters from William Albery to Bedford Pollard, 1927, now at WSRO. I haven't been able to locate Albery's source for this information; additionally, other evidence suggests Samuel's property in West Street was on the same side of the road as the Albery shop; as will be seen, Albery's memory doesn't seem entirely reliable.

¹⁰ Pollard book; RG 6/714; RG 6/1134; SRC 6189 Box 6.

¹¹ ESRO SOF 5/2; SRC 6189 Box 18.

his father, for a second time that year. Of James's other brothers none were by now available for this initiation: Samuel, of course, was still in Tewkesbury; and removal notes show that by August Andrew was living with one Thomas Elgar, at Arundel, and William had been bound apprentice to John Southam, a Friend in Buckingham; at nine, John would clearly have been too young.¹

Martha and John Pollard went away to Ackworth in 1809. Martha's spelling was "middling," John's "pretty good;" Martha's reading "tolerable," John's "middling;" both knew neither arithmetic nor grammar.²

Though Samuel was again distrained for church rates, in October (or possibly December) of this year (14 yards of linen taken, valued at 1 guinea)³, 1809 must have been a traumatic year for his son James, in particular, in the test to which his allegiance to Friends' principles was put. I shall let the Monthly Meeting records tell the tale directly. There are two accounts:

One friend viz James Pollard of Horsham committed to Horsham Gaol the 6th day of the 6th Month 1809 for fourteen days by a Deputy Lieutenant for refusing to serve in the local militia and was discharged the 20th day of the 6th Month.

James Pollard aged 20 Years an Assistant in his Fathers shop Drapery &c drawn the 11th of the 2nd Month 1809 for the local Militia of Horsham Fined 10[£]. Committed 6th of 6th Month 1809 for 2 Weeks to Horsham Gaol, had a Bed room to himself on the Debtors side and was treated kindly. Warrant signed N Tredcraft with evident reluctance, but which he thought himself compelled on account of suggestions by some unkind Neighbours which suggestions were quite unfounded.⁴

What these suggestions were can now only be matter for speculation. What is clear is that James was one of only two Friends in the whole of Surrey and Sussex (the other being Richard Elgar of Reigate) who were imprisoned at this time, for this offence.⁵ It seems impossible to establish, now, whether these two were exceptional for standing out for their principles in this way, whether there really were that few young Friends drawn for the local militia, or whether the two young men were in some way being victimised by the local authorities (notwithstanding Tredcraft's 'evident reluctance').

This minute, incidentally, is the only evidence we now have as to James's occupation between leaving Ackworth and setting up in business shortly before his marriage. Given the 1805 removal certificate to Dorking one might have assumed that he had taken an apprenticeship there, but if so he certainly didn't serve the customary seven years.

On the 20th March 1810 Susanna's brother Richard died, aged 21, of a cause no longer known. He was buried at Horsham General Baptist church on the 20th March.⁶

On Tuesday, the 28th March, 1809, there had been a very severe storm at Horsham, and "such an amount of rain as literally to flood the town;" and on Sunday, the 1st July, 1810, "a yet worse

¹ SRC 6189 Box 6.

² Ackworth School Centenary Committee, op. cit. WYAS C678; Ackworth School archives, 11/5/1.

³ ESRO SOF 5/2; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁴ Both in SRC 6189 Box 6.

⁵ ESRO SOF 20/1.

⁶ Maguire.

storm broke over the town and did much damage.”¹

In 1811 Martha left Ackworth, and Joseph started school there. Martha now spelled “well,” read “very well,” and was “interested” in arithmetic; she had made “Good progress” in grammar. The new arrival had “middling” spelling and was a “poor” reader, with no arithmetic or grammar.²



Sampler made at Ackworth by Martha Pollard, 1811. Now part of the Burrell Collection, in Glasgow; accession no. E1962-70.

In April Samuel j^r and Andrew left for Southampton, but returned in May. Theophilus—“an innocent well-disposed lad”—went to stay with William Swan at Dorking.³

In March 1811 James was distrained for church rates for the first time, suggesting he was now in business for himself. 26 quires of paper were taken, to the value of 15/8; 9d. was returned to him. Even after it later becomes clear that James is working as an ironmonger, it’s frequently a quantity of paper that is taken, not what one thinks of as a regular item in an ironmonger’s stock. It’s notable, however, that during the period 1800 to 1809 James’s aunt Hannah Pollard is also frequently subject to distraint, and it’s always a number of quires of paper that are taken. Since it’s clear that James later inherited Hannah’s shop in West Street (occupied by him prior to 1821, and left to him in her will in that year), it may be that, initially at least, he took over his aunt’s existing business, in which perhaps she had included stationery (by 1830 it’s certainly clear that an independent stationer was working in West Street, so James would probably have not attempted to compete).⁴ Samuel Pollard was again distrained for church rates, in August; 17 yards of calico were taken, valued at 16s.⁵

¹ Henry Burstow (1975) *Reminiscences of Horsham*. Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions (1st published 1911), Horsham: 38

² Ackworth School Centenary Committee; WYAS C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/5/1.

³ SRC 6189 Boxes 6, 17 & 18.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 18; ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1; PROB 11/1646 Q. 419; Burstow: 12-16.

⁵ ESRO SOF 5/2; SRC 6189 Box 18.

On the 28th May 1811 Elizabeth Bourn, Susanna's mother—still a resident of Warnham—died. She was buried at Horsham General Baptist church on the 31st. Some time in the next two years Susanna's father married a second time, to a woman of whom all that's known is her first name, Mary.¹

Samuel Pollard attended Ackworth General Meeting in July 1811. That summer he loaned £100 to assist with the construction costs of the new meeting house at Brighton. (Two other Friends had lent £100, and four more £50 each.)² At the Monthly Meeting in Ifield in February 1812, Samuel Pollard acted as Clerk, but this was clearly only a temporary arrangement, and he doesn't seem to have done so again.³

In January 1813 Samuel senior was distrained for church rates; 20 yards of calico were taken, valued at 17/6. The same treatment was meted out to James, from whom 26 quires of paper were taken, valued at 14/6.⁴ In February, Samuel junior returned to Horsham, as did Theophilus in March.⁵

In March 1813 James was due to attend Monthly Meeting, as appointed by Horsham preparative meeting, but he didn't do so, for a reason not explained.⁶ In view of what he knew was in the offing, this may have been expedience, or perhaps embarrassment.

On the 20th March 1813 Samuel Pollard senior purchased by auction a house and land on the road in Horsham known as the Bishopric. On the 22nd he paid the £159 deposit on the property, as well as £19/16/8 for half the duty owing on the transaction.⁷

James's brother John completed his education at Ackworth on the 28th June 1813. He now spelled "well," read "pretty well," and was "promis[ing?]" in arithmetic. His grammar was "1st class," and he received an overall remark of "Good progress."⁸

¹ RG 4/2729; will of Richard Bourn, PROB 11/1576.

² ESRO SOF 20/2.

³ SRC 6189 Box 6.

⁴ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁵ SRC 6189/17, 6189/18, & 6189 Box 6.

⁶ SRC 6189 Box 6.

⁷ WSRO Add. Mss 11010.

⁸ Ackworth School Centenary Committee; WYAS C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/5/1.

Marriage, and a new family

On the 14th April 1813 Horsham monthly meeting minuted that “James Pollard having discovered an inclination to marry contrary to the rules of our Society the following friends are appointed to visit him thereon and report viz James Chantler and Samuel West.”¹ His intentions were contrary to Friends’ rules in that his prospective bride was not a member of the Society.

On the 27th April he was granted a marriage licence in the Archdeaconry of Lewes, authorising him to marry “Susannah Brown”, spinster of Brighthelmston; he was described as a bachelor, an ironmonger from Horsham. As co-bondsman with him was named one Stephen Bourn, a gentleman of Brighthelmston.² The couple were married the same day, at St Nicholas’s parish church, in Brighton.³



On the 12th May the clerk of Horsham Monthly Meeting minuted that ‘James Chantler reports that James Pollard was Married by a Priest to a person not of our society before they had an opportunity to visit him, the friends before appointed are desired to visit him thereon and report.’⁴ For some reason—probably related more to the friends appointed than to the subject of their report—this proved difficult, and every subsequent Monthly Meeting through to July the following year (1814) included the brief note that “The minute respecting James Pollard is continued.” In September 1814 there is a further minute that “On a further consideration of the

¹ SRC 6189 Box 6.

² *Sussex Record Society* (1919) Vol. XXVI : 341, Calendar of Sussex Marriage Licences. ‘Brown’ is clearly a mistake, but whether the error was in the original or the transcript can’t now be ascertained, as the original bond has apparently been lost. ‘Susannah’ is a spelling occasionally used, with no consistency; I’ve chosen to ignore this variant. ‘Brighthelmston’ is the old name for Brighton. The identity of the Stephen Bourn of Brighthelmston remains obscure, although he was presumably closely related to Susanna.

³ ESRO PAR 255/1/3/1 (XA 30/12).

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 6.

case of James Pollard it appears the Judgement of this Meeting that it would be desirable that an addition to the number of the Friends on the appointment should be made to Visit him and appoints the following Friends for that service—Viz Samuel Crews and Joseph Sayers”. As far as surviving records are concerned, that appears to be the last that is heard of the matter.¹

On the 3rd June 1813 Samuel Pollard took a year’s lease of a property in the Bishopric, held of Charles, Duke of Norfolk, for a peppercorn rent. This appears to have been a conveyancing technicality, for on the following day (described as a draper of Horsham) he purchased the same property for £1,500. It’s unclear what relationship this bore to his Bishopric purchase in March. The June property—known as ‘Popes’—is fully described, however:

All that Messuage or Tenement Barn Stable Outhouses Garden Orchard Backsides and Premises with the Appurtenances . . . together with all those several fields parcels or Inclosures of Meadow Ground thereunto belonging and to the said Orchard Garden and Backside adjoining containing by Estimation four Acres and one Rood (more or less) . . . commonly called Popes and abut and adjoin to or near to the lands . . . now of Sir Bysshe Shelley Baronet on the East to the River there on the South to a plot of land formerly parcel of the said premises called Popes . . . and other lands belonging to . . . Peter DuCane Esq. on the West and to the said King’s Highway leading from the Market Highway Horsham . . . towards Slinfold on the North and are situate . . . in a place called the Bishoprick of Horsham . . .²

The messuage had a garden adjoining it, and a barn and rick plot on its west side. Contents of the dwelling house included grates and stores, two coppers, a dresser in the bakehouse and long shelves in the pantry and wine cellar.³ At some point (by 1828) Samuel was also paying rent for a messuage, garden and land described as part of Popes, which was actually a piece of waste, held copyhold of the Manor of Marlpost; in dimensions it was 161 ft from East to West, 19 ft wide at the East end, 23 ft wide at the West end, and lay between Samuel’s premises and the King’s highway leading to Slinfold.⁴ For the next fifteen years the property was normally assessed for £1/4/- Land Tax.⁵

Barely a week after his purchase of ‘Popes’, it appears that Samuel was in dispute with his neighbours. A hedge and ditch divided it on the South from James Briggs’s property, the ownership of which was at issue. Pollard and Briggs agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of two local carpenters. It was determined the same day—the 12th June 1813—in favour of Samuel Pollard.⁶ Perhaps in order to put their disagreements behind them, in November 1814 Samuel took the unilateral decision to cede nine inches of a newly-built wall to Briggs—a Horsham shoemaker—to prevent any possible dispute over a drip, between their two properties; on the other hand the building of the wall suggests a degree of enmity.⁷

At Monthly Meeting in December 1813 it was reported, of James’s brothers, that Thomas had removed to Witham, Essex, and Theophilus to the compass of Lewes and Chichester Monthly Meeting, while Samuel j^r announced his intended marriage; unlike James, his bride-to-be was also

¹ SRC 6189 Boxes 6 & 9.

² WSRO Add. Mss 11007.

³ WSRO Add. Mss 11013.

⁴ WSRO Add. Mss 11009 & 11011.

⁵ WSRO QDE/2/1 (MF 637-9); in 1814 it was assessed for £1/6/-.

⁶ WSRO Add. Mss 11009.

⁷ *ibid.*

a Friend, and there were no difficulties with marrying according to the practice of the Society.¹

On the 26th January 1814 Samuel Pollard j^r married Fanny Clark, at Southampton meeting. Fanny was the daughter of Joseph and Fanny Clark, of Southampton. Samuel himself was described as a draper of Horsham.²

Less than a month later—on the 21st February—James’s younger brother Andrew was married to Mary Absolam, at Poole meeting. Mary was the daughter of the later William and Elizabeth Absolam, of Poole, where William had been a draper. Andrew was described as a draper of Bishopstortford, Hertfordshire.³

In March 1814 Theophilus returned to Horsham, his position in southern Sussex “not being satisfactory”.⁴ The following month it was noted that James’s brother John had removed to “Albans” as apprentice (Quakers determinedly not recognizing sainthood!)⁵

Around the end of September or beginning of October 1814 James was especially heavily distrained by the authorities: On the one hand for church rates, for which three tea kettles, half a dozen knives & forks and two coal scuttles or scoops were taken; on the other hand for non-payment of a new local Militia fine, for which £15-worth of “Sundry articles of ironmongery” were taken (though 10s. 11d. was left in the shop). At least, on this occasion, the punishment fell short of imprisonment; possibly his married status now counted in his favour. The warrant, incidentally, was signed by Robert Hurst (as the 1811 warrant had been), who 27 years later was to be James’s landlord. At the same time both his father and his brother Samuel were distrained: his father surrendered to the constable 37 yards of calico and 14 pairs of hose, for church rates, and his brother 38½ yards of calico and 6 pairs of hose, for church rates, as well as 2 pair Irish, 3 pairs print and 12 pairs of hose for the Militia fine.⁶

This may not have amounted to the sustained attack on local Friends that appears at first sight, for in September 1814 Samuel Pollard senior was exonerated from £1.4.0 Land Tax, in respect of ‘Popes’, as certified by the Land Tax Commissioners in December.⁷

In February 1815 Samuel Pollard was again distrained for small tithes, and for the first time 7 Cwt of Hay are seized, suggesting a shift in the emphasis of Samuel’s work. Henceforth it would normally be hay that was taken.⁸

At the end of March 1815 Thomas removed to Dorking.⁹ Joseph left Ackworth on the 26th June that year; his spelling was by now “middling”, at arithmetic he had reached the “rule of three”, and his grammar was “2nd class.”¹⁰

¹ ESRO SOF 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 6.

² RG 6/196; Pollard Book.

³ RG 6/196.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 6.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁷ WSRO Add. Mss 11010.

⁸ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁹ SRC 6189/17 & 6189/18.

¹⁰ Ackworth School Centenary Committee; WYAS C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/5/1.



Susanna's father, Richard Bourn of Warnham, died on the 14th August 1815, and was buried on the 18th August at Horsham General Baptist church. Under the terms of his will—made on the 20th February 1813 and proved at London in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 12th January 1816 by two executors, one of whom was his nephew James Trower—he left the following¹:

- to his son Stephen, “All that my Messuage Barn Buildings Farm and Lands called Little Rowfold containing by Estimation twenty Acres more or less situate lying and being in the Parish of Billingshurst in the County of Sussex and now in the tenure or occupation of Levi Wadey his undertenants or Assigns”
- to his son William, “All that my Messuage Barn Buildings Farm Lands and Premises called Smithaw containing by Estimation thirteen Acres more or less situate lying and being in the Parish of Slinfold in the said County of Sussex and now in my own occupation”
- to his wife Mary, £20 p.a. paid for by Stephen and William @ £10 each
- to Mary, “All that my Messuage Garden Orchard and Premises situate ^lying and being in Warnham Street in the Parish of Warnham aforesaid which I lately purchased of William Honeywood and now in the tenure or occupation of James Ellis his Undertenants or Assigns”

¹ RG 4/2729; PROB 11/1576.

- to his daughters Susanna Bourne and Mary Harding, “All that my Messuage Buildings Malthouse Garden Orchard Croft of Land and Premises called Gwyers situate lying and being in Billingshurst aforesaid and now in the occupation of Stephen Knight his Undertenants or Assigns To hold to them my said two Daughters Susanna Bourne and Mary Harding as Tenants in Common and not as joint Tenants”
- to Stephen, “the Lease of the Farm which I ^{now} hold and occupy under Sir Bysse Shelley Baronet in the Parish of Warnham aforesaid upon condition that he take the Stock Crops and Husbandry Tackle of and belonging to the same Farm and also of and belonging to my Farm called Rowfold at a fair Valuation of two Persons one to be chosen by my said ^{Son} & the other by my said Executors”
- to his daughter Sarah Moase, £500 already given.

At the beginning of December that year Samuel Pollard was again distrained for church rates and tithes, 11 Cwt of Hay being taken, to the value of £3.6.0.¹

In March 1816 James was distrained for church rates. 29 quires of paper were taken, to the value of 14/6.² The following month Samuel Pollard—probably his brother, though the evidence is conflicting— was also distrained for rates; eight pairs of hose were taken.³

In June 1816 Thomas removed to Withen, in North Warwickshire.⁴

On the 8th September 1816, at Horsham, Susanna gave birth to the couple’s first child, who was given the name Ann. The witnesses present were S. Dendy (Accoucheur), Mary Whitmore, and James’s mother Catherine Pollard. At the registration of this birth, as of all their children, James was described as an ironmonger of Horsham (some entries add an ‘&c.’ after his trade).⁵

In September 1816 Samuel j^r was distrained for tithes; 13 pairs of hose were taken. The very next day James himself was distrained for church rates; 32 quires of paper were taken, to the value of 16s.⁶

In November 1816 Catherine Pollard was prevented by indisposition from accompanying Samuel to Monthly Meeting at Reigate. The following month Samuel j^r was also unwell, being unable for this reason to attend Monthly Meeting at Dorking, as appointed.⁷

At the end of November Samuel senior had been distrained for church rates and tithes, half a ton of hay being taken.⁸ From 1817 Samuel j^r seems to have taken over his father’s draper’s shop on West Street.⁹ At the beginning of that year his brother, the 16-year old Joseph, removed to within the compass of Gracechurch Street meeting.¹⁰

James was distrained for church rates again, in March 1817. 29 quires of paper were taken,

¹ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

² ESRO SOF 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

³ ESRO SOF 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁵ Quaker birth note now at WSRO; RG 6/714, RG 6/715, RG 6/1134, RG 6/1135; Pollard book. Given the passage of time since their marriage, it seems permissible to speculate that perhaps there had been a stillbirth or a miscarriage prior to Ann’s birth. James is, incidentally, not found among freeman admissions to the Ironmongers’ Company 1767–1848 (Guildhall Ms. 16977, Vol. 3). He is listed as an ironmonger in Pigot’s 1828 Sussex Directory and Robson’s 1838 Directory to London & Provinces.

⁶ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁷ SRC 6189 Boxes 7 & 9.

⁸ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁹ WSRO QDE/2/1 (MF 637-9).

¹⁰ SRC 6189 Box 9.

worth 14/6.¹

In April Martha removed to Southwark.²

In December 1817 Theophilus—by now apparently a farmer at Hoathdown, Piddinghoe, Sussex—was twice distrained for tithes. Altogether 3 quarters of wheat, 48 quarters of barley, and “6 fat beasts” were taken.³ In January a further 3 Qrs 6 Bushels of oats were taken from him, in lieu of church rates.⁴

On the 9th February 1818 James and Susanna’s only child, Ann, died at Horsham, aged just 18 months. She was buried in the Friends’ burial ground at Horsham on the 15th.⁵

In June and October that year James’s father was distrained for small tithe, 9½ cwt and 8 cwt of hay being taken.⁶ In July Samuel was for the first time asked to examine children at the Friends’ School in Islington, which he carried out in mid-August, as appointed.⁷

On the 6th October 1818, at Horsham, Susanna gave birth to a daughter, given the name Eliza, the Pollards’ eldest surviving child.⁸

On the 19th November that year Theophilus married Ann Lidbetter, at the meeting house at Brightelmstone. Ann was the daughter of Thomas and Susanna Lidbetter, of Lancing in Sussex, where Thomas was a farmer. Theophilus is described as a farmer of Hoathdown, Piddinghoe. His father, Samuel Pollard, is for the first time described as a yeoman, of Horsham.⁹

From 1819 to 1832 James Pollard was named in the Land Tax records as the occupier of a property in West Street. These records suggest that this property had formerly been owned and occupied by a Mrs Sarah Pollard, now deceased. She in turn appears to have been the widow of a John Pollard. Their relationship to James remains unclear, and the situation is further confused by the circumstance of James’s inheritance of a shop in West Street from his aunt Hannah, as mentioned already.¹⁰

In June 1819 Martha Pollard returned to Horsham from Southwark.¹¹

In August that year James was distrained for church rates. 30 quires of paper were taken, valued at 15/-; 6d. was returned. On this occasion it was Percy Shelley’s father, Timothy Shelley, who signed the warrant.¹²

On the 7th December James and Susanna’s eldest son, Richard, was born at Horsham.¹³

In January 1820 Samuel was distrained for church rates and tithes, 15 cwt of hay being taken.¹⁴

On the 9th February 1820—nearly seven years after her marriage, during which time one presumes she had been attending meeting for worship—Susanna Pollard applied to be received into membership of the Society of Friends. The men’s meeting appointed Joseph Holmes and Joseph Sayers to visit her and report, and the women’s meeting appointed Sarah Charman and

¹ ESRO SOF 5/2.

² SRC 6189/17 & 18, 6189 Box 9.

³ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1.

⁴ ESRO SOF 24/1.

⁵ RG 6/715 & RG 6/1135; SRC 6189 Box 9; Pollard book.

⁶ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/1; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁷ ESRO SOF 20/2.

⁸ RG 6/714 & RG 6/1134; Pollard book.

⁹ RG/6 698, Lewes & Chichester Monthly Meeting, Marriage Digest; Pollard book.

¹⁰ WSRO QDE/2/1 (MF 637-9).

¹¹ SRC 6189/17 & 18.

¹² ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/3; SRC 6189 Box 18.

¹³ RG 6/714 & RG 6/1134; SRC 6189 Box 9; Pollard book.

¹⁴ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/3; SRC 6189 Box 18.

Ann Gravely to join with them in doing so.¹ The process was to prove rather protracted, and for now I will leave the subject and move on.

On the 2nd May 1820 James's brother William married Maria Lamb, at Houndsditch, London. Maria was a widow, the daughter of John and Elizabeth Batger, of Bishopsgate Street in the City of London, where John was a confectioner; her first husband, Joseph Lamb, had died in 1817. At this date William Pollard described himself as a surgeon, of Blackfriars Road, Surrey.²

Barely two months later, on the 29th June William's elder brother Thomas married Persis Ann Andrews, at St Olave's, Southwark.³

In October that year John Pollard returned to Horsham from St Albans, but this was only temporary, as he returned there in November.⁴

In December James's aunt Hannah Pollard made her will, appointing James as an executor, as well as a beneficiary.⁵ More of this anon. Interestingly, one of the witnesses was Susanna's sister Sarah, who had married a farmer from Lindfield, Sussex, by the name of Richard Moase, on the 15th January 1812, at Warnham.⁶

Since February 1820, the delays over Susanna's membership application had been reflected in repeated notes to the effect saying no more than "The minute respecting Susanna Pollard continued".⁷ At the beginning of 1821 the committee brought in the following report:

We the Committee appointed by the Monthly Meeting to Visit Sussanna Pollard on her application to be received into Membership report—that we have had an opportunity with her—and feeling desirous of renewing our visit on some future season—request If the Meeting feel no objection to be continued a little longer on the appointment.⁸

Soon afterwards, however, a further report is received:

We the Committee appointed by the Monthly Meeting to visit Susannah Pollard on her application to be received into membership; Report that we have attended thereto, and that it's our Judgment; the subject had better be deffered to some future period; are therefore request to be discharged from this appointment.

The reasons for the deferral are quite unclear, but the committee were accordingly discharged. In July Women's Monthly Meeting appointed Mary Crews and Hannah Prier, and in August the men's meeting appointed William Swan, Samuel Crews and Joseph Holmes, to form a new committee to visit Susanna and report. It's interesting that the committee includes one more body this time, perhaps so as to ensure continuity by retaining Joseph Holmes, as the only one of the original four to continue in this service. Anyway, finally on the 12th September 1821 Monthly Meeting records the following:

The friends appointed to visit Susannah Pollard report, they have had an opportunity with her, which was satisfactory to their minds; believing her to be convinced of friends

¹ SRC 6189 Boxes 7 & 9.

² Pollard book; RG 6/5.

³ Pollard book; Surrey Marriages, at Find My Past.

⁴ SRC 6189/17 & 18, and Box 9.

⁵ PROB 11/1646 Q. 419.

⁶ PROB 11/1646 Q. 419; PROB 11/2138; West Chilmington parish register.

⁷ SRC 6189 Box 7.

⁸ SRC 6189/155.

principles, and she expressed her continued desire to be united in membership with them; This meeting having weightily considered the Subject is of the judgment that the said Susannah Pollard be received into membership with us and she's hereby received accordingly; Joseph Holmes is requested to inform her thereof and report.¹

In 1821 Samuel Pollard attended Yearly Meeting in London, as he was to do in 1822.²

On the 13th July 1821 James Pollard and his father went to London to take probate, as joint executors, of Hannah Pollard's will. The executors were left her messuages, gardens and hereditaments at Broadbridge Heath, Sussex, to sell to defray expenses, and to contribute to the residuary estate. And, under the terms of her will, was left "all that messuage or tenement and hereditaments with the appur~ situate in the West Street Horsham now in his occupation with all the fixtures therein to hold to my said nephew James Pollard his heirs and assigns for ever." Other members of the family were also beneficiaries: Samuel j^r and Andrew were left £200 each, while Thomas, William, Theophilus, Martha, John, Joseph, Frederick, Mary Ann and Josiah (i.e. all Samuel's other children) were each left $\frac{1}{9}$ of her residuary estate. Hannah's wearing apparel was left to the two daughters.³

On the 21st August John Pollard removed to Reading.⁴

At this period a child was not considered a 'birthright' Friend unless *both* its parents were in membership. For this reason little Ann died without ever becoming a member⁵, and the two infant members of James and Susanna's family could not claim membership (or have it claimed on their behalf) until their mother's application was successfully concluded. However, little time was wasted after this happened, for Eliza and Richard were both received into membership on the 2nd October 1821.⁶

In November James's brother Frederick moved to within the compass of Lewes and Chichester Monthly Meeting.⁷

In December James was distrained for church rates. On this occasion 1 oval pot and 2 copper tea kettles were taken, valued at £1/2/9d.; 4/- were left at the shop.⁸

On the 16th June 1822 Susanna gave birth, at Horsham, to a daughter, given the name of Emma. The event was witnessed by Stephen Dendy (accoucheur), Mary Booker, and an illiterate Sarah Studwick.⁹

The beginning of July saw a memorable event in the social history of Horsham. According to Henry Burstow:

A . . . celebration took place in 1822, my father told me, upon the coming-of-age of Robert Aldridge, Esq., of St. Leonard's Forest. Everybody who chose to go was most generously entertained. These festivities lasted a week, beginning on Monday, the 1st July. The Church bells were rung every day. Tuesday was the great day, when 7,000 people were

¹ SRC 6189 Boxes 7 & 9.

² ESRO SOF 20/2; these are the only occasions identified from the local records, but the typescript 'List of Representatives to London Yearly Meeting 1760–1861', held at Friends' House Library, includes Samuel's name among the representatives from Horsham in 1796, 1798, 1809, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1824, 1829, 1831, 1833 & 1834, additionally.

³ PROB 11/1646 Q.419.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁵ RG 6/715.

⁶ SRC 6189 Box 8.

⁷ SRC 6189/17 & 18.

⁸ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/3; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁹ Quaker birthnote at WSRO; RG 6/714 & RG 6/1134; SRC 6189 Box 9; Pollard book.

present. A huge baron of beef, 35 stone, was roasted in the open air. Between 700 and 800 sat down to dine at two tables, one 150 feet long, and another, horseshoe-shaped, 320 feet long, both under canvas. . . . Amusements of all kinds, donkey racing, walking the bowsprit, climbing the greasy pole, were provided, as were also many hogsheads of ale, and at 10 o'clock at night 'twas impossible to walk in any direction without stumbling over the inanimate devotees of "John Barleycorn"; the most prevalent idea of the scene was said to be that of the dead and dying on the field of Waterloo.¹

It seems unlikely that any of the Pollard family would have participated in the festivities, but they could scarcely have been unaware of them.

That summer James's brother Josiah moved to Northampton.² In December Frederick returned to Horsham.³

From 1823 the Land Tax records show James as the owner, as well as the occupier, of a property on West Street, assessed for 8s. Land Tax. This was presumably the shop inherited from Hannah Pollard.⁴

Early in January 1823, for the first time, Catherine Pollard, James's mother, was appointed to examine children at the Friends' School, Islington Road.⁵

On the 27th March 1823 John Pollard married Emma Whiting, at the Friends' meeting house in Reading. Emma was the daughter of the late Thomas and Mary Whiting of Reading, where Thomas had worked as an umbrella maker. At this date John was working as a brewer, and residing in Kensington. By the following year, however, he had taken up his late father-in-law's profession, and for the rest of his life worked as an umbrella maker.⁶

In April James attended Monthly Meeting at Capel, Sussex—the first Monthly Meeting he'd attended for 15 years, at least as far as surviving records relate.⁷ A week later his father was again distrained for tithes, 25 trusses of hay being taken.⁸

In July 1823 William Cobbett visited Horsham, on one of his Rural Rides. I will have more to say of Horsham presently, but Cobbett seems worth quoting here. He wrote:

This is a very nice, solid, country town. Very clean, as all the towns in Sussex are. The people very clean. The Sussex women are very nice in their dress and in their houses. The men and boys wear smock-frocks more than they do in some counties. When country people do not, they always look dirty and comfortless. This has been a pretty good day; but there was a *little rain* in the afternoon; so that *St Swithin* keeps on as yet, at any rate. The *hay* has been spoiled here, in cases where it has been cut: but, a great deal of it is not yet cut. I speak of the *meadows*; for the clover-hay was all well got in. The grass, which isn't cut, is receiving great injury. It is, in fact, in many cases, rotting upon the ground. As to corn, from Crawley to Horsham, there is none worth speaking of. What there is very good, in general, considering the quality of the soil. It is about as backward as at Worth: the barley and oats *green*, and the wheat beginning to change colour.⁹

¹ Burstow: 45-6.

² SRC 6189/17 & 18 and Box 9.

³ SRC 6189/17 & 18.

⁴ WSRO QDE/2/1 (MF 637-9).

⁵ ESRO SOF 22/2.

⁶ RG 6/5; RG 6/7; Edward H. Milligan (2007) *Biographical Dictionary of British Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775–1920*, York: Sessions Book Trust.

⁷ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁸ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/3; SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁹ William Cobbett (1830 [1967]) *Rural Rides* London, Penguin: 114.

On the 21st August Martha Pollard married William Treadwell, at Horsham meeting. William Treadwell was described as a cheesemonger &c. of Kensington, son of the late John Treadwell of Burford, Oxfordshire, miller, and his wife Elizabeth.¹ Martha was the only one of James's siblings to marry at Horsham, and it seems reasonable to suppose that James and Susanna were present, along with James's parents.

In September James and his father attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking.² Susanna attended Women's Monthly Meeting at Horsham the following month.³

In December Joseph removed to Hull.⁴

Susanna gave birth to another daughter on the 30th December 1823, at Horsham. Present at Martha's birth were Stephen Dendy (accoucheur), Mary Booker, and Harriott Penfold.⁵

James and his father attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking in March 1824.⁶ A fortnight later Catherine again examined the children at the Friends' school, Islington Road.⁷

In June 1824 Samuel Pollard senior sold his drapery business on West Street to one John Browne, for £200 plus the value of his stock in trade, as independently valued; the lease would run from the following Michaelmas. Browne was to pay half of the cost as a down payment, then a further quarter after 3 months, and the balance after six.⁸

At the beginning of July James was distrained for church rates. 30 quires of paper were taken, to the value of 15/9 (on this occasion 3d. short of the sum the authorities claimed).⁹ In August he again attended Monthly Meeting, this time at Ifield, where his mother also attended Women's Monthly Meeting.¹⁰ He attended Monthly Meeting in Reigate in November; this time his father was prevented from attending by indisposition.¹¹

In mid January 1825 Samuel and Fanny Pollard and their young family removed to Southampton; this was not permanent, though it isn't clear when they returned.¹² In this year Theophilus was disowned by Lewes and Chichester monthly meeting, for failure to pay just debts.¹³

On the 19th June 1825 Monthly Meeting appointed Catherine Pollard as an Overseer.¹⁴ In August, while Catherine attended Women's Monthly Meeting at Ifield, James represented Horsham Friends at Monthly Meeting there.¹⁵

James and Susanna had another daughter in January 1826—Mary, born in Horsham on the 18th of that month.¹⁶ Sadness soon followed, however, for on the 4th February little Emma died, aged

¹ Pollard book; RG 6/698; RG 6/700.

² SRC 6189 Box 9.

³ SRC 6189 Box 7.

⁴ SRC 6189/17 & 18.

⁵ Quaker birthnote now at WSRO; Pollard book; RG 6/714 & RG 6/1134. RG 6/1134 gives the date of her birth as the 13th of December.

⁶ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁷ ESRO SOF 22/2.

⁸ S.G.H. Freeth, I.A. Mason, and P.M. Wilkinson (1995): *A Catalogue of the Horsham Museum Mss.* Chichester: West Sussex County Council. Horsham Museum Ms 808(2).

⁹ ESRO SOF 5/2 & 24/3, SRC 6189 Box 18.

¹⁰ SRC 6189 Boxes 7 & 9.

¹¹ SRC 6189 Box 9.

¹² SRC 6189 Boxes 8 & 9; they had certainly returned by the beginning of 1829.

¹³ Oats index to Quakers in Australia (LRSF), citing minutes of Lewes & Chichester monthly meeting, at ESRO.

¹⁴ SRC 6189 Box 7.

¹⁵ SRC 6189 Boxes 7 & 9.

¹⁶ Pollard book; RG 6/714 & RG 6/1134.

a little over 3½. She was buried in the Friends' burial ground at Horsham on the 12th February.¹

In March James accompanied his father to Monthly Meeting at Dorking.²

Samuel Pollard senior voted in the parliamentary election of the 7th June 1826.³

In June James attended Monthly Meeting at Capel, while his sister Mary Ann attended Women's Monthly Meeting. Susanna accompanied Catherine Pollard to Women's Monthly Meeting at Capel in July, and James attended Monthly Meeting again at Ifield, in August.⁴

James represented his monthly meeting at the Quarterly Meeting at Horsham, on the 12th January 1827—the first time he had been given this responsibility.⁵ He attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking, with Mary Ann, in March, and attended the next Quarterly Meeting in Brighton in April.⁶ Susanna went to Women's Monthly Meeting at Capel that month.⁷

On the 14th November, at Monthly Meeting at Reigate, James was appointed, with Joseph Holmes, to examine Friends' records for Horsham, and report.⁸ They made their report at the Monthly Meeting at Ifield on the 5th March 1828.⁹ James attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking in September 1828, and again, with his father, at Reigate in November. On the latter occasion he was one of five individuals appointed by the Monthly Meeting to ascertain the number of children aged under 8 who were children of Members, but not Members themselves.¹⁰

On the 10th June 1828, at Horsham, Susanna gave birth to another son, William Pollard. Witnesses at the birth were W^m Rickwood (surgeon), Mary Ann Pollard and Harriott Penfold.¹¹ This year the Pollards' eldest surviving child, Eliza, went away to Ackworth School. Admitted on the 25th July, aged 9¾, her spelling and reading were "middling," in arithmetic she knew subtraction, and grammar she had none.¹² On the 12th October Josiah Pollard, of Newington, Surrey, married Mary Marriott, daughter of William Marriott, silversmith, at Holy Sepulchre church, Cambridge.¹³

In February 1829 James and his father attended Monthly Meeting at Reigate, while his mother attended Women's Monthly Meeting.¹⁴ This was to be the last occasion on which James represented Horsham Friends for more than ten years. A dark cloud was about to descend on this young family.

On the 8th July 1829 the clerk to Monthly Meeting recorded the following minute:

The overseers of Horsham informed this meeting of a report that James Pollard has been guilty of a criminal connection with a young woman who lived with him as a servant, this meeting appoints William Swan and John Robinson to visit him and report

¹ Pollard book; RG 6/714, RG 6/715, & RG 6/1135.

² SRC 6189 Box 9.

³ Letters from William Albery to Bedford Pollard, 1927, now at WSRO.

⁴ SRC 6189 Boxes 7 & 9.

⁵ ESRO SOF 20/3.

⁶ SRC 6189 Box 9; ESRO SOF 20/3.

⁷ SRC 6189 Box 7.

⁸ SRC 6189 Box 9; ESRO SOF 20/3.

⁹ ESRO SOF 20/3.

¹⁰ SRC 6189 Box 9.

¹¹ Quaker birth note now at WSRO; *Illustrated London News* family record, now at WSRO; Pollard book; RG 6/714 & RG 6/1127.

¹² Ackworth School Centenary Committee, op cit. West Yorks Archive Service C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/5/2.

¹³ Pollard book; *Northampton Mercury*, 1828-10-18; *Leicester Journal*, 1828-10-24; Cambridge Marriage Licences.

¹⁴ SRC 6189 Box 9.

to next meeting.¹

A month later, on the 12th August, Monthly Meeting received the report:

John Robinson reports that W^m Swan and himself have visited James Pollard according to their appointment, that he acknowledged the fact as reported at last meeting, and said he was sensible of the disgraces he had brought on himself and the society. This meeting deeply feeling the reproach brought on our religious society by such grossly immoral conduct cannot but testify against it, and appoints Thomas Elgar and John Robinson to prepare a testimony of disownment against the said James Pollard and bring to next meeting.²

Finally, on the 9th September:

The friends appointed to prepare a testimony of disownment against James Pollard, brought one to this meeting which was read and approved and is as follows

This meeting being informed that it was reported a young woman late a servant of James Pollard of Horsham was with child by him the said James Pollard Friends were accordingly appointed to visit him and enquire into the case; and the said friends state they have visited him and have reason to believe the report is true. This meeting therefore for the clearing of truth doth testify against such disgraceful and sinful conduct and hereby disowns the said James Pollard as a member of our religious society; desiring at the same time that he may truly repent of his misconduct and be brought into that state of contrition in which alone forgiveness of sins is to be obtained.

Dorking & Horsham monthly meeting held at Dorking the 9th Day of the 9th Month 1829. Joseph Holmes is appointed to hand it to James Pollard and report.³

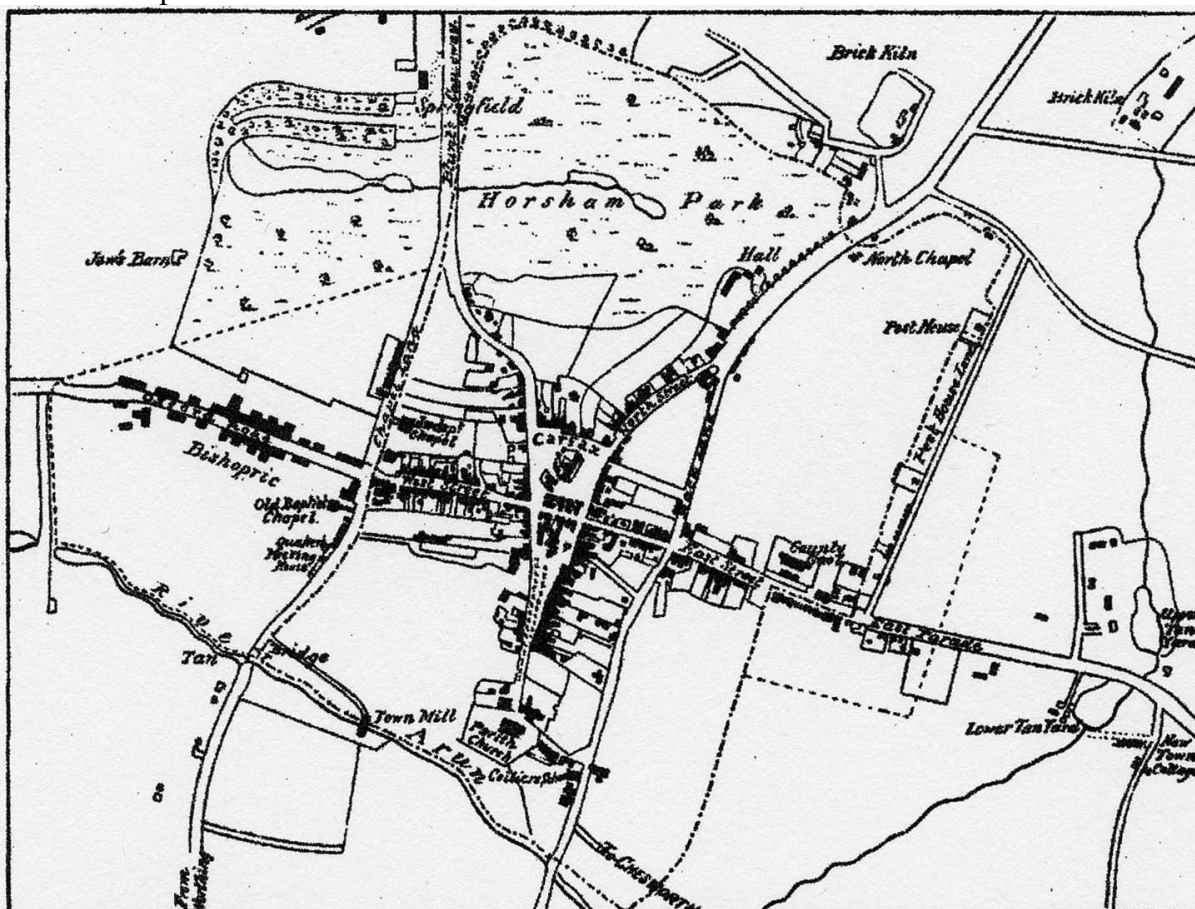
¹ SRC 6189 Box 9.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.* There is no record anywhere of the servant's name, or of whether (or when) the child was born. Bastardy bonds don't survive for Horsham at this date. The Horsham register, however, records the baptisms of a handful of illegitimate children for whom no father is named, at dates consistent with what is known. They are as follows: George Henry Baker, son of Ellen Baker (30th September 1829); Anne Eldridge, daughter of Harriet Eldridge (18th October 1829); William Stenning, son of Frances Stenning (13th December 1829); James Vowls, son of Mary Vowls (8th March 1830); Robert, son of Mary Langley (3rd April 1830). In view of the given name, James Vowls seems the strongest candidate. That said, there is of course no reason why the child could not have been born in another parish.

Horsham

The advent of this watershed in the Pollard family seems a good point (if in fact it's not already overdue) to stand back for a moment and look at Horsham itself, the town which served as a backdrop to almost the entire lives of James and Susanna.



MAP OF HORSHAM. 1831 (The thick dotted lines show the boundary of the old Borough; these, with the thin dotted lines, show the boundary of the Borough and Town)

Horsham, and the adjacent Warnham, are in Singlecross Hundred, in the Rape of Bramber, in what is now West Sussex. Horsham included 10,741 acres of land, and Warnham a further 4960. Between 1801 and 1851 the population of Horsham grew from 3204 to 5947; that of Warnham from 680 to 1016. There was apparently a large increase in Horsham's population in the 1810s, perhaps on account of the inclosure of 1812-13.¹

Pigot's 1828 Directory of Sussex said Horsham

Is a respectable market and borough town, situated on the main road to Worthing, from which it is distant twenty miles, thirty-six from London, twenty-one from Brighton, and eight from Crawley. It is in a most luxuriant part of the county of Sussex, with excellent turnpike roads branching in every direction. A very considerable trade has been carried on here, which has in some degree declined since the removal of the barracks; but its great thoroughfare situation ensures it a certain consequence and trade, and gives it an air of liveliness, superior to most other towns in the neighbourhood.²

¹ *Victoria County History of Sussex*, Vol. II: 219; Vol. VI, Pt 2 (1986): 147.

² Pigot's 1828 Directory of Sussex.

In the earlier 19th century the town centre of Horsham remained surprisingly rural, with many trees in the streets, and with gardens, orchards, and other open land among the buildings. West Street, though it was said in 1831 to have only four buildings over one storey in height, was the chief trading street. Bishopric, where Samuel Pollard lived at this time, had declined in status during the preceding century, and by this time was actually the roughest quarter of Horsham; known locally as the ‘Rookery’, it was inhabited chiefly by small tradesmen and labourers. An open ditch or sewer ran down the south side of it, with here and there a rough stone bridge over to give access to the old cottages lying back on that side of the road.¹

Landholding in Horsham was dominated by five great estates divided into leased farms. The Hurst estates both north and south of the town included seven farms in the 1820s, of which the largest were Parsonage and Park farms, of around 300 and 145 acres respectively.² Horsham had a reputation as a wheat growing centre, but prices were very unsteady, fluctuating sometimes violently between £12 and £45 per load in Horsham Market. Since most tradespeople and cottagers made all the bread the family ate, this was a problem for many.³

At the beginning of the 20th century Henry Burstow looked back to the Horsham of his childhood, in the 1820s and 1830s:

The ground plan of the old Borough and Town still exists, almost unaltered, within the present Urban District area, and the Causeway, the Bishopric, and here and there in other parts a single house, or perhaps two or three houses together, remain much as they were, but the Streets now hardly seem the same. All the shops were low pitched, very little attempt at display of goods was made in the small windows, all fitted with small panes of glass. Some few tradesmen “illuminated” at night, but only with tallow dips or rushlights. The doors were mostly divided laterally in halves. Some, the more modern, were divided vertically, a few, later, had glass in the upper portions, but as yet there was not a bit of plate glass in the town.

Tradesmen did not keep a large amount of ready-made goods on sale in their shops. Most of them were master craftsmen actually at work with their men upon goods ordered, or substantial necessities; proud of their work, at which they put in many hours, and content to remain active at it till they reached a ripe old age, instead of being mere distributors of other people’s productions, as most shopkeepers are to-day. Many trades were flourishing then that are extinct, or nearly so, now. Hats, as well as clothes, chairs and tables, and other household furniture, pattens, baskets, brooms, ropes, spun yarns and twines, leather . . . , carriages and harness, saddles and collars, tobacco pipes, baskets, mats, tinware, and other household requisites, all the boots and shoes, leggings and gloves, besides clothes and underwear, were actually manufactured, of course, by hand; stocks consisting of raw material and partly-made goods. Two shop fronts only, Nos. 50 and 51, West Street, are the same now as they were 80 years ago, and nearly every name in the street has changed or vanished, only one remains the same, on the same spot. West Street was then, as now, the principal thoroughfare. I give a list of every tradesman and resident in it about 1830, the houses were then unnumbered, but I commence at the top and go down the names on their respective sides:—⁴

¹ *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Pt 2 (1986): 138; Burstow: 10.

² *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Pt 2 (1986): 169.

³ Burstow: 12-3.

⁴ Burstow, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-5.



WEST STREET, ABOUT 1855.

NORTH SIDE

Medwin, lawyer
Ireland, Miss, fancy shop
Aldridge, W., painter
Washer, bootmaker
Cox, tailor
Uwins, harness maker
Millward, Mrs., independent
Pickett, ironmonger
Putland, "Castle Inn"
Muzzell, clocksmith
Hunt, printer
Sadler, "Swan Inn"
Goldsmith, upholsterer
Henley, corn dealer
Albery, harness maker
Sharp, G., corn dealer
Wood, china shop
Millward Bros., grocers
Pollard, draper and tinman
Richardson, upholsterer
Griffiths, Mrs., private
Tanner, barber
Pickett, wood-turner
Sayers, baker
Boyne, draper
Sharp, W., gentleman
Smallwood, carpenter
Lucas, corn dealer
Potter, stonemason

SOUTH SIDE

Knight, tailor
Stanford, draper
Lintott, butcher
Lintott, private house
Humphrey, bootmaker
Warner, hatter
Thorpe, draper
Brown, Mrs., independent
Knight, grocer
Gilburd, Miss, confectioner
Laker, Jos., bootmaker
Spratley, fellmonger
Whitham, stationer, &c.
Laker, bootmaker
Dower, Mrs. General shop
Browne, draper
Bromley, clocksmith
Higgins, currier
Chatfield, confectioner
Wood, china shop
Goodbarn, chemist
Lintott, Misses, private
Turner, wood-turner
Chambers, butcher
Etherton, ironmonger
Cottington, fruit shop
Dendy, corn merchant
Burstow, carpenter
Harms & Aldridge, painters
Murrell, horse dealer
Robinson, Mrs., "Black Horse"

The roads in the town and neighbourhood were very bad in winter. There was no steam-roller for road-making or repairing. Flints were put down, usually at the end of autumn, where thought to be wanted, and gradually worked in by the traffic. The country bye-roads were, of course, worse, and frequently quite impassable. Up to about 1840 turnpike roads only were hard. Like other people, my father, in travelling round the country roads, would sometimes find the wheels of his cart sunk in the mud up to the boxes, and be forced to borrow a farmer's horse to pull them out. Waggons always carried a spade for scraping the wheels, which, coming from a bye-road to the turnpike road, would sometimes be covered and filled in with clay or mud, looking like mill-stones. Sometimes it would take nine or ten horses to get a loaded waggon out of a bad road or up a steep hill. . . . The pavements or causeways of the town, too, were but very indifferently laid and maintained; not that the town was unable to pave its street well had the authorities chosen to do so, for Horsham stone was plentiful and famous for roofing and paving. It was quarried in large quantities, but shoemakers always go the worst shod; Horsham sent most of its stone—and that the best—away to other places.

The amount of vehicular traffic through the town was considerable, though of course not to be compared to that of to-day, and not sufficient even in West Street to prevent us boys playing marbles there. Several four-horse coaches, to and from London, Brighton, Worthing, Oxford, Reading, and Windsor passed through the town daily, calling at the "King's Head," "Anchor," and "Crown." In 1833 Horsham started its own direct London Coach, "The Star," which set out from the "Swan," in West Street, every morning except Sunday all the year round, at 7 a.m. punctually; reached the "Old Bell Inn," Holborn, at 11.45 a.m., started the return journey at 3.15 p.m., and arrived back at the Swan at 8 p.m.

. . .

Many four-horse, and sometimes six-horse, farmers and carriers' waggons, laden with corn, barley, coal, timber, stone, groceries, and many other commodities, some fetching their loads from the Canal at West Grinstead, some from that at Newbridge, Billingshurst, more than equalled in bulk the other kinds of traffic, to which must be added that of the many farmers, professional gentlemen, and tradesmen who rode horseback; of the few yoked oxen going along very steadily and very, very slowly, and of the many dog carts that were in vogue for some years.¹

As Burstow recalled:

Three events every year were always looked forward to and well kept up when I was a boy, and for many years afterwards. They were May Day, July Fair, and 5th November Bonfire Day . . .

The business part of the fair was confined to one day only, but the pleasure fair lasted any number of days from three to nine. It began always on the 18th July, and if that fell on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday, the fair finished on the following Saturday; but if it fell on Friday it began on that day and continued till the following Saturday week. On these days the country people flocked into the town by hundreds and thousands. The Carfax, from North Street right down to the Town Hall, from London Road to South Street, and from East Street to West Street, the whole available space was covered with all sorts of booths, shows, cheapjacks, roundabouts (chiefly worked with a winch by hand), and shooting galleries; boxing and acrobatic performances; fat women and living skeleton shows; drinking booths, pickled salmon tents, whelk and fruit stalls, all doing brisk business with crowds of people the day long.²

¹ Burstow: 19-21.

² *ibid.*: 71.

The July business fair was a sheep fair, and the November fair a colt fair. In the first half of the nineteenth century these fairs even saw the occasional sale of a wife, with a halter round her neck; Burstow notes three such occasions, in 1820, 1825 and 1844.¹

From this point on, events in Horsham will be described in their chronological context.

¹ *ibid.*: 73.

In the cold

Notwithstanding the disownment, the Pollard children had their own lives to live, and almost at the very time matters came to a head, Richard started his school life at Ackworth. On admittance there at 9¾, on the 11th September 1829, his spelling was “middling,” his reading “simple but without cadence,” in arithmetic he could do “simple compd division”, and he knew “a little” grammar.¹

James was not the only member of his family to have difficulties at this time. In May of 1829 Monthly Meeting received a report from the Women’s meeting, regarding James’s sister-in-law, his brother Samuel’s wife Fanny: “Women friends have the painful necessity of informing the men’s meeting of the delinquency of Fanny Pollard of excess in drinking who has been many times privately visited unavailingly.” Women’s meeting were asked to visit Fanny, and report further.² The problem continued, further visits were made, and in November another report was requested.³ In January 1830 ‘The friends appointed to visit Fanny Pollard report they have had an opportunity with her and she persists in denying the charge.’ The case was left in the care of the meeting overseers.⁴

Around this time, Samuel Pollard senior—whom Henry Burstow remembered as “a generous old quaker”—paid for Burstow’s first year of schooling. From 1804 to 1817 a William Burstow—perhaps Henry’s father—had been a tenant of Samuel’s, in a property of his in Roughy. One can only speculate as to whether this was the act of a philanthropic (former) landlord, or that of a family friend.⁵

This is probably as good time as any to relate another anecdote relating to Samuel Pollard, in the early 1830s, as reported by Horsham’s historian William Albery:

About the same time one Waterman . . . might frequently have been seen going round the town with buckets of hogwash suspended from a yoke. There was not a large quantity of hogwash as each bucket had a false bottom in which was concealed, very suitably, a “pig” [2 gallon cask] of spirits. Shielded by the humble circumstances suggested by his buckets of hogwash and his occupation—that of ostler to Quaker Pollard—Waterman did a high-class trade having among his patrons Magistrates of the Horsham Bench, it was said, as well as the vicar of the Parish.⁶

On the 8th March 1830 a murder was committed at the Queen’s Head Inn, Horsham. At the end of that month one Harry Hewett was found guilty of manslaughter at Horsham assizes. He was sentenced to transportation to Bermuda for life, but in fact returned to Horsham after ten years.⁷

In June 1830 Samuel Pollard was distrained for church rates and tithes; a ton of hay was taken.⁸

¹ Ackworth School Centenary Committee; West Yorks Archive Service C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/5/2.

² SRC 6189 Box 9.

³ loc. cit.

⁴ SRC 6189 Boxes 8 & 9.

⁵ Letter from William Albery to Bedford Pollard 15th December 1937, now at WSRO; Burstow: 22; Burstow says Pollard lived at “The Druids”, in the Bishopric; Horsham historian Susan Cabell Djabri, in discussion with myself, believes ‘Popes’ to have been an earlier name for The Druids, which was a well-known property in Bishopric, demolished in the 20th century.

⁶ William Albery (1947) *A Millennium of Facts in the History of Horsham and Sussex 947–1947*, Horsham: 505.

⁷ Burstow: 24-5.

⁸ ESRO SOF 24/5; SRC 6189 Box 18. I should acknowledge, here, that whilst I am recording every instance of distraint against James Pollard, I am being selective in reporting distraint against his father, and am usually omitting altogether distraint against his brothers.

It may have been on the 26th July 1830 that Samuel Pollard senior purchased the Tiger Inn at Lindfield, Sussex, which was sold by auction on that date; he's known to have owned this inn some ten years later.¹

On the 30th July 1830 there was a parliamentary election. A contemporary electors' list recorded of James and his father that they "Won't vote at all, certainly not for Lord Surrey, may perhaps for Lord George".²

Towards the end of 1830 Horsham took a notable role in the agricultural unrest that swept the south of England. Though primarily a rising by agricultural labourers, in which urban radicals played little part, Horsham was one of the main exceptions to this. In the 1810s petitions had been sent to parliament, from Horsham, in favour of 'reform', and against the slave trade, and the town evidently had a strong radical and republican tradition. In the case of the 1830-1 labourers' revolt, townspeople of Horsham were actively supportive, distributing handbills as far north as Dorking, and earning Horsham the description of "a hotbed of sedition".³

The events in Horsham began with the receipt on the 13th November, by local farmers, of threatening ('Swing') letters.⁴ Three days later there were fires in the Horsham district. The climax was a riotous meeting in the parish church, when the labourers forced the assembled householders and gentry to accept their demand for lower tithes and a basic wage of 2s. 6d. a day. The labourers had allies among the farmers, who, the county's High Sheriff wrote to Peel, "are known secretly to be promoting the assembling of the people." A lurid and horrified account of what took place in the vestry on the afternoon of the 18th November was given by a local lady in a letter sent the next day to a young correspondent:

A vestry was appointed to be held in the afternoon, but early in the morning a large party assembled, and strengthened their numbers by *forcing* work people of every description to join them, both from this and the adjoining parishes, and at 3 o'clock they went in an immense body to the Church, where they insisted on being met by Mr. Simpson & the land owners.

John Brown, Constable of Horsham, wrote: "As the Church clock struck three, a party with a flag made of two handkerchiefs hoisted upon an ash twig, about fifteen feet long appeared coming up the West Street".⁵ To resume the previously mentioned account:

They went in a large body for Mr. Hurst (who holds the great tithes), and as he endeavoured to excuse himself they seized a chariot from the King's Head yard and dragged it up to this house, but luckily he had just set off, supported by his 2 sons. All these gentlemen were stationed at the altar to receive the demands of this lawless multitude, who I suppose occupied every tenable place within the walls, and by their shouts & threatening language shewing their total disregard for the sanctity of the place. I am ashamed to say the farmers encouraged the labouring classes who required to be paid 2s. 6d. pr day, while the farmers called for a reduction of their rents & the tithes one half. Mr. Simpson in a very proper manner gave an account of the revenues of his living, and after shewing that he did not clear more than £400 per ann^m promised to meet the gentlemen & farmers, & to make such a reduction as they could reasonably expect. Mr. Hurst held out so long that it was feared blood would be shed. The doors were shut till

¹ *Sussex Advertiser*; PROB 11/1951 q. 637.

² WSRO Add. Ms 2655.

³ *Victoria County History of Sussex*, Vol. VI, Pt 2 (1986): 132; foreword by A.E. Green & Tony Wales to Burstow: x-xii.

⁴ E.J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé (1969) *Captain Swing*, London: Lawrence & Wishart: 318.

⁵ Albery, *Millennium*: 556.

the demands were granted; no lights were allowed, the iron railing that surrounds the monuments torn up, and the sacred boundary between the chancel & altar overleaped before he would yield; at last the 3 points were gained & happily without any personal injury. The Church is much disfigured. Money was afterwards demanded at different houses for refreshment &, if not obtained with ease, the windows were broken.¹

Burstow was to recall that, between 1831 and 1834, no fewer than five young men were hanged at Horsham, for rick firing at various places in Sussex.²

Around 1830 or 1831 an apprentice working for James Pollard, by the name of William Hawkins Heath, left his employ rather precipitately, and without James's consent. Heath was a young Friend, but the circumstance of his leaving apparently escaped the attention of local overseers until 1833. Friends were appointed to visit Heath, reporting in June that year in the following terms:

On enquiry of W H Heath the reason for his leaving his situation at Horsham before the expiration of his apprenticeship he said it was because he was not comfortable in it, and a circumstance having occurred in his Masters family which made the place objectionable, his friends concurred with his leaving and endeavoured to settle the matter amicably with his Master.

Heath had removed to the vicinity of Alton Monthly Meeting, and was subsequently to sail for Van Diemens Land.³ Given the timing of his departure, it's perhaps not unreasonable to speculate that the "circumstance" which occurred in his Master's family was either James Pollard's disownment, or the seduction of the maidservant that gave rise to it, or both. Could it be, too, that there had been some prior relationship between Heath and the servant, or that he had aspired to a relationship of this sort, and that the discovery of James's affair had dashed his hopes?

In January 1831 James's youngest sister Mary Ann gave notice of her intended marriage. On the 24th February, at Horsham, she married Robert Hayllar, a grocer from Newport Pagnall. Robert was described as the son of Tho^s and Mary Ann Hayllar, Thomas being a shopkeeper in Southwark.⁴

The coronation of William IV took place on the 15th September 1831, a general holiday, and the occasion of great festivities:

The celebration here commenced with the ringing of the Church bells, which continued on and off all day. There was a procession round the town, headed by the band, in the afternoon, and a public dinner at the King's Head Hotel in the evening.⁵

On the 28th January 1832 the Pollards applied for Martha's admission to the Friends' school, Croydon, and she began her education there on the 13th March.⁶ Tested at admission, she was found to have "a little" spelling, "but little" reading, no grammar, writing, arithmetic or geography; it was noted that she "knows very little of the contents of the Bible".⁷

¹ Albery: 112-3.

² Burstow: 27.

³ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁴ Pollard book; RG 6/698; RG 6/700, Dorking & Horsham monthly meeting; Marriage Digest

⁵ Burstow: 25-6.

⁶ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a2.

⁷ ERO D/Q 49/E2/a1.

On the 21st March James Pollard made his will. He left all his real estate to his brother William and his brother-in-law Richard Moase in trust, to be sold at their discretion, with Susanna's consent in her lifetime, the proceeds to be divided equally between Susanna (in lieu of dower) and their surviving children. As well as Susanna, daughters Eliza, Martha, & Mary, and sons Richard, William, & Robert, are named. Richard Moase is described as a farmer, of Lindfield.¹

Eliza returned from Ackworth in 1832.²

In April 1831 Monthly Meeting had been informed that Fanny Pollard "continues to require the exercise of the Discipline respecting excess in drinking".³ On the 18th April 1832:

The committee appointed to visit Fanny Pollard brought in the following report
To Dorking & Horsham monthly meeting

We the undersigned of the committee appointed to visit Fanny Pollard have had an opportunity with her and have to report that she the said Fanny Pollard would not admit that the reports respecting her practice of taking too much strong liquor were true, and her husband in a solemn manner declared that he never knew his wife drink to excess, but that she was subject to a complaint which sometimes made her appear somewhat like a person intoxicated. The committee however were not satisfied and are of the mind that a further investigation of the case ought to be made.

Three weeks later:

The friends appointed to visit Fanny Pollard have further to report to the monthly meeting that by accounts lately received from Brighton and Horsham, they believe the charge against the said Fanny Pollard of drinking to excess has and does exist to a lamentable degree.

Monthly Meeting accordingly agreed to prepare testimony of disownment, and on the 12th June 1832 recorded:

Fanny Pollard a member of this meeting having been charged with the practice of intemperance in drinking in consequence of which she has been repeatedly visited in a private way, she has nevertheless constantly maintained that the aforesaid charge was void of truth, the friends then having visited her not feeling satisfied of her innocency referred the case to the consideration of the monthly meeting on whose account she has also been repeatedly visited without any satisfactory result.

Willing however and desirous of exercising christian forbearance in a case that it considers of vital importance both as it regards herself and the sense of truth which we as a religious society are making profession of and with a hope that she might be able to prove to us that the charge thus brought against her was void of foundation; considerable delay has in consequence taken place as to the full exercise of the discipline towards her.

It is however with much regret that the Monthly meeting has at length come to the sorrowful conclusion that her innocency in this respect can be no longer maintained nor the truth of the charge thus brought against her be any longer doubted, in consequence thereof this meeting believes it right no longer to withhold a testimony of its disunity with the said Fanny Pollard as a member of our religious society and she is disowned as a member thereof, much desiring that on serious and timely reflection she may be

¹ PROB 11/2138, IR 26/1911.

² Ackworth School Centenary Committee.

³ SRC 6189 Boxes 8 & 9.

brought to a true sense of her misconduct and by a sincere acknowledgement thereof be again reinstated in membership with us.

There is no evidence that Fanny was ever reinstated.¹

It appears that Theophilus Pollard, in the period prior to June 1832, had been acting as gravedigger at the Whitechapel Friends' burial ground; a successor was appointed at the beginning of that month.²

On the 11th July 1832, at a Monthly Meeting held at Capel, Samuel Pollard senior was appointed an Elder. From then on he was to be a diligent attender at the monthly and quarterly meetings of ministers and elders.³ That month he examined the children at the Croydon Road Friends' school, on behalf of Quarterly Meeting.⁴

The great Reform Act of 1832 had received the royal assent in June, and there were notable celebrations in Horsham on Wednesday, the 1st August:

The morning was ushered in by a peal of bells from the old Church, the band afterwards playing round the town. Towards noon throngs of people from all quarters entered the town, on foot and in vehicles of all kinds. At 2 o'clock the people assembled in four different parts of the town, the parties distinguished from one another by different colours; pink, green, yellow, or white, and marched to the Carfax, whence, headed by the band, all marched to the Cricket Field, which was then in the North Parade, just south of where Hurst Road is now. By about 3.30 p.m. the whole company, nearly 3000 people, were seated at 62 tables, loaded with cold roast and boiled beef and mutton, vegetables, hot plum pudding, and beer. . . . At the sound of a bugle grace was said before and after the dinner. There were all kinds of sports and amusements, races, &c., until about 6 o'clock in the evening, when, unfortunately, it came on to rain hard . . . The day closed with a brilliant display of fireworks; rockets, candles, vertical wheels, mines, balloons, Bengal lights, jacks-in-boxes, maroons, tourbillions, &c., &c. About 4,000 people altogether were present at the Cricket Field. In the evening there was a grand ball at the King's Head Hotel. A second and third display of fireworks took place in the evenings of the two succeeding days.⁵

In December, as a freeholder with property in the Bishopric and West Street, Samuel Pollard voted in the 'Reform' election; following the withdrawal of the Duke of Norfolk's candidate, Robert Henry Hurst, Esq., was elected MP.⁶

It seems likely that goods of James's were distrained again, either late in 1832 or early in 1833, for a record survives of the sale of various people's goods, at about 3 o'clock on the 12th January 1833. The following were identified as having been "of M^r Pollard", which by their nature can only refer to James:

- 1 new oval boiler, marked 11/–, sold for 15/–
- 2 D^o, marked 9/–, sold for 5/–
- 1 Iron Teakettle marked 4/– & Frypan 17^d for 3/6

¹ SRC 6189 Box 9.

² Oats index to Quakers in Australia (LRSF), citing Devonshire House monthly meeting minutes.

³ SRC 6189 Boxes 9 & 17; ESRO SOF 21/2.

⁴ ESRO SOF 20/3.

⁵ Burstow: 26-7.

⁶ Letters from William Albery to Bedford Pollard, 1927, now at WSRO; WSRO MF 946; Albery: *Parliamentary History*.

1 " " " " " " _ 3/-
1 Copper Teakettle sold for 6/-
1 D° & Iron Frypan _____ 5/6.

This information is contained in a letter from James Browne to his son John (the purchaser of Samuel Pollard's draper's shop). Browne identifies the bidders as Mr Dodwell, Mr Pronger, Mr Clapshaw and Mr Hunt's man, noting that "Mr Hunt seemed pleased with his bidders—On the other hand it was observed scarce any body in the town would bid"; though why this should be so, Browne does not, unfortunately, record.¹

On the 21st February 1833 James's brother Joseph married Mary Kitching, at a Friends' meeting held at Kingston-upon-Hull town hall. Mary was the daughter of George and Hannah Kitching, of Hull. Joseph was described as a grocer, of Halifax.²

On the 1st March 1833 Martha Pollard left Croydon School, to continue her education at Ackworth. She hadn't made a great deal of progress during her year at Croydon, for on admission to Ackworth her spelling was still "but poor," her reading "middling," and her grammar still non-existent, though in arithmetic she had at least reached "simple multiples."³

On the last day of March 1833, a Sunday, Horsham experienced a minor earthquake:

It took place at quiet time, about 8.30 p.m., when most people were sitting at home, and everybody was greatly alarmed. Housebells started ringing of themselves, scales were put in motion, and pictures swung on the walls; people ran out of their houses fearing the beams would give way and apprehensive of the safety of themselves and their goods. Fortunately no serious damage was done, and no further shock was felt.⁴

On the 25th November 1833 the Pollards' eldest son, Richard, left Ackworth. At this time he did "well" in his spelling and reading tests, had attained a knowledge of geometry, and received an overall remark of "1st class."⁵

The Pollards applied to Croydon School for the admission of their daughter Mary, on the 24th January 1834. Mary duly began her schooling there on the 7th March.⁶ Tested on her arrival at the school, it was found that her spelling was "poor", and her reading "very poor"; she had no grammar or geography, "a little" writing, and had "just begun" arithmetic; her knowledge of Scriptures was "very deficient".⁷

In April Catherine Pollard represented Horsham at Women's Quarterly Meeting at Brighton.⁸

On the 13th May David Pollard was born at Horsham, who was to be the last child of James and Susanna's family. Present at the birth were William Rickwood J^{nr} (surgeon), Charlotte Vinall, and Nelly Baker. Reflecting the fact that his father was no longer a member of the Society of Friends, the Quaker register records very decisively "not a Member" beside his name.⁹

On the 11th June James's youngest brother, Josiah, died, aged only 27. He had been living in

¹ Horsham Museum Ms 808(5).

² Pollard book; RG 6/786.

³ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a2; Ackworth School Centenary Committee; West Yorks Archive Service C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/5/2.

⁴ Burstow: 30.

⁵ Ackworth School Centenary Committee: West Yorks Archive Service C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/5/2.

⁶ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a2.

⁷ ERO D/Q 49/E2/a1.

⁸ ESRO SOF 22/2.

⁹ Quaker birthnote now at WSRO; Pollard book; RG 6/714; RG 6/1127.

London, where his daughter Catherine (his third child) had been born that year.¹

1834 saw the last use of the stocks in Horsham, when Charley Price was given this punishment for drunkenness.²

There was a parliamentary election in January 1835. Samuel Pollard, and his sons Samuel and James, all voted for Hurst, who was re-elected. Rather oddly, the Horsham electors' list includes James under the heading of 'Linen Draper &c'.³

On Boxing Day 1831, Theophilus Pollard admitted his wife Ann to the Retreat, at 4s. per week, suffering from "melancholy (religious), 1st attack five months ago, apparently hereditary and constitutional".⁴ It seems that Theophilus altogether abandoned her to her fate. On the 8th March 1833 he arrived in Hobart, Van Diemen's Land, accompanied by his daughter Ann. He told a Hobart Friend that his reason for migrating was to escape from the toils of a woman who was endeavouring to get him to go to America with her. He therefore employed someone to occupy her attention while he made good his escape to Australia. In March 1834 Theophilus—"Having made full acknowledgment to his Monthly Meeting of his delinquencies"—was admitted to Membership in Hobart, even though he had not been re-admitted by his English monthly meeting. On the 29th January 1835 Theophilus Pollard—claiming to be a widower—married Elizabeth Francis Warren, by licence, the marriage being solemnized in the parish of Trinity in the County of Buckingham. Ann, of course, was still alive, and the marriage was unquestionably bigamous. The local community was scandalized, George Washington Walker noting, "This is indeed very trying and will shake the very foundations of those in profession with us in V.D.L." Ann Pollard actually died at the Retreat on the 24th April that year, in "much the same" state as at her admission; the cause of death [two illeg. words, then] "Tubercles in lung & cerebellum &c". Hobart Monthly Meeting disowned Theophilus on the 21st May, for marrying out—a trivial offence compared to the bigamy, and news of Ann's death couldn't have reached Hobart by that date, to mitigate the offence. Some time in 1835 Theophilus went to Sydney, assuming the name of Booth; this "further turpitude" didn't escape notice. It seems sensible to complete his story here, as effectively he had left his family of origin for good: Theophilus was to have five children with his second wife. He twice applied for reinstatement to Membership (1844 and 1858), and on both occasions was refused, before finally being readmitted by Melbourne, in 1860, on the grounds of "his span of life remaining necessarily short." He died at the Friends' meeting house in Hobart, on the 3rd May 1872.⁵

In February and July of 1835 Catherine Pollard attended Monthly Meeting, at Reigate on both occasions. These appear to have been the last occasions on which she represented Horsham Friends.⁶

¹ Pollard book; HO 107/1732 f113v.

² Burstow: 61. The stocks themselves survive, and are exhibited in Horsham Museum.

³ WSRO MP 1507.

⁴ Admission register, The Retreat, RET/6/2/1/1.

⁵ Pollard book; Australia Marriage Index; RET/6/2/1/1; Oats index to Quakers in Australia (LRSF), citing the Walker Papers and the minutes of Hobart monthly meeting, in the Tasmanian University Archives, as well as records in the Archives of Tasmania, the Journal of J. Backhouse, and the minutes of Melbourne monthly meeting at La Trobe Library, Victoria & the Friends' meeting house in Melbourne. The Pollard book gives his second wife's surname as Price.

⁶ SRC 6189 Box 10.

On the Saturday night of July Fair in Horsham in 1835 the crowd got out of control, with 50 roughs roaming the town and robbing anyone who got in their way. The Riot Act was read from the Town Hall steps, and 15 people were subsequently sentenced to imprisonment.¹

In December the two Samuel Pollards were appointed by Monthly Meeting to secure the registration of Thakeham meeting house at the Quarter Sessions.²

On the 25th January 1836 Horsham was lit by gas for the first time:

It cannot be said the lighting of the town previously was very brilliant. The few oil lamps about the streets were kept more or less in bad order and odour by old Tinker Smith, and there were besides a few more, one each attached to several private houses; nor can it now be said the new illuminant was very brilliant either, but it was thought to be so; . . . On the first night of lighting up by the new way the streets were crowded with folk, many of whom came in from the country to enjoy the sensation. At the "King's Head" Hotel there was a large-sided star of gas jets; at the "Crown" Inn there was a large crown produced in the same way. The Town Hall decoration, consisting of a large W.R. with jets around, compelled everyone's admiration.³

Mary Pollard's attainments at Croydon school were tested on the 5th March 1836, prior to her removal from the school after only two years there (for which her parents had paid £2.1.6, for the part year⁴). Her spelling was found still to be "poor", though her reading and writing were "very fair", and she had "a little" grammar; she had got as far as compound interest, in arithmetic, and "Answered easy Ques^s on Europe", in geography; her knowledge of Scriptures was "much improved".⁵ The youngest girl in the Pollard family, Mary went away to Ackworth at this time. Admitted there at 10¼, on the 28th April, the Ackworth tests produced broadly similar results: spelling "middling", but reading "very unconnectedly," with "scarcely any" grammar; in arithmetic, however, she had reached "simple division."⁶

On Tuesday, the 29th November 1836:

there raged the most tremendous storm that ever happened in my life; the wind began to rise in the morning and gradually gained in strength till about 12 o'clock noon, when it had acquired a terrific force.

A cottage was blown down, leaving nothing standing but the chimney stack.

. . . very few houses or buildings had been able to completely withstand the fury of the storm . . . the streets were strewn with chimney pots, bricks, and all sorts of debris; slates and tiles went flying about in all directions, to the consternation of everybody. It seemed just as if some unseen giant hand were stripping the houses of their roofs and hurling the dangerous missiles about regardless of everything. Outside the Town trees were dismembered and uprooted by the score, by the hundred. . . everywhere cornstacks and hayricks, barns and hovels, were unroofed and scattered like chaff. The storm lasted till late in the evening, when we began to hear of the mischief it had done in many other places.

¹ Burstow:72.

² SRC 6189 Boxes 9 & 17.

³ Burstow: 34.

⁴ ERO D/Q 49/G1/a2.

⁵ ERO D/Q 49/E2/a1.

⁶ Ackworth School Centenary Committee; West Yorks Archive Service C678, Ackworth School archives, 11/5/2.

The next morning we heard it had blown down Brighton Chain Pier.¹

Shortly before Christmas 1836 Samuel Pollard jr was given responsibility for giving out birth and burial notes on behalf of the Monthly Meeting.²

In February 1837 Samuel senior attended a meeting of the trustees of estates belonging to the Monthly Meeting.³

On the 6th April Andrew Pollard married Sarah Mainhood at St Mary Haggerstone, Middlesex, by licence. His first wife had died a few days short of a year previously.⁴

King William IV died on the 20th June 1837, and was succeeded by Queen Victoria, but news of the event didn't reach Horsham until brought by the Windsor coach on the 25th. On the 5th October the new Queen travelled by post chaise from London to Brighton, going through Crawley and Peas Pottage. Many people walked from Horsham to Brighton that day, to see Brighton's welcome to the Queen.⁵

Martha Pollard finished her schooling at Ackworth this year.⁶ On the 14th July her grandfather, Samuel Pollard, made a donation of £50 to the Friends' school at Croydon, which they invested in 3½% Reduced Annuities.⁷

On the 23rd August Horsham experienced a big jewel robbery, the largest of its kind known there. During the night thieves broke into Michael Bromley's shop and stole £300 worth of the best of his stock.⁸

James's brother John, an umbrella manufacturer of 18 City Road, Finsbury St Luke, Middlesex, died of brain fever on the 4th October 1837, aged 38.⁹

The coldest weather Henry Burstow could ever remember came in at the beginning of 1838:

The extraordinary severity of it was first remarked upon on Sunday, 14th January, when the thermometer fell to zero; grape and elderberry wine was frozen solid. The cold continued to increase till Saturday, the 20th January, when the thermometer fell to 16 degrees below zero. The cold was so intense as never before to have been felt by anyone living, and caused a peculiar feeling impossible to describe. Gin was now also found to be frozen solid. Innumerable small icicles or thin wedges of ice were noticed floating in the air, and glistened like prisms as the sun shone on them. I remember coming down to breakfast on this particular morning, we hugged the fire pretty closely. When we had finished breakfast we found the cups were frozen to the saucers. I heard too, afterwards, that some of the carter boys' noses had frozen as they came in to the Horsham market.¹⁰

There is surely little doubt that this cruel weather was a major factor in the death, on the 26th January, of the Pollards' little boy, David, not yet four years old, of "Hooping cough causing inflammation". He was buried in the Friends' burial ground at Horsham, though technically still

¹ Burstow: 38.

² SRC 6189 Box 9.

³ loc. cit.

⁴ Pollard book; parish register of St Mary Haggerstone; Digest of London & Middlesex Quaker Burials: Index (CD produced by the Quaker Family History Society)

⁵ Burstow: 40.

⁶ Ackworth School Centenary Committee.

⁷ ERO D/Q 49/A1/a18.

⁸ Burstow; 38.

⁹ Pollard book; death certificate; RG 6.

¹⁰ Burstow: 38.

not a member.¹

On Thursday, the 28th June 1838, Horsham celebrated the coronation of Queen Victoria in beautifully fine weather:

Early in the morning the Church bells began to peal. All shops were closed by 11.30 a.m., when the children in the town—about 800 . . .—assembled in the Church Causeway; each child was provided with a knife, fork, and mug, and a ticket on which was printed “Victoria, Crowned 28th June, 1838.” Headed by the band a procession marched round the town, and then to the Swan Field, so called from its connection with the “Swan Inn,” West Street. . . . In this field the townspeople assembled to make merry. There were several booths into which barrels and barrels of beer were rolled and quickly consumed by people anxious to prove by their drinking capacity their devotion to the Throne. There was also a temporary wooden bandstand erected, upon which the old Town Band played and drank, and drank and played again. Some people danced, other tried to dance, but had partnered too early in the day with “John Barleycorn,” and so couldn’t.²

On the 5th February the Pollards had applied for William’s admission to Croydon Friends’ school.³ William started school there on the 14th August, his parents paying £4.12.4 for the part year.⁴ As usual, he was tested on his admission, and even at the start of his school career he was clearly the most able of the four Pollard children who went to Croydon. Though, like all his siblings, he had no grammar, his spelling was “middling”, his writing “fair”, and he read “pretty well”; at arithmetic the single word “Practice” was recorded, which is open to interpretation; at geography he did “pretty well for his age”, and in Scriptures he was “well instructed”, which was in marked contrast to Martha, Mary, and his younger brother Robert.⁵

In October 1838 Samuel Pollard represented Dorking and Horsham Monthly Meeting at the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders at Horsham. The following day his son Samuel attended Quarterly Meeting there.⁶

On the 20th November 1838 Catherine Pollard died at Horsham of General decay of nature, at the age of 71. James received the Quaker burial note on the 24th. His mother’s body was interred at the Friends’ burial ground at Horsham, on Sunday, the 25th November.⁷

The following Thursday saw a very severe hailstorm in Horsham, the most severe remembered up to that time. Much damage was caused.⁸ On this day William’s application to join the Juvenile Literary Society at Croydon school was accepted.⁹

On the 25th March 1839 Samuel Pollard sold ‘Popes’, by bargain and sale, to a Peter Du Cane, the latter paying him £2020 on the following day.¹⁰ Possibly he hadn’t wanted to do so during Catherine’s lifetime, or perhaps the house now had too many distressing memories.

On the 17th April James Pollard wrote formally to his Monthly Meeting, in the following terms:

¹ Pollard book; death certificate; SRC 6189 Box 9.

² Burstow: 43-4.

³ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a2.

⁴ ERO D/Q 49/B5/a3.

⁵ ERO D/Q 49/E2/a1.

⁶ ESRO SOF 21/2 & SOF 20/4, SRC 6189 Box 17.

⁷ Pollard book; death certificate; SRC 6189/168, 6189 Boxes 9 & 10..

⁸ Burstow: 38.

⁹ ERO D/Q 49/F1/a2.

¹⁰ WSRO Add. Mss 11012–11015.

To friends of Dorking and Horsham Monthly Meeting.
Dear Friends

Having been very justly disunited from the Society for my misconduct which I trust I have been favoured to see the error of. I shall feel Humbly thankfull by being reinstated with you with my Son Robert.

I remain with dear love
very Respectfully
James Pollard

Horsham 4th month 17th 1839

John Dann and Banks Farrand were appointed to visit him on the matter and report.¹ On the 15th May Monthly Meeting minuted that

John Dann informed this meeting that Banks Farrand and himself have had an opportunity with James Pollard, that he received them in a candid open manner, and appeared to them to claim the tender notice of friends. The case is left under the care of John Dann, and Banks Farrand.

On the 19th June:

The friends appointed to visit James Pollard report they have had another satisfactory opportunity with him. The case is left under their care.²

Things were looking promising for James, however, for this Monthly Meeting considered separately the issue of Robert's admission, and made the following decision:

Application having been made by James Pollard, for the admission to membership in our Society of his son Robert aged about eight years: this meeting on considering the subject hereby admits him to a member of our Society. George Bax Holmes is appointed to inform his parents thereof. William Deane is requested to add his name to the lists of our members.³

On the 7th July that year another hailstorm "quite eclipsed" the previous November's:

. . . in a short space of time many hundreds of pounds worth of glass was smashed, besides incalculable other damage done. Fortunately, it happened on a Sunday evening, between 8 and 9 o'clock, when all the shops and many private houses had their shutters up. The storm, with much thunder and lightning, came on rather suddenly. Some of the hailstones, rough and jagged, were as large as walnuts, and tore peoples umbrellas to ribbons. Every skylight in the town, and all the glass in the gardens of the large houses in the neighbourhood was smashed to atoms. . . . nearly everybody suffered more or less, and whilst the storm lasted everybody was frightened.⁴

On the 17th July Monthly Meeting records show that:

¹ SRC 6189 Box 9.

² loc. cit.

³ loc. cit.

⁴ Burstow: 38.

The following is a report received from the friends appointed to visit James Pollard. Agreeable to our appointment in the 4th Month last; we have several times visited James Pollard, on his application to be readmitted into membership: he having been disowned for immoral conduct. He received us in an agreeable disposition of mind expressing his sincere sorrow and regret for his misconduct by which he had brought great trouble and disgrace on himself and family and reproach on the Society; and hoped through Divine assistance to be so preserved in his future conduct as to give his friends no cause of uneasiness, should he be again united into the Society.

Banks Farrand

16th of 7th Month 1839 John Dann¹

On the 21st August:

The case of James Pollard on his application for reinstatement to membership having again claimed the serious attention of this Meeting, it is of the judgment that the further consideration thereof be left to a future Meeting.²

In September the matter was deferred once more. Finally, on the 16th October the clerk minuted the following:

The case of James Pollard having again claimed the solid attention of this meeting, it is of the judgment that he be reinstated a member of our Religious Society: and he is hereby reinstated. The friends on the appointment to visit him are requested to inform him thereof: and to request William Deane to add his name to the lists of our members.³

On the 14th September 1839 the Pollards applied for Robert's admission to Croydon school.⁴ It may be that James's application for reinstatement to membership, and for Robert's admission—for of course the elder siblings had been birthright members—may have been motivated, in part at least, by his desire to ensure a Quaker education for his son.

On the 20th November 1839 it was minuted that

Banks Farrand reports James Pollard has been informed of his being reinstated a member of our Religious Society. Robert Swan reports on behalf of William Deane his name has been added to the lists of our members.⁵

It is of interest, perhaps, that James's father had been present at the Monthly Meetings in June, July, and September, but not at the crucial meeting in October.⁶

¹ SRC 6189 Box 9.

² loc. cit.

³ loc. cit.

⁴ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a2.

⁵ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁶ loc. cit.

Change of direction

On the 13th February 1840 there was a big robbery in West Street, this time at Messrs Henty's Bank. £450 cash was taken.¹ The robbers were evidently not deterred by the appointment, the previous October, of Horsham's first professional policeman. 1839-40 clearly marked a new stage in Horsham's civic awareness, as at this time also a Fire Brigade was formed, employing a squirting apparatus first presented to the town in 1780.²

On the 19th February Robert started school at Croydon. When tested, he was found to have no grammar or geography; though he could do "but little" reading, he did "pretty well" at spelling; at this date the examiner provided evidence of the new pupils' writing abilities in the most direct manner possible, by having them write their names in the register—as a childish "Robert", with a rather florid R, testifies; in arithmetic, Robert had got no further than addition.³

The very day that Robert began school at Croydon, James was in Reigate for Monthly Meeting, for the first time since his reinstatement. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that it was Susanna who took Robert to school for the first time. James accompanied his father to Monthly Meeting, at Reigate again, on the 15th July.⁴ The following day, described as a shopkeeper of Horsham, his brother-in-law Richard Moase (yeoman of Lindfield) named him in his will as sole executor.⁵

Samuel Pollard made his will on the 9th September that year, in which he refers, on this occasion only, to "my house and land with the appurtenances at Lindfield in the county of Sussex known as the Tiger Inn and also my leasehold premises with the appurtenances in the parish of Horsham now in the occupation of Meshack Seagrave and also my leasehold house and premises in High Street Kensington in the county of Middlesex let or lease to William Treadwell." Nothing else has been discovered of the Kensington property. Samuel bequeathed £150 to his son Samuel, £100 each to Andrew and Thomas, 1s. to Theophilus (though this could merely mean that Samuel provided for Theophilus in his lifetime, it seems more likely that he was 'cut off with a shilling' to express disapproval for his son's desertion of his first wife, and his bigamy), and everything else to be divided equally between his sons James, William, and Joseph, his daughter Mary Ann Hayllar, and the children of his late sons John and Josiah. James, described as an ironmonger of Horsham, was appointed as one of the executors.⁶

In September James attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking, with his father.⁷ The following month he was recorded as a registered elector, with a house in West-street.⁸ In October his son William "was added to the Select Committee [of the Croydon school Juvenile Literary Society] at the recommendation of the Conference."⁹ James attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking in December.¹⁰

Eliza Pollard attended Women's Monthly Meeting at Dorking in January 1841, for her first time.¹¹ James was present at the Monthly Meeting at Reigate in February, when it was reported that his daughter Mary was going to Newport Pagnell; her removal certificate was signed at

¹ Burstow: 38.

² Burstow: 49.

³ ERO D/Q 49/E2/a1.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁵ PROB 11/2138.

⁶ PROB 11/1951 Q. 637.

⁷ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁸ 1840 Horsham electoral register.

⁹ ERO D/Q 49/F1/a2.

¹⁰ SRC 6189 Box 9.

¹¹ SRC 6189 Box 10.

Hagsby End on the 11th March.¹ James was at Monthly Meeting in Dorking in March.²

Samuel Pollard—perhaps aware of his declining health, and thinking to reduce his executors' workload—decided to sell the Tiger Inn at Lindfield, and it was sold by auction on the 19th April.³

James attended Monthly Meeting at Ifield in May.⁴

The 6th June 1841 was the day of the census. 1841 is the earliest year for which the original census enumerators' books survive, which enables us to view a snapshot of the Pollard family at this date. And in fact it's the Horsham book which reveals for the first time that James and Susanna have removed from West Street, and taken a farm—Park Farm—on the northern outskirts of Horsham. More of this anon. James is described as a farmer. With Susanna is her sister Sarah, and her husband Richard Moase. Two teenagers named Bourne—Ann, 12, and Edward, 14, children of William Bourn(e), as mentioned above—are resident with the Pollards on census night; there too is a 19-year-old Elizth Skipsey, presumably a servant.⁵

Samuel Pollard senior was living in the Bishopric, described as of independent means; with him were his son William, described as a surgeon, Martha Howden (30-year-old female servant), and the 40-year-old Rebecca Downer, probably also a servant.⁶

Of James's siblings, Samuel j^r, accountant, was living in Carfax, Horsham, with his wife, daughter, and an 8-year-old girl, Rosina Burstow (possibly a sister of Henry Burstow?).⁷ Andrew was recorded as a clerk, living with his family in Lower Marsh, Lambeth, Surrey, with his family and a servant.⁸ Thomas was a labourer, living with his wife and their son Isaac in Frederick Street, Brighton.⁹ Martha was living with her family and a servant in Dover Road, Newington, Lambeth.¹⁰ Joseph was a draper, living with his family, a shop boy, and a servant, in Kirkgate, Wakefield, Yorkshire.¹¹ Frederick was a resident of The Retreat, Gate Fulford, Yorkshire, for a reason I will come to in due course.¹² Mary Ann was living with her grocer husband in St John Street, Newport Pagnell, with their three sons.¹³

Susanna's sister Mary Harding was living with her husband, seven children, and a female servant at the Shelley Arms, Horsham, Sussex.¹⁴ Her brother Stephen was an ag. lab., living with his wife and four children at Broadbridge Heath, Sullington, Sussex.¹⁵ The whereabouts of her brother William has not yet been found.

Of James and Susanna's children, Eliza was still living on West Street, apparently having taken charge of the old shop, for she's described as an ironmonger. With her were her siblings Martha—described as an ironmonger's assistant—and Richard, with no occupation stated. Also in their household were Esther Sharp, 45, Assistant, and Jane Stringer, 30, female servant.¹⁶ Mary

¹ SRC 6189/203 & Box 9.

² SRC 6189 Box 9.

³ *Sussex Agricultural Express*.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 9.

⁵ HO 107/1097/3 f29 p7.

⁶ HO 107/1097/1 f26 p4.

⁷ HO 107/1097/22 f15 p22.

⁸ HO 107 1061/6 f23 p2.

⁹ HO 107/1121/7 f32 p22.

¹⁰ HO 107/1065/1 f34 p12.

¹¹ HO 107/1272/1 f37 p23.

¹² HO 107/1227/ 8 p45.

¹³ HO 107/58/5 f18 p30.

¹⁴ HO 107/1 f26 p5.

¹⁵ HO 107/1096/2 f13 p3.

¹⁶ HO 107/1097/2 f12 p12.

was working as a female servant in the household of her aunt and uncle Mary Ann and Robert Hayllar, in St John Street, Newport Pagnell.¹ William and Robert appear in the census as pupils, resident at the Park Lane Friends' school in Croydon.²

James attended Monthly Meeting at Ifield on the 21st July 1841. The following week the electoral register records his entitlement to vote by virtue not only of his house in West Street, but also of his house and land at Park Farm.³

On Wednesday, the 11th August 1841 Samuel Pollard, described as a Gentleman, died at his home in the Bishopric, of Decay of Nature.⁴ His body was interred in the Friends' burial ground at Horsham on the 26th August.⁵

On the 21st September James, as co-executor, went to London to secure probate of his father's will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. After the three specific requests provided for, totalling £250/1/-, he himself inherited a sixth of his father's residual estate.⁶

That month his son William joined the school Juvenile Literary Society's Committee for purchasing books. And in December his name was added to the membership of the Society's Committee for choosing Librarians.⁷



Horsham Friends' meeting house, photographed in April 2000

¹ HO 107/58 f18 p30.

² HO 107/1078/9 f51.

³ 1841 Horsham electoral register.

⁴ Death certificate; SRC 6189/168; notices of death in the *Sussex Advertiser* and *Sussex Agricultural Express*.

⁵ SRC 6189/168. There is a little confusion here, in that this burial date seems a bit late for a death on the 11th. This source actually gives the *death* date, however, as the 18th. I suspect Samuel was actually buried on the 19th, but that the event was entered late in the register, with an erroneous date.

⁶ PROB 11/1951 Q. 637.

⁷ ERO D/Q 49/F1/a2.

On Christmas Eve of 1841 Susanna represented Dorking and Horsham Monthly Meeting at the Quarterly Meeting held at Horsham, her first recorded appearance at Quarterly Meeting.¹

Perhaps conscious that his father's death made a substantial hole in the fabric of Horsham meeting, James was assiduous in his attendance at Monthly Meeting during 1842, actually representing Horsham at all twelve meetings that year, at Dorking (January to March, September and December), Godalming (April), Guildford (May, August and November), Capel (June), Ifield (July), and Horsham (October). (At the Monthly Meeting in March he was not *officially* representing Horsham, as too few members had been present at the previous preparative meeting, to appoint representatives.) In March, April, July and August he was accompanied by his son Richard.²

Susanna, too, put in a respectable showing at Women's Monthly Meeting in 1842, attending five meetings that year, which, as for James, was to prove her peak. She was at Godalming in April, Guildford in May and August, Capel in June, and Ifield in July. At Guildford, in May, she was accompanied by Eliza.³

On the 7th February 1842 James's sister-in-law Mary Pollard (Josiah's wife) died, leaving their children, of whom the eldest was 13, the youngest 8, orphans.⁴

In March 1842 Robert joined his older brother as a member of the Croydon school Juvenile Literary Society.⁵

On the 28th May James was distrained for church rates and—for the first time, as a farmer—tithes. The demand was quite steep—particularly tithes, for which alone £10/14/6 was sought—and 10 sacks of wheat were seized, to a total value of £15.⁶

In July 1842 James's brother William returned from Horsham to Southwark.⁷

On the 14th August William (the son) finished his four years' schooling at Croydon.⁸ He was tested on his achievements, the day before he left, the substance of the report being as follows: his spelling was "correct", his reading, grammar and geography "very good", his writing "good", he had got as far as studying algebra, and in the Scriptures he was "very well informed".⁹ Prior to finishing school, he had become one of the Junior Literary Society's librarians.¹⁰ Though as a pupil, William had finished at Croydon, in fact he stayed on there, having been given a 12-month trial as an apprentice teacher.¹¹

¹ESRO SOF 22/2.

²SRC 6189 Box 11.

³SRC 6189 Box 10.

⁴Pollard book.

⁵ERO D/Q 49/F1/a2.

⁶SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁷SRC 6189/16.

⁸ERO D/Q 49/D2/b1, 49/I2/a1, 49/D1/a2.

⁹ERO D/Q 49/E2/a1.

¹⁰ERO D/Q 49/F1/a2.

¹¹ERO D/Q 49/I2/a1, 49/A1/a19.

On the 2nd November that year Susanna wrote a letter to her son William. This is her only surviving letter, and I quote it here in full:¹

My Dear Son William

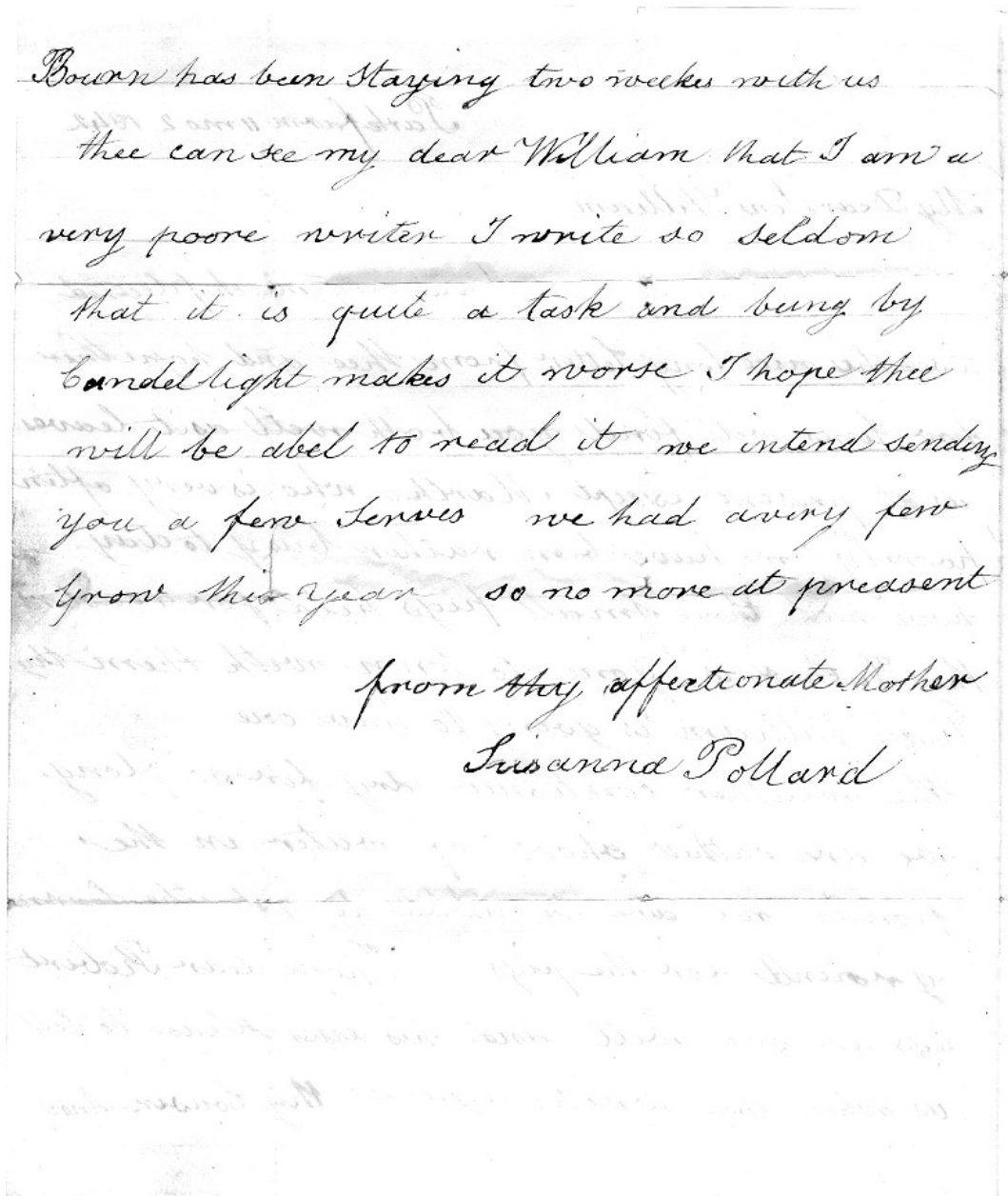
I was very much pleased to see the nice long letter from thee and hope these few lines will find you both well as it leaves us at present except Martha who is very often poorly we have been rather busy today have had three Small pigs kild for roasters thy Father is gone to town with them thy Uncle William is going to have one

Park farm 11 mo 2 1842
My Dear Son William
I was very much pleased
to see thy nice long letter from thee and hope these
few lines will find you both well as it leaves
us at present except Martha who is very often
poorly we have been rather busy today
have had three small pigs kild for roasters
thy Father is gone to town with them thy
Uncle William is going to have one
The weather continues dry for so long
we are rather short of water in the
ponds we are to get the bottom
ground for the pigs I hope dear Robert
legs are got well and his eyes please to tell
us when thee writes again My Cousin Ann

¹Letter in the possession of Jonathan Dale.

The weather continues dry for so long we are rather short of water in the ponds we are troubled to get the Corn ground for the pigs I hope dear Robert legs are got well and his eyes please to tell us when thee writes again My Cousin Ann Bourn has been staying two weeks with us thee can see my dear William that I am a very poore writer I write so seldom that it's quite a task and being by Candellight makes it worse I hope thee will be abel to read it we intend sending you a few [serves??] we had a very few Grow this year so no more at preasent
from thy affectionate Mother

Susanna Pollard



Bourn has been staying two weeks with us
thee can see my dear William that I am a
very poore writer I write so seldom
that it is quite a task and being by
candellight makes it worse I hope thee
will be abel to read it we intend sending
you a few serves we had a very few
grow this year so no more at preasent
from thy affectionate Mother
Susanna Pollard

The explanation for Martha's poor health, referred to in the letter, is that she had been suffering from epilepsy since about 1837.¹ Robert's condition is less readily explained.² James wrote to William on the 26th January 1843, the first of three surviving letters:³

My Dear Son William

Having three of thy letters not answered I think I must endeavour to nock up some sort of Answers altho the first dated 12/31/42 seems to require no particular comment so likewise that date 1/10/43 with the exception of kind enquiries after our Health generally 1/17/43 commences with an endeavour to fulfill a former engagement of Writing what my Dear Son William calls a tidy Letter but altho I am not willing to find fault with the Writing but hope after a While thee will endeavour to write a little smaller hand but I think my Dear Boy omitted to look it over after he had written it or he would have corrected two or three little errors contained in it viz the Boys have been very buzzy (instead of busy) lately in writing their letters in facts (instead of in fact) we have all been well occupied with them again in acknowledging the receipt of Brother Richards letter thee say I was very much to learn by it instead of I was very much pleased to learn I only conclude the pleased was left out by Mistake as it does not read well without & beleiving my Dear Boy to be very much Pleased at all times to hear from any of his Relations & Friends I do not wish to find fault or to discourage my Dear Boy but quit the reverse to encourage him to take pains & to be careful I would always recommend his looking over all his letters before he sent off whether to relations or Friends

We were very much pleased to observe thee & thy Dear Brother Robert were quit well altho I find in a letter from Dear little Robert his legs are not quit so well as they were again but hope ere this they are nicely again altho Dear Mother continues to mend very sloly I am willing to hope she's a little better than she was some time ago I told her I thought if she was to take a ride to Brighton for a few days it would do her good as well as Uncle William Who seems to have a sad Cold—the rest of us are about as usual Blessed with Good Health altho this is the Winter Season we find there is but little Idle or spare time in a Farm House in the Winter any more than the Summer as every day seems to bring its own Work about three weeks ago we kill^d two of our hogs one Weighed 30 Stone (8lb to the Stone) the other 35st 7^{lbs} & next Third day we propose to kill the Sow or Mother of all our Large ones which we are inclined to think will Weigh 50 or 60 stones We rather expect Richard will be over to help us as she will be pretty lumpy to weigh between 500 & 600 lbs I suppose thee recollect our Upper Barn & Hovel was pretty much out of repair when thee was at Home last Yesterday the Hovel fell in with a pretty big Crash without any further damage Having nearly filled sheet of Paper I must think of drawing to a conclusion with our United Dear Love to Robert & thyself

Thy Affectionate Father

James Pollard

PS We had a letter on Third day from Cousin William at Lindfield who says they are pretty well but I think there was a little neglect in his teacher permitting a letter to

¹ Admission registers, The Retreat, RET/6/1/5; death certificate.

² He was later to die of tuberculosis of the lung, though whether consumption could be associated with the symptoms described, so many years earlier, is beyond my medical knowledge.

³ Letter in the possession of Jonathan Dale.

be sent off as that was finish as he began it on the Second side of the Sheet & finished it on the First side

In March James attended Monthly Meeting, and Susanna Women's Monthly Meeting, at Dorking.¹

The following month Robert Hurst, James's landlord, as the owner of Park Farm, died, and was succeeded by his son Robert Henry Hurst.²

Mary Pollard returned from Newport Pagnall on the 17th May.³ If, as seems likely, she had been staying with the Hayllars, she may have felt herself a burden to their household at a time of illness, for it was not long afterwards, on the 10th July, that James's brother-in-law Robert Hayllar (Mary Ann's husband) died.⁴

On the 11th August the Croydon school minutes record that "The Sub Committee on the teachers studies &c suggest that W^m Pollard now on trial as an Apprentice should be bound at the expiration of 12 months after he came on trial to which this Committee agrees."⁵

James wrote to William again on the 9th September 1843:⁶

My Dear Son William

I received thy letter in regular course & should have answered it sooner but I have been so busy Harvesting but I may say we regret exceedingly to observe thee still remain of the Mind to leave thy present situation which I consider to be a valuable one in every respect altho I am satisfied there are objections in that situation (as there will be in all others) but the greatest that I can see in this is the encouragement the Institution give to the Pride of Dress which I consider to be a very great evil for I find When there is the least encouragement given at School the Children generally take more advantage When at Home and I would sooner follow my Children to the Grave than to see them follow the Pride of the Fashion either in Plainness of Speech behaviour or Apparel of Which I see too much in my Family but I do most sincerely hope the Almighty will be Pleased to Open the Eyes of all such that are Willing to be led by the Enemy in any shape that they may see the error of it before it's to late for it's this that frequently leads into greater Sins but as I never did wish any of my Children to stop Where I could have any good Proof they were not in a good situation I cannot consent to thy leaving on that ground no more than I could for Richard to leave his when he was dissatisfied with his. but I believe it only wants resignation to the will of thy Parents instead of thy own & then I believe thee will be favoured with ability to do thy best & remain where thee are but if thee are fully bent on leaving I can do nor say any more about it but thee must come down by the train to the Three Bridges & I must send for thee & I must have thy Name put down on the list for a Situation at William Manleys because I have nothing for thee to do at Home as thee know thee are not so able to Drive Plough or fill a Dung Cart as thee are to teach a School wherein thee will be gaining some real wisdom thyself

I remain With Dear Love to Robert & self in Which Mother & all Unite Thy Affect Father

¹ SRC 6189 Boxes 10 & 11.

² WSRO Add. Mss 32148.

³ SRC 6189/16 & Box 10.

⁴ Pollard book.

⁵ ERO D/Q 49/A1/a19.

⁶ Letter in the possession of Jonathan Dale.

Ja^s Pollard

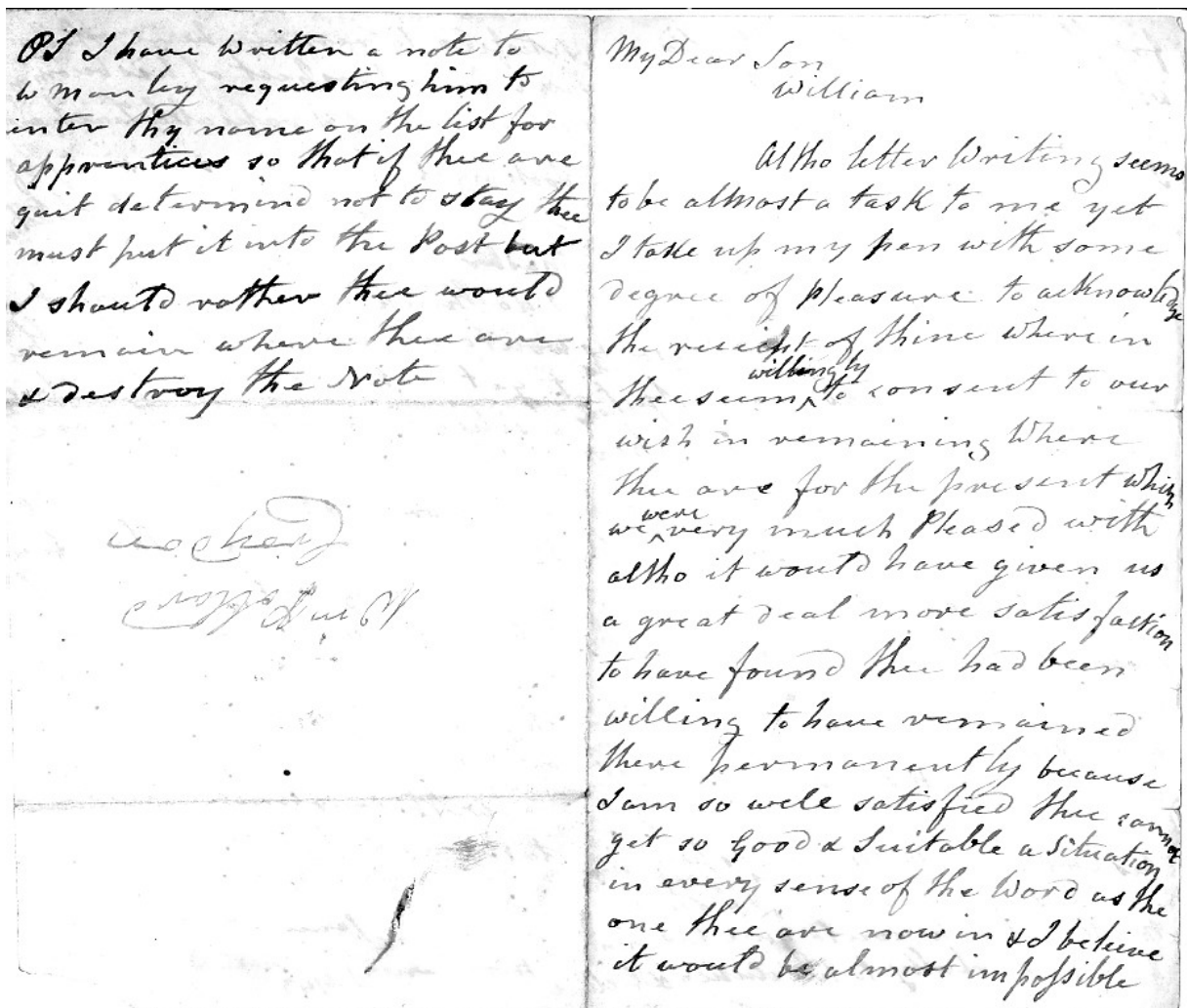
As David Blamires—author of a biographical article on William Pollard, in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*—has written: “It seems natural enough that James Pollard should have been conservative with regard to the testimony on plainness—he was after all in his mid 50s when he was writing to the 14-year-old William—but his views testify to the struggle that Quakers were going through at this period. It was not until the Yearly Meeting of 1860 that the query on plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel was discontinued and the subordinate meetings were thus freed from the need to report the growing number of exceptions.”¹

In September James attended Monthly Meeting, and Susanna Women’s Monthly Meeting, at Dorking.²

James’s last surviving letter is dated the 26th September:³

My Dear Son William

Altho letter Writing seems to be almost a task to me yet I take up my pen with



¹ David M. Blamires: 'Towards a Biography of William Pollard'; *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 55 Nos. 3 & 4, pp.112-123.

² SRC 6189 Boxes 10 & 11.

³ Letter in the possession of Jonathan Dale.

for thee to get into a situation without my giving a Premium which I cannot afford & the Trades thee seem to make choice of are Trades that no one can get a Livelyhood unless it be in some large town & before thee have been Bound 6 Months thee will find as many objections as there are in being Teacher & not so good a prospect of a Livelyhood neither so that if we could have a letter from thee to say thee was quit willing to comply with our wishes & I have no doubt from what J Sharp says abt thee they would be glad for thee to stop his words are (William was becoming increasingly useful as a teacher & I still think that if he could give his mind fully & cheerfully to his duties & feel satisfied to remain here there is a fair prospect of his becoming an efficient & valuable Teacher) Looking at the care & anxiety of Friends over the Whole Institution Master Teachers & Children I do think my Dear Boy it would be impossible for thee to get into another so valuable a situation where the care of the Heavenly Master was more extended over it than it is over this therefore my Dear Boy I do hope thee will think of it again & endeavour to make up thy mind to comply with our wishes

with our United Dear Love to Robert & thyself
Thy affect^e Father
James Pollard
Horsburghs 9/26/43

some degree of pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of thine wherein thee seem willingly to consent to our wish in remaining Where thee are for the present which we were very much pleased with altho it would have given us a great deal more satisfaction to have found thee had been willing to have remained there permanently because I am so well satisfied thee cannot get so Good & Suitable a situation in every sense of the Word as the one thee are now in & I believe it would be almost impossible for thee to get into a situation without my giving a Premium which I cannot afford & the Trades thee seem to make choice of are Trades that no one can get a Livelyhood unless it be in some large town & before thee have been Bound 6 Months thee will find as many objections as there are in being Teacher & not so good a prospect of a Livelyhood neither so that if we could have a letter from thee to say thee was quit willing to comply with our wishes & I have no doubt from what J Sharp says abt thee they would be glad for thee to stop his words are (William was becoming increasingly useful as a teacher & I still think that if he could give his mind fully & cheerfully to his duties & feel satisfied to remain here there is a fair prospect of his becoming an efficient & valuable Teacher) Looking at the care & anxiety of Friends over the Whole Institution Master Teachers & Children I do think my Dear Boy it would be impossible for thee to get into another so valuable a situation where the care of the Heavenly Master was more extended over it than it is over this therefore my Dear Boy I do hope thee will think of it again & endeavour to make up they mind to comply with our Wishes

with our United Dear Love to Robert & thyself
Thy affect^e Father

James Pollard

PS I have Written a note to W Manley requesting him to enter thy name on the list for apprentices so that if thee are quit determined not to stay thee must put it into the Post but I should rather thee would remain where thee are & destroy the Note

According to Henry Burstow, there were large-scale festivities in Horsham, in October 1843, that the Pollards could hardly have avoided, to celebrate the coming-of-age of C.G. Eversfield, Esq., of Denne Park. On Saturday, the 7th October 1843, the whole parish was one scene of rejoicing:

The day was beautifully fine and not cold. At 12 o'clock the band paraded the town, and then marched to the Vicarage, where 750 children were waiting; all joined in singing the "Old Hundredth," accompanied by the band, and then marched to Denne Park. Every person in the parish had an invitation to be present, and over 3000 people accepted it. All sorts of sports and amusements were provided, one of which was that of racing by boys after Dutch cheeses down the big hill. On Monday evening there was a grand display of fireworks on the Gaol Green, including a large set piece on a frame, "CHARLES GILBERT EVERSFIELD," and a dinner to tradesmen at the "Richmond Arms Hotel," presided over by Mr. William S. Stedman, solicitor.¹

On the 10th November Mary Pollard, James's sister-in-law (Joseph's wife) died in Wakefield.²

On the 15th, Richard was appointed as a trustee for Friends' burial grounds at Binscomb and Warplesden.³ A week later, William was apprenticed as a junior teacher at the Friends' school, Croydon.⁴

In November James was distrained for church rates and tithes. 16 sacks of wheat were taken, valued at £19.11.0.⁵

On the 17th January 1844 William Pollard—presumably James's son—removed to Wandsworth.⁶

James's younger brother Frederick, as noted above, had epilepsy. He was considered insane from around 1829, and on the 12th January 1833 he was admitted to The Retreat, the pioneering Quaker asylum in York, by his brothers, at a guinea a week. Described as of London, he was said to have "sometimes assisted as farmer." He was diagnosed with "dementia v. gradually coming on, 4 years, with hemiplegia of left side; epilepsy since 6 months of age". He died at The Retreat on the 13th March 1844, of Exhaustion (attributed to his epilepsy) succeeding to High Gangrene of the leg, as well as Congestion and Oedema of the Lungs. On his death certificate he's described as a farmer's son, which is the only other evidence—apart from the repeated distraint of quantities of hay—for this activity of his father's in the later years of his life⁷. His body was interred in the Friends' burial ground at Fulford, near York.⁸

Susanna went to Women's Monthly Meeting at Dorking, in March; with her was her son Richard, attending Monthly Meeting.⁹

At noon on the 6th April—the day of Horsham Teg Fair that year—there was a public hanging, the last of its kind, at Horsham: John Lawrence was executed for the murder of a Mr Solomon, police superintendent at Brighton. East Street was thronged with people—estimated at about

¹ Burstow: 45.

² Pollard book.

³ ESRO SOF 20/4.

⁴ Apprenticeship indenture in my possession; ERO D/Q 49/A1/a19.

⁵ SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁶ SRC 6189/203.

⁷ Pollard book; death certificate; SRC 6189/168; The Retreat admission register, RET/6/2/1/1.

⁸ SRC 6189/168—which describes Frederick himself as a farmer.

⁹ SRC 6189 Boxes 10 & 11.

3,000—from Park Street right up past the gaol.¹

In June James was again distrained for tithe, 2 cows being taken on this occasion, valued at £26.² This was the year of the tithe apportionment in Horsham, in which James Pollard is shown as the occupant of 147 acres and 3 perches, the property of Robert Henry Hurst; a £10.3.4d rent charge was payable to the vicar.³

James attended monthly meeting at Dorking in September 1844.⁴

On the 18th February 1845 Robert Pollard left Croydon school.⁵ He was tested the day before, and the following report was given: he did “pretty well” at spelling and reading, “middling” at writing, at grammar was “but middling, does not parse well”, and was likewise at geography “but middling”; in arithmetic he had reached “Mensⁿ of Superficies”, which sounds impressive but I suspect isn’t; he had made good progress with his Scriptures, in which he was now “well informed”.⁶

Susanna attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking on the 19th March 1845.⁷ The same day James’s brother Joseph married for a second time, his bride being one Rebecca Haight. The wedding took place in Canada West, and the family were to live and farm in North Norwich, Oxford, Canada West, for the rest of Joseph’s and Rebecca’s lives.⁸

Kelly’s Directory of Sussex, for 1845, still shows James Pollard as an ironmonger and draper in West Street, though it seems more reliable in now showing his brother Samuel as a house agent, of Springfield Road; and his daughter Eliza has an entry in her own right, in her capacity as Mistress of the British School, in Carfax, Horsham.⁹ Eliza’s teaching career seems to have been a short one: at Monthly Meeting at Godalming on the 16th April James gave consent to her marriage, and on the 19th June, at the Friends’ meeting house in Dorking, she married Thomas Nickalls. Her marriage certificate shows no occupation for Eliza, but her husband is described as a watchmaker from Reigate, son of Daniel Nickalls, draper. James is described as a farmer.¹⁰

In September Susanna attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking, while her son Richard was also at Monthly Meeting there.¹¹ James went to Dorking Monthly Meeting in December.¹²

In February 1846 James was named as one of seven Friends appointed to make the usual collection on behalf of Quarterly Meeting. The next month he attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking.¹³ In April Samuel (accountant) and Richard (shopkeeper) were appointed as trustees for the new meeting house at Dorking.¹⁴

¹ Burstow: 63-4.

² SRC 6189 Box 18.

³ PRO IR 29/35/139.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 11.

⁵ ERO D/Q 49/E2/a1, 49/D2/B1, 49/F1/a2.

⁶ ERO D/Q 49/E2/a1.

⁷ SRC 6189 Box 10.

⁸ Pollard book; marriage certificate transcript in the records of Toronto meeting; Canadian censuses. It appears that Joseph’s son George completed his education at Ackworth, before leaving to join his father in Canada in February 1848; Thomas Pumphrey, Superintendent of Ackworth School, wrote some verses in George Pollard’s album, to mark the occasion, these having subsequently been printed in John Ford (1864) *Memoir of Thomas Pumphrey*, London: A.W. Bennett. Joseph Pollard died on the 13th October 1873, in North Norwich, Ontario (*Annual Monitor* for 1874).

⁹ Kelly’s Directory of Sussex, 1845.

¹⁰ marriage certificate; Pollard book.

¹¹ SRC 6189 Boxes 10 & 11.

¹² SRC 6189 Box 11.

¹³ loc. cit.

¹⁴ ESRO SOF 20/4.

In May James was distrained for small tithes, 4 quarters of wheat being taken, valued at £10, which for once was £1.14.6 short of the demand.¹

In July Samuel removed to North Somersetshire, though apparently only temporarily.²

Susanna was at Women's Monthly Meeting at Dorking again, in September. In October James was one of eight Friends appointed by Monthly Meeting "to collect the accounts of Sufferings, to advise friends to keep correct and clear accounts, and carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year."³

James and Susanna Pollard, with their daughter Eliza Nickalls, attended (Women's) Monthly Meeting at Dorking in March 1847.

In April James was distrained for wardens' rates and vicarial tithes. This time "3 Young Beasts" were taken, valued at no less than £21, though this left an "Overplus in Constable's hands" of £3.13.2½d. Richard, too, was distrained for wardens' rates the same day, suffering the loss of an unspecified quantity of ironmongery.⁴

Robert left for West Cornwall on the 21st June, apparently for the summer—probably for his health.⁵

For 1847, unusually, for Horsham both the electoral register and the poll book survive. James appears as a farmer, with house and land at Park Farm; he voted for John Jervis in the election that year, who won by 9 votes, but was later unseated on petition. Samuel, an accountant now of Alfred Place, Horsham, also voted for Jervis, as did Richard, described as a Tinman, with a house on West Street. James's brother William, now described as a Gentleman, had his vote recorded as "Neuter".⁶

In September James attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking.⁷ On the 24th Susanna was one of four Friends who represented Dorking, Horsham & Guildford Monthly Meeting at Women's Quarterly Meeting at Horsham.⁸ She also went to Monthly Meeting at Dorking in December.⁹

James was distrained for tithes again in January 1848. 10 quarters of oats were taken, valued at 10 guineas.¹⁰

The 27th of that month doubtless saw some excitement in the Pollard household, at the birth in Reigate of their first grandchild—Eliza's son—given the name of Daniel Smith Nickalls.¹¹

On Monday morning, the 19th February, the new railway branch line from Horsham to Three Bridges was opened for traffic.

The station terminus here was but a little plain wooden structure standing about midway between the present Station and the "Railway Hotel." A great many people went up to see the departure of the first train. . . . Some of the cars were covered and some were open; these latter—the 3rd class—were at once nick-named "rubbish-carts."¹²

¹ SRC 6189 Box 18.

² SRC 6189/203.

³ SRC 6189 Boxes 10 & 11.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁵ SRC 6189/203.

⁶ 1847 electoral register and poll book for Horsham.

⁷ SRC 6189 Box 11.

⁸ ESRO SOF 22/2.

⁹ SRC 6189 Box 10.

¹⁰ SRC 6189 Box 18.

¹¹ Birth certificate; Pollard book; HO 107/1599 f110.

¹² Burstow: 68-9.

Susanna and Richard went to Monthly Meeting at Dorking on the 15th March.¹

Just six days later, James's brother Thomas died, at 57 Frederick Street, Brighton. Described as a grocer, the cause of death was given as asthma, and disease of the kidneys.²

Susanna was one of the four women Friends who represented Monthly Meeting at Quarterly Meeting in Brighton in April.³

Robert went to Cornwall once more in the summer of 1848, apparently staying at Redruth.⁴

Susanna attended Women's Monthly Meeting at Dorking in September and December that year.⁵ Richard represented Horsham at the Quarterly Meeting there in October, also serving on the Committee on Accounts.⁶ James attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking in December.⁷

In January 1849 William Pollard was one of four members of the Croydon School Juvenile Literary Society appointed to award prizes at a society exhibition of drawings. That month he was also one of six appointed to draw up a plan for awarding prizes for "performances". In March William reported to the society on behalf of this committee; he was again appointed to award prizes and report.⁸

James attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking in February.⁹ The following month his daughter Mary attended Women's Monthly Meeting at Dorking.¹⁰

James was distrained for vicarial tithes in May. 12 sacks of wheat were taken, valued at £12.18.0d.¹¹

In the spring of 1849 James's brother William removed to Charlbury, in Oxfordshire, where he was to live for the rest of his life.¹² His first wife, Maria, had died way back in 1824, and on the 12th July he was married again, to Mary Albright. The wedding took place at the Friends' meeting house, Charlbury, Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire. Mary was the daughter of William and Rachel Albright, of Charlbury.¹³

That month, too, the younger William Pollard finally left Croydon, to spend two years at the Flounders Institute in Ackworth.¹⁴

James and Susanna went to Dorking for Monthly Meeting in September, and Susanna went again in December. In November James was appointed as one of seven Friends tasked with collecting subscriptions for the National Stock, and for funds for Quarterly Meeting.¹⁵

In March 1850 indisposition in her family prevented Susanna from attending Monthly Meeting as appointed.¹⁶ Possibly this was related to the late stages of Eliza's second pregnancy, for James and Susanna's second grandchild, William Nickalls, was born at Reigate on the 22nd April.¹⁷

¹ SRC 6189 Boxes 10 & 11.

² Pollard book; death certificate.

³ ESRO SOF 22/2.

⁴ SRC 6189/203.

⁵ SRC 6189 Box 10.

⁶ ESRO SOF 20/4.

⁷ SRC 6189 Box 11.

⁸ ERO D/Q 49/F1/a2.

⁹ SRC 6189 Box 11.

¹⁰ SRC 6189 Box 10.

¹¹ SRC 6189 Box 18.

¹² SRC 6189/15 & /203.

¹³ 2nd marriage certificate; Pollard book; *Annual Monitor 1879*: 128-30.

¹⁴ ERO D/Q 49/I2/a1; HO 107/2331 f49 p24; Blamires.

¹⁵ SRC 6189 Boxes 10 & 11.

¹⁶ SRC 6189 Box 10.

¹⁷ Birth certificate; Pollard book; HO 107/1599 f110.

A few days earlier, notice had been given of Richard Pollard's intended marriage, and on the 8th May, at the Friends' meeting house in Southampton, the wedding took place of Richard Pollard, ironmonger of West Street, Horsham, and Maria Louisa Clark.¹ The name of Maria Louisa Pollard was added to the list of members of Horsham meeting on the 19th June.²

James attended Monthly Meeting at Dorking in September.³ In November he was distrained for church rates. 6 sacks of wheat were taken, valued at £6; £1.6.3d was returned. Richard was distrained at the same time, ironmongery being taken, as usual.⁴ Interestingly, Horsham's historian William Albery wrote in the 1930s that "I have somewhere one or two printed bills announcing that some of his goods and chattels would be sold to pay Church Rates, which he as a conscientious objector to them about 1850 in common with several other Dissenters refused to pay."⁵

¹ SRC 6189 Box 11; Pollard book; marriage certificate.

² SRC 6189 Box 11.

³ loc. cit.

⁴ SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁵ Letter from William Albery to Bedford Pollard 15th December 1937, now at WSRO.

Park Farm

Park Farm was so named because it was on the site of the former Warnham Park, which had belonged to Warnham Place.¹ The farm apparently dated from the 18th century and, as mentioned earlier, formed part of the Hurst estate; indeed, by the second half of the 19th century much of the northern part of the parish had come to be a solid block of land belonging to the Hurst estate. About 1844 over half the parish was arable land, and only a quarter meadow or pasture. Much farming was still backward in the earlier 19th century: in the 1820s, of the seven Hurst estate farms only three were said to be in good condition, while another was described as ill-managed, and the two largest were in need of under-draining, insecurity of tenure being an obstacle to improvement.² James Caird, who conducted a survey of *English Agriculture in 1850–51*, confirmed this view:

The husbandry of the Weald district is very similar to that of Surrey, the farms being small, the land ill-drained, half cultivated, and inadequately stocked; while the face of the country is too much occupied by wood, and cut up by over-grown hedgerows. The farmers as a class are unskilful and prejudiced in their methods of cultivation, and usually hold their farms on yearly tenures.³

Caird felt that local practice was much to blame, in regard to the obligations on incoming tenants:

The “inventory” consists of manures, and half-manures, rent, taxes, ploughings, and harrowings on land fallowed for wheat, the expense of any green crop left for the incoming tenant, the growth of underwood in the hedges, the value of old lays, &c. . . . The incoming tenant, in paying for the different articles of this “inventory,” must, on an extensive farm, sink a large amount of capital, probably, on an average, not much under 2*l.* an acre . . . The effect of this has been to limit the competition for farms, and to produce a moderate rate of rental. It also enables the tenant, if necessary, to borrow money, which is readily lent to him on the security of his “valuations;” and these, in fact, are very frequently mortgaged. But the system has serious drawbacks. It obliges an incoming tenant to sink a large portion of his capital at the commencement, and in that way cripples him of much that would be required in carrying on the cultivation of his farm.⁴

In fact,

In the Wealds of Surrey and Sussex, where the custom is most stringent, we found the state of agriculture extremely backward, the produce much below the average of England, the tenants deeply embarrassed, and the landlords receiving their low rents irregularly; in fact, no men connected with the land thriving, except the appraisers, who were in constant requisition to settle the disputed claims of outgoing and entering tenants. We found both farmers and landlords complaining that the system led to much fraud and chicanery, and that an entering tenant was compelled by it to pay as much for bad as for good farming; that intelligent farmers were most desirous that their landlords should buy up the tenant-right, and thus put an end to it, and landlords in many cases were doing so.⁵

¹ *Victoria County History of Sussex*, Vol. VI, Pt 2 (1986), p. 131.

² *ibid.*, pp. 144, 169, 170.

³ James Caird (1852): *English Agriculture in 1850–51*. London, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans: 126-7.

⁴ *ibid.*: 130-1.

⁵ *ibid.*: 505-6.

In 1825 the total acreage of Park Farm had been given as 145 acres 12 perches. The annual value of the land was £136, plus tithes of £24 giving a total of £160. According to the contemporary valuation, “The Farm would be worth at least £10 P Anñ more if a Lease was granted as the Tenant would then have recourse to under-drainage which the land requires.”¹

Park Farm was situated a mile by footpath from Warnham village church and post office, and a mile and three-quarters from Horsham railway station, to the north-west of Horsham. It would be only half a mile by footpath from Warnham railway station, but at 1851 that was yet to be built.²

We have considerable detail concerning Park Farm, from the time of James Pollard’s tenancy. First of all there is the 1844 tithe apportionment, from which I have extracted the following table:

Table 1. Park Farm properties in 1844 (property of Robert Henry Hurst, occupied by James Pollard)³

Map ref.	Name & description	State of cultivation	Area			Rent charge payable to vicar		
			Acres	Roods	Perches	£	s	d
2392	5 acres	Arable	5	3	10		4	8
2393	9 do	do	10	0	20		10	—
2394	8 do	do	8	2	23		8	1
2395	West 5 do	do	5	1	35		5	3
2396	Homestead				26			
2397	Lower Barn Mead	Pasture	3	1	2		9	8
2438	3 acres	Arable	3	2	38		3	3
2439	5 do	do	5	3	19		5	6
2440	South mead	Pasture	6	2	33	1	2	3
2441	Six acres	do	7	3	9	1	1	11
2442	7 acres	do	7	3	6	1	1	3
2443	5 do	Arable	5	3	32		6	1
2444	8 do	do	8	2	20		8	2
2445	9 do	do	9	1	16		7	2
2450	3 do	do	3	1	13		3	3
2451	Hovel and yard			1	27			
2452	Green lane			3	28			
2453	Four acres	Pasture	4	1	22		12	10
2481	Seven acres	Arable	8	0	11		6	6
2482	The old field	do	6	2	7		5	3
2483	Four acres	Pasture	4	3	23		17	—
2484	Homestead House &c.			2	28		5	2
2485	Old Orchard	Arable		3	26			6
2486	The Half acre	do		3	6			5
2487		Pasture	2	2	—		5	2
2488	Five acres	Arable	5	—	30		3	9
2489	The seeds	do	5	2	35		4	3
2490	Barn Coppice	Wood	2	3	37			
2491	Barn & Yard				8			
2521	The furze fields	Arable	2	1	16		2	8
2522	do	do	2	2	32			
2523	Five acres	do	5	1	5		3	4

¹ WSRO Hurst Mss, Acc. 3296 D32 M8. According to A.D.M. Phillips (1989) *The Underdraining of Farmland in England during the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, CUP: 2:

Underdraining is an agricultural technique to improve the physical condition of soils for crop production. Its aim is to remove surplus water from soil. Generally, water can enter the soil from above by rain or from below through rising groundwater. Both sources of water, if not removed or disposed only slowly, cause the water table within the soil to rise and eventually produce surface waterlogging, so inhibiting crop growth. The provision of underdrains acts as an outlet to this excessive soil water, lowering the level of saturation and reducing waterlogging in the upper layers of the soil so as to encourage plant development. The depth and spacing of drains act to control the water level in the soil and the deeper and denser the drains the lower the water table becomes, producing by the time drains stop flowing a drier soil for agricultural activity. The ultimate intention of underdraining is to reproduce as far as possible the condition of free-draining land, workable all year round save during and immediately after rainfall and, where after-rain excess soil water is removed quickly, leaving an optimum soil moisture content for both plant growth and cultivation.

² WSRO SP 500; letter from William Albery to Bedford Pollard, 21st December 1937, now at WSRO.

³ IR 29/35/139.

Map ref.	Name & description	State of cultivation	Area			Rent charge payable to vicar		
			Acres	Roods	Perches	£	s	d
			147	—	3	10	3	4

The rather dry field descriptions in the title apportionment can perhaps be supplemented by field names given in an 1882 abstract of title to part of the farm, which include: Boat House Field, the Lag, the Hilly Nine Acres, the High Field, Gravel Pit Field, the Long Meadow, the Further Lag, and Gorrings Hole Mead.¹ And 1911 particulars of sale, of a different part (the farm had been divided by the railway line, subsequent to the Pollard tenancy), include: Little Meadow, Home Mead, Corner Meadow, Sand Pit Meadow, Railway Meadow, Gorrings Mead, Flat Field, the Seven Acres, the Eight Acres, Bowens Field, Spring Field, and Fir Plantation, as well as house, garden, orchard and homestead.²



PARK FARM HOUSE

1911 particulars of sale add a little more detail on the external features of the farm. There was a paved court-yard with knife and coal-house, and two WCs. Doubtless dating from the Pollards' time or earlier, there were "Well Matured Flower and Kitchen Gardens and Large Orchard." The agricultural buildings were described as "modern" so may have been later than 1851, though the facilities are not inappropriate for the Pollard era. Mostly brick & timber built and tile healed, they included:

Nag Stabling for five horses; Harness Room; Coach-house with Loft over; Cart-horse Stable for 4 Horses; Excellent Cow-houses for 19 Cows, and enclosed Cow-yard;

¹ WSRO Add. Ms. 32147.

² WSRO SP 500.

Double-bay Barn with Granary; Three Cattle-boxes, Chicken-house; Covered Yard with galvanised iron roof with three Loose Boxes and 2 Hovels; Waggon and Implement Lodge, with Store over part; Range of three Piggeries, Meal-house; Duck-house; Rick Yard; and Two Ponds of Water.¹

In 1851, according to the auctioneer's advertisement in the *Sussex Agricultural Express*,²

THE LIVE STOCK comprises three good serviceable young draught horses; draught brood mare with colt by her side; brown useful gelding, about 13 hands, six years old; six good dairy cows, in calf; one barren cow, two-year-old heifer, and one steer; breeding sow, nine shuts, fine poultry, bees, &c.

THE IMPLEMENTS consist of four road and harvest waggons, three good manure carts, light cart, conveyance van, four-wheel chaise, wheel barrows, large heavy land roller, two half-swing and strike-furrow ploughs, three drag and five horse harrows, three thill and three trace harness, turnip-cutter, three iron hog troughs, iron bullock troughs, seed sowing machine, and other useful small implements; three large stacks of faggots and firewood, &c.

THE FURNITURE includes four-post, French, tent, and stump bedsteads; five excellent goose feather beds, hair mattresses, thirteen blankets, six Marseilles quilts, thirteen needlework quilts; pier, hang-up, and tray-stand glasses; Brussels carpets; capital eight-day, 30-hour, and two American clocks; painted wardrobe, mahogany and painted washstands; carpets, about five doz. of mahogany, Windsor, stained, cane, and rush-seated chairs; bureau and book-case; glazed-front buffet; set of mahogany, dining, Pembroke, dressing, oval, round, and square tables; dial-face barometer, mahogany frame sofa, one couch, three glazed-front book-cases, five mahogany wainscot chests of drawers, night table, chair commode and stools; Vernvolver, American oven, cheese, pickled pork; three mash vats, 12 casks, coolers, wash troughs and tubs; 33 gallon copper, Oxenham's patent mangle, bacon and flour chests; the bed and table linen; glass, Stafford, and brown ware.

The surviving sale catalogue fleshes out the picture even further. For what appears to have been an average-sized farm, the catalogue lists the content of four bedrooms, parlour, kitchen, pantry, store room, two cellars, wash-house, as well as daily utensils, Staffordware and glass, linen and various items labelled "out doors". The dairy provides evidence of on-site milking, butter and cheese manufacture. The cellar has barrels and 12 dozen bottles, but there is no stock of wine; however there is a quantity of grapes outside, so possibly they made wine. The pantry had pork-curing equipment. The kitchen had tea and coffee pots, a coffee mill, a capital single-barrel gun, (by Egg), and a tobacco pot. Outside was a hive with bees, and a bee house.

The west bedroom was apparently the parents' with a 5 ft bed, the south bedroom had two beds, one 4 ft 9 in and the other 4 ft 4 in, while the middle back bedroom had a 2 ft 10 in French bedstead and a stump bedstead, and the men's bedroom had four stump bedsteads. The Brussels carpet in the parlour was 17 ft 6 in by 13 ft 3 in in size. The set of mahogany dining tables with circular ends reached to 9 ft 7 in by 4 ft, with a centre on castors. Book-cases included one painted and glazed-front book-case with three sliding shelves, 3 ft 5 in square, and a painted oak glazed-front book-case 4 ft 11 in by 1 ft 11 in with 4 sliding shelves. The catalogue even records a stuffed

¹ WSRO SP 500.

² *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 20th September 1851.

parrot, pied jackdaw, and yaffel (i.e. a green woodpecker), set in 2 glass cases.¹

A surviving letter from Robert Henry Hurst, the owner of Park Farm, dating from 1882, says, of the farmhouse, that “. . . there is as pretty a site in a house . . . as is to be found in the neighbourhood of Horsham.”²

¹ Sale catalogue in the possession of Jonathan Dale; Blamires: 112-123.

² WSRO Add. Ms. 32149.

PARK FARM,

Within Two miles of the Town of Horsham, Sussex.

A CATALOGUE OF ALL THE VALUABLE LIVE FARMING STOCK,

Husbandry Tackle, and Farming Implements;

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE,

CHEESE, PICKLED PORK,

BED AND TABLE LINEN,

AND MISCELLANEOUS PROPERTY.

PLUMER AND SON

WILL SELL BY AUCTION, ON THE PREMISES,

On Monday, Sept. 29th, and two following days,

At Twelve o'Clock each day,

By Order of the Executors of the late Mr. James Pollard.

S. PRICE, PRINTER, HORSHAM.



Final years

On the 7th January, while on a visit to his daughter Eliza at Reigate, James Pollard had a heart attack and died. Melodramatically, his death certificate records that he died “suddenly and instantly”, of Natural Disease of the Heart.¹ Because it was a sudden death, a coroner’s inquest had to be held. The inquest—held at the Rose and Crown in Reigate, before W. Carter, esq.—was fully reported in the *Sussex Agricultural Express*, in the following terms:²

Mr Nicholls, watchmaker, said, he was son-in-law of deceased, who lived at Horsham, but had been on a visit to him that day. Soon after seven in the evening of Tuesday, witness’s wife sent for him next door, and he went immediately: deceased had only been taken ill a few minutes before he went; could not say if deceased was at that time alive. Witness sent for Mr. Sisson, surgeon, who attended directly. Deceased was in his usual state of health that day, and witness had no reason whatever to believe that either he had done anything to cause his own death or that any violence had been used by any other person to cause death. Deceased was subject to gout.

Mr. Sisson deposed, that he attended deceased, who appeared as if in a fainting fit; he applied stimulants and bled him, although from the state he was in he did not consider it would be of any avail: the probable cause of death was an affection of the heart.

The jury immediately returned a verdict of “Natural death.”

Described as a farmer of Horsham, his body was buried in the Friends’ burial ground at Reigate, on the 12th January.³ His daughter Mary wrote to her brother Robert, who had evidently been unable to attend the funeral, describing the event for him:

. . . we committed the remains of our precious Father to the silent grave and we had a solemn meeting after where much advice and consolation was extended and a very sweet and precious evidence that our dearest Father had been called to “one of the many mansions prepared for the” “humble followers of Christ”, and each one of us dear Robert must so conform our lives to the will of our Heavenly Father, that when “time to us shall be no more” we may all form one happy family above where no sickness or sorrow can ever enter.

A great many kind friends came to pay the last tribute of respect to our dear parents remains —amongst whom was Daniel & Eliza Hack, J. Sharp, Peter Bedford, as ministers Uncles William and wife, Andrew Aunts Emma, & Fanny, Cousin[s] Alfred, Isaac, Catherine, and a great many friends that would take some time to mention,—after dinner Peter Bedford gave us his warmest wishes for our support and craved a blessing of him who is able to bless—Daniel Hack also spoke for some time in a remarkable manner encouraging each.⁴

According to Mary, “Dear Mother is calm and sends her dearest love to thee . . .”⁵

¹ Death certificate; Pollard book; *Sussex Agricultural Express* 18th January 1851; IR 26/1911; the last-named gives the date of death as the 8th, which is a mistake. A short notice of the death appears in *The Friend* for February 1851 (IX.98:37).

² SRC 6189/58; *Sussex Agricultural Express* 18th January 1851.

³ SRC 6189/58.

⁴ Letter from Mary to Robert Pollard, now at WSRO.

⁵ loc. cit.

The 1851 census was taken on the 30th March. Uniquely, this year a record was made, too, of religious affiliations across the country. In Horsham that Sunday just ten Friends attended Meeting for Worship. This marked an appreciable decline since 1801, when there had been 48 Quakers in the parish.¹ In the ordinary residential census, Susanna Pollard was recorded as living at Park Farm House, as a farmer of 140 acres employing three labourers. As well as her daughter Mary—simply described as a farmer’s daughter—her household included a bailiff, a house servant and two farm servants.

Of the other Pollard children, Eliza was living with her husband Thomas, a watch manufacturer, with their two sons Daniel and William, a journeyman, two apprentices, and two house servants. Richard was an ironmonger and draper, employing one boy, of West Street, living with his wife and a general servant.² Their daughter Martha—who had epilepsy, like her uncle Frederick—was by this date a patient at The Retreat, in York; she had been admitted there the month before, and was clearly not at all well, being described on admission as “suicidal or dangerous to others”.³ William was a student, resident at the Flounders Institute, Ackworth.⁴ Robert was a confectioner apprentice, living in the household of Richard Richards, confectioner baker and grocer, in Fore Street, Redruth, Cornwall.⁵

Susanna’s sister Sarah Moase was a farmer’s bailiff’s wife, of Pondtail Lane, Horsham, living with her niece.⁶ Her sister Mary Harding was living with her husband, three children, and a servant (also named Bourne) at Fraters, Horsham.⁷ Of James’s surviving siblings, Samuel was a house agent, of Springfield road, Horsham, living with wife, a general servant, and a charwoman; Kelly’s Directory, of the same year, describes him as both a house agent and an accountant.⁸ William was described as a surgeon not practising, living in Charlbury, Oxfordshire, with his wife, his niece Catherine (Josiah’s daughter), and a servant.⁹ Martha Treadwell was

¹ HO 129/87/2/1/10; *Victoria County History of Sussex*, Vol. VI Pt 2 (1986): 198.

² HO 107/1648.

³ HO 107/2355 f575 p51; admission papers, The Retreat, RET/6/1/5; lunacy patients admission registers, at Ancestry.

⁴ HO 107/1648.

⁵ HO 107/1915 f160 p10.

⁶ HO 107/1648 f320 p13.

⁷ HO 107/1648 f188 p21.

⁸ HO 107/1648 f244 p38; Kelly’s 1851 Directory of Sussex; PROB 11/2139 Q. 748; death certificate; SRC 6189/168.

⁹ HO 107/1732 f113 p3. In *The Charlbury of our Childhood* (York, 1990: William Sessions), Caroline Pumphrey’s memoirs offer some interesting details on William Pollard, as follows:

He married Aunt Mary in 1849. It was a furiously hot day and the first time that several of us children had been to Meeting, and the Meeting house naturally was packed. He was a retired London doctor, a little man who originally dressed all in drab, till Aunt Mary coaxed him to change his drab coat for a brown one. He never left off his short drab trousers and white stockings with low shoes; or very broad brimmed drab beaver hat. In London he used to ride a velocipede and frightened a patient once by telling him he had left his steed in his garden, but he gave it up when Sir John Easthope gave him a pair of ponies and the funniest little pill-box of a brougham, and an open carriage too with just room for two children on the back seat. (p30)

. . . Among the Albright friends and kindred were the Atkins of Chipping Norton. Sarah Paul once lived with Joseph Atkins . . . and through them made the acquaintance of Mary and Lydia Albright. When she afterwards lived with Sir John Easthope’s family she knew Wm. Pollard and it was when Mary and Lydia Albright went to see her near London that Uncle William and Aunt Mary first met. (p. 31).

About 1860 Uncle Pollard went to America to see his brother. We used to be much interested in one story of that family—how one cold winter’s night a woman and a baby came to Mr. Pollard’s

door and asked if she might come in and warm the child while her husband drove on to the Post Office and came back for her. Leave was freely given. After a good while she began to wonder that her husband was not back. Would Mrs. Pollard mind holding the baby while she went to the garden gate to see if he was coming. Mrs. Pollard took the child and the woman went and, despite careful search, they heard of her no more. But they kept the child and brought her up as one of their own family.

While Uncle Pollard was away, Aunt Mary altered their house, pulling down the dark old stairs and putting up some nice new ones, and turning a little back parlour into a hall. She also added a tiny greenhouse for she loved her flowers and used to twine a cobeia over an arch in one of the bow windows. Uncle Pollard too was fond of his garden and used up various old surgical instruments as garden tools. He was very successful with his fruit and vegetables. One night a man climbed into his pear tree to steal pears and fell down into Uncle Pollard's garden and hurt himself so badly he could not climb back over the wall. So he came to the back door and knocked at a very early hour; 'Mary, go and see who's there,' said Uncle Pollard to Mary Pulham and she went accordingly to be greeted with, 'Oh, my dear good woman, for pity's sake let me through and never say nothing to nobody about it'. It was Uncle Pollard who first gave Mary Pulham the title of doctor because when she took to homoeopathy and prescribing largely, while he did not discourage, he privately somewhat laughed at her practice.

Uncle Pollard used to complain of the wasteful way most people pared apples. Never did any man do it more neatly than he, with very thin paring and then cut up just into the segments of the core, which he flaked off with no waste. He once offered a niece, afterwards Mrs. Thomas Nicholls [i.e. James & Susanna's daughter Eliza], to give her as much silk for her wedding gown as she could pare yards of paring off an eight inch girth apple, without breaking the paring and she pared 13 yards. . . .

Once Uncle Pollard was found by a zealous gamekeeper trespassing in Dytchley Woods and the man threatened to report him. 'Thee go and tell Charles Dillon,' was the reply, 'that thee found William Pollard walking in Dytchley Woods and thee can tell him too that William Pollard will do it again whenever he has a mind to.' Like others of his family Charles Lord Dillon was sociable and once, when Uncle Pollard had taken a six year old niece as far as Dytchley Park on a hot summer day, insisted on taking them the round of the private gardens and greenhouses and they walked and they talked till the weary youngster alongside had made much ado to get home again, for Uncle Pollard never picked a child up and carried her like other Uncles did. Aunt Mary was his second wife, but he lost both wife and only child, a little girl, many years before.

Uncle Pollard was a great snuff-taker, and never had more than two meals a day—a cup of broth or bread and milk at 7 a.m. and dinners of very fat meat and nearly raw cabbage at 1 p.m. At one time he liked a cup of very strong tea at 5 p.m. but gave it up. He suffered dreadfully from gout. In some ways he was in advance of his day and great amazement was expressed by many that he really believed 'people might safely wash all over in cold water every morning, and sleep with their windows open, no matter how cold it was'. He was a good hand at charming warts. One of the small nieces had a tiresome wart pushing out her thumb nail. Grave seniors counselled her burning it away with caustic, which made the timid youngster shake in her shoes. 'I know something much better than that,' said the pitiful doctor, and he seized her hand, rubbed the wart round in some queer fashion—was it three times this way and three times that, and across and across?—repeating some rigmarole in Latin probably, and then he tossed her hand over her left shoulder and bade her think no more about it for she would soon see it no more for ever. 'Fudge!' thought the child, 'as if *that* could do any good!' But was it a charm? Did doctors use charms? Were charms wicked? Ought *Friends* to charm? But queer and interesting though it was there were plenty of things more so and she soon forgot all about it, till someone asked her some days after, 'Let me look at that wart, Caroline. Why! it's gone!!' (pp31-33)

(On tea-making:) Uncle William was very particular to have the cream put in first. (p. 33)

Uncle Pollard had all Scott's novels and other works given him in payment of a bad debt. They used to be kept in a locked well-curtained bookcase upstairs, but as we grew old enough we were allowed free access, as our elders wisely thought, 'If they learn to like good novels, they will never tolerate poor ones.' (p70)

We used to play chess with Uncle Pollard and backgammon and patience with Aunt Mary . . . (p 71)

living with her sister Mary Ann Hayllar in Silver Street, Newport Pagnell; Mary Ann is described as “Formerly Grocer &c.”; with them are her daughter Lucy, and Martha’s daughter Maria.¹

On the 22nd April James’s brother Samuel—house agent and accountant of Horsham—made his will. He stated that “My property at present consists of two freehold houses offices and gardens situate in the Carfax a freehold house offices & garden on the North Parade.” He left two gold watches, one to his eldest son Edwin, the other to his son Arthur. Edwin was appointed as one of his executors, being described as a watchmaker of Sherborne, Dorset. Samuel’s will expresses the very unusual wish that his wife should give up housekeeping and leave Horsham within 12 months of his decease. One wonders whether Fanny’s drinking had remained a problem to this date, and whether perhaps he was trying to spare her further criticism, or he doubted whether she would be able to cope in Horsham on her own.²

On the 7th May Susanna’s third grandchild, Charles Clark Pollard—Richard and Maria’s first—was born at their home in West Street, Horsham.³

Samuel Pollard died at Springfield Road, Horsham, on the 13th July, of Chronic disease of the stomach, and about 14 days’ Albuminuria. His body was interred in the Friends’ burial ground at Horsham, on the 20th.⁴

James Pollard’s will was proved in London, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, by his brother William and Susanna’s brother-in-law Richard Moase, on the 1st August 1851.⁵

On the 25th August Eliza Nickalls gave birth to another boy, given the name James—presumably in memory of her father, who had died in her home earlier that year.⁶ James was anaemic from birth, and died aged just 13 days on the 7th September.⁷ His body was laid to rest in the Friends’ burial ground at Reigate the following day.⁸ In this time of family grief, it’s likely she was supported by her mother, who had certainly left Park Farm by the end of September, and had gone to live in Reigate, probably with her daughter.⁹

By order of the executors of James Pollard’s will, the contents of Park Farm were sold at auction, at the premises of Plumer and Son, auctioneers, over the three days from the 29th September to the 1st October. The sale of James’s effects realised £460.18.5d., on which duty of £4.12.2d. was payable. Legacies from the estate were distributed to his beneficiaries some time in 1852.¹⁰

Eliza attended Women’s Monthly Meeting at Dorking in December, the first and only Monthly Meeting attended by any member of the Pollard family that year.¹¹

Some time during 1851 Mary Pollard had removed to Derby, but she didn’t live there long, for on the 27th December she died. Her body was interred in the Friends’ burial ground at Reigate, on

Uncle Pollard used to have visits from Mr. Vardy, one of his London friends, and his son Sam, a singularly small lad for his age, whom his ambitious father wished to make a great doctor. (p72)

¹ HO 107/1723 f412 p31.

² PROB 11/2139 Q. 748.

³ Birth certificate; Pollard book; SRC 6189 Box 11.

⁴ Pollard book; death certificate; SRC 6189/168.

⁵ PROB 11/2138.

⁶ Pollard book; birth certificate.

⁷ Pollard book; death certificate.

⁸ SRC 6189/58.

⁹ Death certificate; sale catalogue in the possession of Jonathan Dale. The freehold of Park Farm was sold in June 1854, by which time it was let to a yearly tenant by the name of William Francis (Horsham Museum Ms SP96).

¹⁰ Sale catalogue in the possession of Jonathan Dale; IR 26/1911.

¹¹ SRC 6189 Box 10.

the 4th January 1852.¹

On the 3rd August 1852 Eliza Mary Nickalls was born at Reigate.² Mary Turner Pollard—Richard and Maria's second child—was born at their home in West Street, Horsham, on the 30th December.³ Mary was not to live long, however, for she died on the 21st August 1853, and was buried in the Friends' burial ground at Horsham on the 28th August.⁴

In January 1853 Richard Pollard was distrained for church rates. Shovels and grafting tools were taken.⁵ Richard made his will on the 27th August—his own mortality understandably on his mind, not just because of Mary's death, but because he himself was suffering from consumption. He named his wife and Joseph Clark, sharebroker of Southampton, as executors.⁶

On the 12th January 1854 William Pollard married Lucy Binns at Nile Street meeting house in Sunderland. William was described as a schoolmaster, of Ackworth. Lucy was a resident of Frederick Street, Bishopwearmouth.⁷ They had met when Lucy had joined the staff of the Friends' school, Croydon, as an apprentice teacher, in April 1848.⁸

Richard Pollard died at home in West Street on the 18th April, after 2 years' Consumption.⁹ His body was buried in the Friends' burial ground at Horsham on the 23rd.¹⁰

On the 23rd May Ellen Nickalls was born at Reigate.¹¹ On the 26th November Mary Sophia Pollard was born at Ackworth, Hemsworth, Yorkshire—William and Lucy's first child.¹²

In June 1855 Richard's widow, Maria Louisa Pollard, and their only surviving child, Charles, left Horsham for Southampton, returning to Maria's home town.¹³

Charles Nickalls was born at Reigate on the 10th December 1855, the sixth child of the Nickalls family.¹⁴ The following month saw the birth of Lucy Pollard, at Ackworth, on the 22nd—William and Lucy's second.¹⁵

On the 27th February 1856—described for the first time as a Confectioner journeyman—Susanna's youngest surviving child, Robert Pollard, died at Moseley Heath, Kings Norton, Worcester. The cause of death was given as Phthisis Pulmonalis certified—i.e. tuberculosis of the lung, or consumption, like his brother Richard.¹⁶

At this stage it may help if I note the extent of Susanna's surviving family. Still living were her daughter Eliza and five Nickalls grandchildren; her grandson (Richard's son) Charles Clark Pollard; her daughter Martha; and her son William and his two young children. There were no others, apart from her sisters Sarah and Mary: Susanna had outlived six of her children (Ann, Richard, Emma, Mary, Robert and David), and two of her grandchildren (James Nickalls and

¹ SRC 6189/58.

² Pollard book; birth certificate; SRC 6189 Box 11.

³ Pollard book; birth certificate.

⁴ Pollard book; SRC 6189/168 & Box 11.

⁵ SRC 6189 Box 18.

⁶ PROB 11/2196 Q. 633; death certificate.

⁷ Quaker marriage certificate now at WSRO; Society of Friends' Digest of Marriages.

⁸ ERO D/Q 49/I2/a1; Ms notes on family of William & Lucy Pollard, by a son (probably Wilfrid) of Sophie & Joseph Sparkes—photocopy in my possession.

⁹ Pollard book, death certificate; SRC 6189/168 & Box 11.

¹⁰ SRC 6189/168 & Box 11.

¹¹ Pollard book; birth certificate; SRC 6189 Box 11.

¹² Pollard book; *Illustrated London News* family record, now at WSRO; birth certificate.

¹³ SRC 6189/15 & 6189/203.

¹⁴ Pollard book; birth certificate; SRC 6189 Box 11.

¹⁵ Pollard book; *Illustrated London News* family record, now at WSRO; birth certificate.

¹⁶ Pollard book; death certificate.

James and Susanna Pollard

Mary Turner Pollard).



Part of the Friends' burial ground, Reigate, photographed in April 2000. The Pollards' graves are unmarked.

Susanna Pollard died at her home in Reigate High Street on the 4th May 1856, of Bronchitis and 12 months' general decay.¹ Her body was interred in the Friends' burial ground at Reigate on the 11th May.²

¹ Pollard book; death certificate; SRC 6189/58 & Box 11.

² SRC 6189/58 & Box 11.

Afterword:

What became of James and Susanna's children and grandchildren

I restrict myself principally, here, to those members of the family who could actually have been known by James or Susanna. This isn't intended as an exhaustive account, merely an overview of what little may be known:

Eliza's family

Eliza and Thomas had two further children: Thomas Rowe Nickalls was born on the 19th February 1857, attended Ackworth school, and by 1905 was living in Spokane, Washington; James Pollard Nickalls was born on the 15th March 1859, went to school at Croydon, but died on the 18th August 1884, in Canterbury. Eliza Nickalls didn't long survive her mother. She died on the 16th March 1859.¹

Thomas Nickalls married again, to an Eliza Davies, at Liscard (Hardshaw West), on the 7th November 1860.² Thomas and Eliza had children of their own. Thomas lived until 1912, working as a watch and clock maker, employing half a dozen assistants, and then from at least 1861 as Postmaster, employing eight hands, from his shop in the High Street, Reigate.³ He appears to have retired to his home town of Ashford by 1878.⁴

Daniel Smith Nickalls went to the Friends' School in Croydon from 1857 to 1860, and later to Ackworth.⁵ By 1882 he was living in America, and in 1905 was a resident of Silverlake, Shawnee County, Kansas.⁶ He died on the 23rd March 1937.⁷

William Nickalls went to the Friends' School in Croydon from 1858 to 1863.⁸ By 1882 he was living in India.⁹

Eliza Mary Nickalls died at Reigate aged 6½, on the 23rd January 1859. Caroline Pumphrey's memoirs describe the circumstances: She "died in consequence of running a needle into her knee when playing on the floor a fact that made all the Aunts insist if ever we dropped a needle it must be found and picked up."¹⁰

Ellen Nickalls went to the Friends' School in Croydon from 1862 to 1863, and later to Ackworth.¹¹ By 1882 she had married one Henry Noakes, and was living at Carrick on Suir, Co. Tipperary; in 1905, giving her name as Ellen Priscilla Noakes, she was living at 471 Eglinton Street, Glasgow.¹² Henry Noakes died on the 1st June 1902, and Ellen died on the 20th October 1934; they had ten children, of whom Frederick Noakes, a Lance Corporal with the 5th Battalion, the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) was killed on the Somme on 20th July 1916, aged 21; by that date Ellen was living at 11 Stevenson Drive, Glasgow.¹³

¹ Pollard book; *Ackworth Old Scholars' Association Report N° 24*, 1905.

² SRC 6189 Box 11.

³ PRO RG 9/443 f 88 p 8; RG 10/832 f81 p4.

⁴ Probate index.

⁵ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a1 & a2; *Ackworth Old Scholars' Association Report N° 24*, 1905.

⁶ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a1; *Ackworth Old Scholars' Association Report N° 24*, 1905.

⁷ Pollard book.

⁸ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a1 & a2.

⁹ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a1.

¹⁰ Pollard book; *Annual Monitor* 1860; Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 32.

¹¹ ERO D/Q 49/D1/a1 & a2; *Ackworth Old Scholars' Association Report N° 24*, 1905.

¹² ERO D/Q 49/D1/a1; *Ackworth Old Scholars' Association Report N° 24*, 1905.

¹³ Pollard book; Commonwealth War Graves Commission website.

Charles Nickalls died unmarried on the 17th September 1936.¹

Richard's family

Maria Louisa Pollard remarried in 1871, to James George Frankum, landholder and fundholder; after his death in 1885 she moved to Charlton, Kent, where she died in 1891. Her son Charles died in his twenties, in 1877.²

Martha Pollard

Martha died of epilepsy, at The Retreat, on the 11th July 1859, aged 35.³

William's family

William taught at Ackworth School from 1853 to 1866.⁴ From 1866 to 1872 he worked as principal business agent to the well-known photographer Francis Frith, in Reigate.⁵ From 1872 to 1893 he served as secretary and lecturer to the Lancashire and Cheshire International Arbitration Association, a branch of the Peace Society.⁶ Amongst other writings, in 1884 he was co-author of *A Reasonable Faith*, which marked a landmark in the evolution of Victorian Quakerism.⁷ William and Lucy had eight more children after Susanna's death.⁸ William died at home in Eccles in 1893; Lucy died at her later home in Ackworth in 1908.⁹

Mary Sophia Pollard married Joseph John Sparkes, a yarn salesman, in 1880, and had four children. Joseph died in 1894, but Mary Sophia lived till 1935, at St Albans.¹⁰

Lucy Pollard became a teacher, and married Harrison Jackson, in 1887. She lived at West View, Kendal, then after 1921 moved to Weston-super-Mare, Somerset, where she died in 1939.¹¹ Their only child (Hugo) was killed while serving with the Friends' Ambulance Unit in France in 1918.¹²

At the time of writing (2023), there are believed to be at the very least 133 living descendants of James and Susanna Pollard, all those known being descended from their son William.

¹ Pollard book.

² loc. cit.

³ Pollard book; death certificate; SRC 6189 Box 11.

⁴ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; daughters' birth certificates, &c.

⁵ *Oxford DNB*; 1871 census; son's birth certificate; Michael Wigg: 'Francis Frith: Quaker Connections', <http://www.bw.clara.net/frith/quaker.htm>, 4 Aug 1998; &c.

⁶ Blamires; *Oxford DNB*; 1881 census, &c.

⁷ Blamires; *Oxford DNB*; Wigg, op. cit., &c.

⁸ Pollard book, &c.

⁹ Death certificates.

¹⁰ Pollard book; Ms notes on family of William & Lucy Pollard, by a son (probably Wilfrid) of Sophie & Joseph Sparkes—photocopy in my possession, &c..

¹¹ *Ackworth Old Scholars' Association Report N° 24*, 1905; *The Friend* 97:84, 1939-01-27.

¹² Pollard book.