Who produced Fuggle's hops?

Kim Cook

In 1875 the new Fuggle's hop, said to have been propagated by Richard Fuggle of Fowle Hall, Brenchley, was introduced very successfully to the brewing market. Professor J. Percival, in a 1901 article for the Royal Agricultural Society¹ states that 'the original plant was a casual seedling which appeared in the flower garden of Mr George Stace of Horsmonden, Kent', and was first noticed in 1861. He adds that

the seed from which the plant arose was shaken out along with crumbs from the hoppicking dinner basket used by Mrs Stace ... the sets ... afterwards introduced to the public by Mr Richard Fuggle of Brenchley, about the year 1875.

His information was said to have come from correspondence from Mr John Larkin of Horsmonden and Mr W.J. Noakes of Goudhurst. Later reports state that Mr Richard Fuggle was of 'Fowle Hall, Brenchley'.

But does this charming story stand up to historical scrutiny? Percival's account to a prestigious learned organisation has been much quoted, often word for word, and is now considered to be the definitive account of the origin of the variety. The

aim of this article, therefore, is to discover where original historical documentation agrees with Percival, and where his account is unsubstantiated.

Fowl or Fowle Hall probably came into the possession of the Fuggle family following the marriage at Brenchley, on 26th April 1769, of Thomas Fuggle, born in 1743, and Mary Fowle. Thomas died before 1825, but various wills suggest that he was one of a large family of at least five sons and one daughter. From the content of these wills, together with parish registers, I have drawn up a provisional family tree, together with an outline tree for what appears to be a different Fuggle family in which there were two Richards extant at the relevant time. However, could either of them have been the propagator of the Fuggles hop? One would expect that the discoverer of the first seedling in 1861 was an adult and would still have been around in 1875 to see his years of propagation come to fruition and claim the credit.

Fowle Hall, its occupants, and other local Fuggles are not easy to trace, for the property sits on the boundaries of the two parishes of Brenchley and Yalding. Additionally, nearby land and farms,



Figure 1. Upper Fowle Hall, 2008. (Photo: Kim Cook)

including Old Hay, less than two miles away, fall within a detached part of the more distant parish of Mereworth! Members of the Fuggle family, when giving their parish of birth, took their pick of the three parishes, and often this varied from document to document. With many Christian names recurring in the family, baptisms spread between three parishes, and some not appearing in any, determining which child belonged to which set of parents is problematical.

Tithe apportionment records, where they survive, provide useful information about farm land, who owned it, who rented it, what crops were grown, and what it was worth. The tithe system stipulated that a tenth of the produce, or its equivalent in cash, had to be paid to the tithe recipient. Great tithes were those which went to the rector of a parish, while lesser tithes went to the vicar of the parish. However, tithe entitlements could be bought and sold, and lay (non-ordained) persons who acquired tithe rights were known as impropriators.

The tithe apportionment records for the Brenchley area were drawn up in the mid-1840s, probably between 1841 and 1843. These show only one Richard

Fuggle, who is farming land he owns himself, but not at Fowle Hall. At Longreeds, Old Hay Farm, he has a field with a statute measure of 4 acres 2 roods 1 pole in bounds, or 5 acres 8 poles out bounds. A rood was a quarter of an acre, and there were 40 square poles to a rood, so the internal measure of the field was a little over 4½ acres. Used for arable crops, it was not liable for tithes to the vicar, but was valued at £1.2s.6d. payable to the impropriator. Richard also owned 3 roods 7 poles of woodland at Shawfrith, which was not taxable, and two parcels of pasture at Frossate Field, all within the area of Old Hay. The pas-

tures totalled about 10½ acres (internal) or just under twelve acres (external), for which he paid 12s.3d. to the vicar and £1.19s.0d. to the impropriator. None of his land is shown as growing hops!

The tithe records show two Fuggles who owned much more land; Ann Fuggle and John Fuggle. This John Fuggle is probably the one born in 1772 who, in 1826 was the main beneficiary in the will of his uncle Richard Fuggle. Richard, born in 1751, had property at Gatehouse Farm, Mill Farm, Bramble Reed Farm, White Barn (with approximately 29 acres of land attached), and a 'Messuage or



Figure 2. Old Hay's only remaining oasts. (Photo: Kim Cook)

tenement' with outbuildings, gardens, orchard and four parcels of land near Chownings Green in the Parish of Brenchley'.² As he died in 1826, this Richard clearly couldn't have been linked with the Horsmonden seedling.

Ann Fuggle owned 49 parcels of land which she managed herself, including arable, woodland, hops and an oast, totalling about 881/4 acres (internal) and almost 1191/2 acres (external). Of these, there were hops on about 31/2 acres at Toll Field, almost 4 roods at Upper Church Field, about 21/4 acres at Hale Mead, with an oast and yard totalling 24 poles. Her total tithes on this were £5.17s.0d. to the vicar and £11.10s.0d. to the impropriator. Ann grew more hops on land rented from John Fuggle, with just under 2 acres (internal) at Little Raiments, almost 31/2 acres at Great Wood Field, just over 2 acres at Little Wood Field with a further 1 acre 11 roods at the Oast Hop Garden and 3 acres 12 poles at the Oast Hop Field.

John Fuggle's total holding was about 250 acres, but he tended less than 20 acres himself, with no hops. Of his many tenants who farmed the remaining land, only one, Thomas Mercer, was growing hops, with a small hop garden of 2 roods 34 poles. Clearly, the main hop grower at this time was Ann Fuggle.

Unfortunately, with no indication of age or marital status given in the tithe apportionment records, it has been difficult to determine exactly who this Ann Fuggle was. As the family trees show, there are a number of Ann Fuggles, any one of whom could have been the one mentioned in the tithe apportionment records.

Ann Fuggle (née Diamond) was still alive in 1841, farming at Mare Place, Brenchley, with four daughters. Husband Thomas and son, also Thomas, were not at home, and it is possible that both had died. No record of any of the family has been found in 1851, although in 1861 three of the daughters, Mary, Frances and Ann, all unmarried teachers, were living together in Wadhurst. No death or burial record has yet been found for Ann, so it is impossible to be sure whether or not she was still alive at the time of the tithe apportionment. It is unlikely that her unmarried daughter Ann, born in 1820, would have been the hop farmer, for she trained as a teacher.

Ann Fuggle, born in 1781, would have been the sister-in-law and aunt respectively of the above two Anns, but so far no record has been found of her after her baptism, so there is no certainty that she survived into adulthood. Even had she survived and remained single, she would have been well into her sixties by the time the tithe apportionment was recorded, and unlikely to have been farming on her own at that age.

There is, however, another much more likely possibility. As the Brenchley family tree shows, John Fuggle and his wife Hannah Fielder had only one child, Thomas Fielder Fuggle, baptised in



Figure 3. Little Fowle Oast. (Photo: Kim Cook)

Brenchley in 1804. It is believed that Hannah died during, or soon after, child-birth.

In December 1804 in Brenchley, a John Fuggle married Elizabeth Corke. There were a number of John Fuggles in the area at that time, and initially it was unclear which of them had married Elizabeth. However, after an extensive search to trace their descendants, census entries, naming patterns and other evidence combine to give a very strong indication that this was a second marriage for the John who had first married Hannah Fielder.

From this second marriage, John had four known children, Elizabeth (1805), John (1808), Mary (1810), and Ann (1814). Elizabeth is known to have married Henry Barton, and they named their first child John Fuggle Barton.

On 20th December 1830 in Brenchley, a John Fuggle married an Ann Fuggle. Which John and which Ann is a real puzzle. Were they cousins in some degree? Or was Ann the widow of another Fuggle? Clearly, they can't both have been children of John and Elizabeth, so did their John marry another Ann, or did their Ann marry another John? The

Brenchley family tree provisionally shows John as the child of John and Elizabeth, because to show both possibilities would be unneccessarily confusing.

Whoever the respective parents of this couple were, they had two children, Thomas Fuggle (1831) and Elizabeth Jane Fuggle (1833), both baptised in Brenchley. At first neither Thomas nor Ann could be found in 1841, and their son Thomas wasn't to be found either. I had begun to wonder if either of the children had survived.

Checking on any other references to an Ann Fuggle who might have been the hop farmer, I found that, on 27th January 1848 in Etchingham, just across the county border in Sussex, Ann Fuggle, said to be aged 38, and recorded as the daughter of John Fuggle, married William Durrant, aged 41, son of Thomas Durrant. Searching for these two in 1851, I found them at Gatehouse Farm, Brenchley, along with 17-year-old Elizabeth Jane Fuggle, described as William's daughter-in-law - what we would now call step-daughter. Clearly this is Ann, widow of John, and their daughter, who had been baptised in Brenchley in 1833. Ann's birthplace is given as Yalding and her age as 42, but which of the many John Fuggles was her father has not yet been determined.

Going back to the census returns for 1841, eventually I found Elizabeth, aged 8, with her mother Ann, said to be a farmer aged 25, both at Gatehouse Farm.

Neither John nor Thomas was at home, and it seems likely that both had died. Living with Ann and Elizabeth were a farm carter, two female servants and Ann Manwaring, aged about 15. Although in 1841 adult ages were rounded to the nearest five years, Ann Fuggle's age is clearly wrong by some seven years, which explains why a search using her name, together with her age plus or minus five years, failed to find her. As it is quite common to find minor age discrepancies in census returns, a search on age plus or minus five years usually captures the person being sought.

Gatehouse Farm was formerly the property of Richard Fuggle (1751-1826), and had been willed to his nephew John Fuggle (1772-1844), who was either the father or father-in-law of Ann Fuggle, later Durrant. Whether Ann Durrant was the daughter or daughter-in-law of John Fuggle and Elizabeth Corke, she is the likeliest candidate for the hop-grower found in the tithe records.

By 1861, when the Fuggle seedling was discovered, William and Ann Durrant were at Key Lands, Beltring Road, Nettlestead, in the new parish of Paddock Wood. This parish included parts of Brenchley and Yalding. Living with them was William's niece, Ann Woodgate Durrant, born Horsmonden, said to be 18 years old. Ann, born on 10th June 1841 and baptised on 24th July that year in Horsmonden, was the daughter of Woodgate Durrant and his wife Anna Maria née Tapsell, and would in fact have been 19, but as already

noted such minor discrepancies are quite common in census returns.

The only Fuggles in residence at Fowle Hall in 1861, when the seedling was allegedly found, were Thomas Fielder Fuggle, farming 100 acres at Fowle Hill Farm, his wife with three children.3 Thomas, baptised on 2nd April 1804 in Brenchley, but who gave his birthplace as Mereworth, was the son of John, and grandson of Thomas Fuggle and Mary Fowle. In 1830 in St. Pancras, London, he married Mary Fuggle, probably one of his many cousins. His presence in London suggests business there, possibly as a factor for their crops. No children of this marriage have been found, and it is assumed that Mary died within a few years of the marriage, for in 1838 John married again.

His second wife was another cousin, Jane Manwaring, grand-daughter of Mary Fuggle and Richard Manwaring. Thomas Fielder Fuggle and Jane had twelve children, only three of whom, John (21), Elizabeth (6) and Alice (2) were at home in 1861. They did have a son Richard, baptised in Brenchley in 1848, who was at Fowle Hall in 1851,4 along with his parents and five siblings. all born in Yalding, the parish in which the property was listed. However, Richard was not there in 1861 and has not been found elsewhere. Had he discovered the hop 'sport', he would have been 13, and it would have been his father Thomas who propagated it and received due credit.

Although Richard was back at Fowle Hall by April 1871, within a few months he had married, in Croydon, Jane Lydia Bateman, and they had emigrated to a farm in Lambton, Ontario. Between 1872 and 1880 they had four children, all born there. Clearly Richard could not have been in England propagating his crop, or conducting an effective marketing campaign, ready for the new variety to be launched in 1875.

In 1889, shortly before his death, Richard, who had been working as a miller, was in St. Thomas, British Columbia. His will of 1890 mentions his father, 'Thomas Feelder Fuggle of Fowell Hall, Yalding', his brothers Thomas, of 117, North Street, Brighton, and John, 'late of Fowell Hall, Yalding'. However, he may have been out of touch with his family for some years, for his father had died in 1879 at the age of 74.

The Richard Fuggle who appears in the 1840s tithe apportionment was still at Old Hay in 1861, by which time his holdings there had grown to 103 acres. No baptism record for Richard, born circa 1806, has yet been found, and the only clue to his parentage is the census of 1841. Old Hay was then being farmed by John Fuggle, possibly a widower, whose age was about 65, with Richard, presumably his son. However, as the 1841 census doesn't show marital status or relationships, this can be only a strong inference. By 1851 John had died, and a search for his burial revealed that two John Fuggles had died in Brenchley within 15 months.



Figure 4. Fuggle's hops. (Photo: Charles Faram and Co. Ltd.)

John Fuggle of Mereworth, was buried on 30th March 1843, aged 66, indicating that he was born circa 1776-7, and was from Old Hay, then an outpost of Mereworth. Mr John Fuggle of Brenchley (note the deferential entry, usually reserved only for people of high local status) was buried on 28th June 1844, aged 71, entirely consistent with the baptism of John Fuggle, son of Thomas and Mary, on 27th December 1772.

It is tempting to think that the John Fuggle at Old Hay was the father, not only of Richard, but also of Thomas, John and all the other children shown on the Brenchley tree. The ages of these children allow for Richard to fit into the

sequence of children, and the lack of a baptism record may simply have been a clerical error in the parish registers. However, there were clearly two separate Johns, and unless one was a childless man who doesn't fit into the family tree, the John at Old Hay must have been a different person from a separate, but probably related, family. If the John who fathered Richard was indeed from a separate branch of the family, he might also have been the father of other children including Ann Fuggle or her husband John Fuggle who married in 1830.

In 1851 Old Hay's 134 acres were being farmed by Richard, a widower, who consistently gave his place of birth as Mereworth.⁵ Also in the household were Richard's three sons, Richard (9), John (5) and Henry (2), all born in Mereworth, and housekeeper Ann Dodswell, a 36-year-old single woman born in Horsmonden.

In the 1861 census Old Hay is recorded twice, once as a detached part of Mereworth.⁶ By this time Richard's former housekeeper Ann was listed as his wife, although no record of their marriage has yet been found. Living with them were his sons, listed this time as Richard (20), Jack (16) and Harry (13). However, Richard senior died in 1864, when he would have been about 58, and therefore could not have been propagating the Fuggles hop through until the marketing launch 1875.

By 1871 the three brothers were running the 130-acre farm in partnership. In 1868 the eldest, Richard, now about 27, had married Ann Woodgate Durrant who, like Richard's step-mother, was also from Horsmonden. Ann was the niece of William Durrant, who had married, in 1848, Ann Fuggle, the probable hop farmer!

A year after the marriage of Richard and Ann, their daughter, Annie Louisa Fuggle, was born at Old Hay, followed by Richard Woodgate Fuggle (1871), and daughters, Ada Jane (1872), Alice Margaret (1873) and Agnes Gertrude, baptised in Yalding on 14th September 1874.

Some time between this baptism and 1878 the family moved south to Owley

Farm, Wittersham, a holding of some 117 acres, where their two youngest children, John Henry (1878) and Ann Florence (1880), were born. Richard's brother Henry may have moved with them, for he died in that area in 1878, aged 29. Ann Woodgate Fuggle died in 1887, aged 45, and by 1891 Richard had given up Owley Farm and was living at 4, High Street Wittersham, with three children, and was working as an overseer for someone else. Richard lived on until 1913, when he died at the age of 72.

This is the only Richard Fuggle found in the Brenchley area both in 1861, when the first seedling was found, and in 1875, when the Fuggle's hop was finally marketed. So was he the propagator of the Fuggles hop? If so, why did he suddenly leave Old Hay once the carefully nurtured product was on the market? Presumably he had a good crop growing there, and plenty of customers, so why give it all up? Or was the propagator of the Fuggles hop not a Richard after all, Richard being a hop factor rather than a grower?

And what of George Stace, in whose Horsmonden garden the Fuggle's hop was apparently found in 1861? A search of the 1861 census for Horsmonden (RG9/496, districts 9 and 10), revealed no George Stace indeed nobody with the surname Stace at all. Nor was there any George whose surname bore any resemblance to Stace.

There were a few Stace families in Kent in 1861, but none likely to have been liv-

ing in Horsmonden and working at either Fowle Farm or Old Hay. One George Stace was a 64-year-old farmer living at Standen House, Sandhurst, Kent, where he farmed 15 acres, and would not have been labouring for someone else so far away. Living with him were four nieces and three nephews, including George, a 12-year-old scholar, who was unlikely to have been labouring in Brenchley.

Three young Stace brothers were, in some documents, said to have been born in Horsmonden. In 1861 William, Henry, and John Stace, sons of William Stace and his widow Harriet, were farming their own land at Upper Green, Sandhurst. But there was no George in this family and, again, men farming their own land were unlikely to have been labourers at another farm many miles away.

In 1861 George Stace, a 40-year-old agricultural labourer born in Smeeth, and his wife Sarah, were living at Willesborough Lees, just outside Ashford. However, Willesborough Lees is well over 20 miles from Horsmonden and Brenchley as the crow flies, so his employer would not have been one of the Fuggles in that area. By 1871 this George was farming a smallholding of 19 acres at Stelling Minnis. In 1851 a George Stace, said to have been born in 1842 in Hinxhill, was living with his parents John, an agricultural labourer born circa 1817 in Wye, and wife Martha, in Kennington, near Ashford. However, by 1861, when the family had moved to nearby Willesborough, George was not at home. As Hinxhill is only about a mile east of Willesborough, George, son of John and Martha, was almost certainly the George Stace who, in 1852 in East Ashford, married Sarah (née either Bartholomew or Hart), and was clearly not living in Horsmonden when the Fuggles seedling was found.

In 1871 a George W. Stace, said to have been born circa 1842 in Sevington, near Ashford, was lodging in North Street, Ashford. In later years he lived with his wife Sarah F., born circa 1855, and their family in Boughton under Blean, near Faversham and gave his place of birth as Mersham. This George has not been identified prior to 1871, and his birth and marriage records have not been found, although a George Wallace Stace, son of Thomas and Millicent Stace, was baptised in Ewhurst, Sussex on 10th July 1845, but no corresponding civil registration has been found.

Interestingly, an Amos William Durrant Stace (no parents named) was baptised, also in Ewhurst, on 25th January 1857, although his birth registration in the first quarter of 1857 (Battle registration district) omits his two middle names. The death of Amos William Stace was registered in the same quarter. These events would seem to tie in with the marriage, also in the first quarter of 1857, of Amos Durrant and Caroline Stace. A Caroline Stace. daughter of Thomas and Philadelphia Stace, had been baptised in Ewhurst in 1832. An Amos Durrant, son of Moses and Mary, was reportedly born circa 1836 in Waldron, Sussex. In 1861

Amos (25), an agricultural labourer, and Caroline (28) were at Warren Corner, Waldron, with daughter Mary Jane. In 1871 they were at Copwoods, Uckfield, with three daughters and two sons, all born in Waldron.

Although there was clearly a wellestablished Stace family in Ewhurst and there was a co-incidence of the names Fuggle, Durrant and Stace, I have so far found no close connection between Caroline Stace and George Stace, the alleged discoverer of the Fuggles seedling. Nor have I yet found any close link between Amos Durrant and William Durrant, second husband of Ann Fuggle.

So where did those letter-writers, Mr John Larkin of Horsmonden and Mr W.J. Noakes of Goudhurst, obtain such precise, and yet apparently incorrect, information? I haven't been able to trace these letters, but I have located those I believe where the two correspondents.

When John Larkin was born in Horsmonden in 1843, his father John was inn-keeper at the Kings Arms there. Both parents had been born in Horsmonden. By 1851 John senior was farming about 50 acres at Ashdown Farm, but his wife, Ann, née Longley, died between 1851 and 1861, possibly in 1853. John senior, who is believed to have married, in 1863, Eliza Drury, born c. 1823, Horsmonden, continued to farm at Ashdown, with the help of his son John. John junior married, in 1872, Annie Seggie, and they had four sons.

However, in 1880 the younger John suffered a double blow when both his father and his wife died within a few weeks of each other. John remained a widower for some years, but later married Caroline Seggie, widow of Scotsman David Seggie, and presumably in some way related to his first wife. They had a further four children, all born in Horsmonden, and were still farming at Ashdown in 1901.

William John Noakes was 14 years younger than John Larkin, having been born in Brenchley in 1857. In 1861 he was at Burr's Hill, Brenchley, where his father, also William, farmed 120 acres with four labourers and two boys. His mother was Silvia Sophia, née Waghorn, and both parents had been born in Sussex. By 1871 the family farm had grown to 190 acres employing nine labourers and a boy, and by 1881 to 269 acres employing twelve labourers and six boys.

In 1889 William John married Matilda Beeching, born circa 1860 Goudhurst. In 1891 they were at Trottenden Farm, Goudhurst, with one servant. Matilda died in 1891, and they had no surviving children. William continued to farm at Trottenden, and in 1901 was living there with his married sister-inlaw Melissa Hobbs (née Beeching), his 4-year-old niece Cathleen Maude Hobbs. and two servants. A few months later William John Noakes married again, his bride being either Beatrice Dungey or Nellie Jenner.

Random searches for any links between the names of these two correspondents and any of the Fuggles, Durrants, Dodwells, Staces or any other families who feature in this maze, produced a few results. In 1862 a Mary Ann Stace married in St. Pancras, with one of the possible grooms being a John Noakes; in 1873 in Lewes, Sussex, a William Henry Stace married Ann Elizabeth Noakes: in 1853 in Rye a Louisa Larkin married Edward Noakes: and in 1893 in the Tonbridge area, an Agnes Larkin married, with one of the possible grooms being an Albert Noakes. But so far I have found nothing to link any of these with the people who feature in the events connected with Fuggles hops or with the two correspondents who provided the information in 1901. Were Larkin and Noakes close friends of one of the Fuggle-related families? How did they really know the circumstances in which the Fuggles seedling was found and propagated?

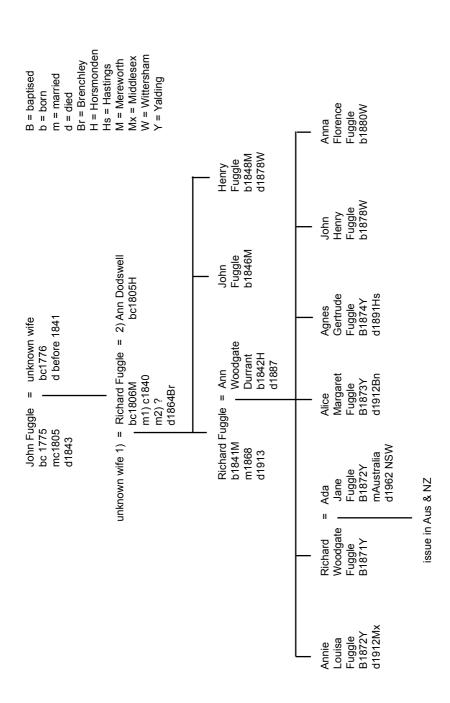
So we are left puzzling over who really did find the seedling, whether it was found in Horsmonden, and who propagated it. Although the two correspondents who gave the information to Percival have been located, the supposed finder George Stace and his wife cannot be substantiated. Although Fowle Hall was, indeed, in the possession of one branch

of the Fuggle family for many years, the historical records for specific dates and names do not match the account given by Percival. The only Richard Fuggle who fits the dates and records was from Old Hay, not Fowle Hall, and even he didn't remain at Old Hay to see the fruits of his supposed labours. Ann Fuggle of Brenchley similarly fits with the dates, and the tithe records suggest she could have been the main hop grower in the Fuggle family at the appropriate time. Was she denied the credit because she was a woman?

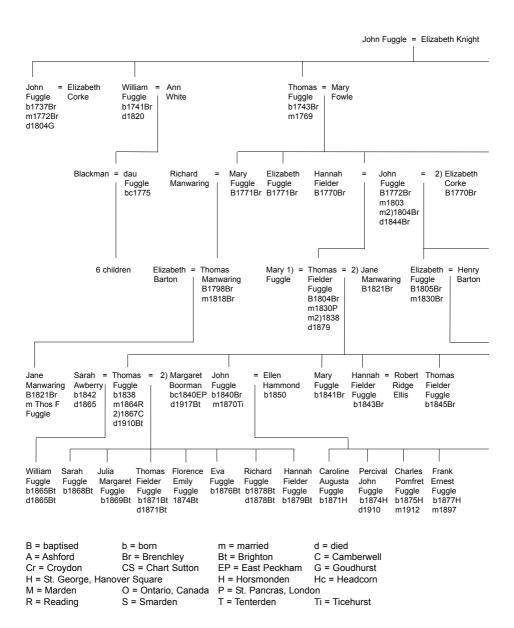
If old invoices for Fuggle's hops bought by brewers or factors still exist, the answer may lie there. If you have access to such archive material, perhaps you can solve the mystery.

References

- 1. Percival, J. (1901) 'The hop and its English varieties,' *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Vol. LXII, pp.67-95.
- 2. Will of Richard Fuggle, National Archives Prob 11/1717
- 3. PRO census RG9/497.2.18.7
- 4. PRO census HO107/1610.1e.9
- 5. PRO census HO107/1612.5b
- 6. PRO census RG9/485.10.162.24
- 7. PRO census RG9/508.11.115.9



Provisional family tree for the Fuggle family of Old Hay, Kent.



Provisional family tree for the Fuggle family of Brenchley, Kent.

