Returning Servicemen and the Growth of Smallholdings in the 1920s

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Introduction

A smallholder is 'a farmer who farms a holding or small piece of land not exceeding an annual rental value of £50, and usually, not exceeding fifty acres in extent'.[1] Any holding above fifty acres was deemed to be a small farm. A market gardener also had a small plot of land but 'specialised in intensive cultivation of plants out of season', mostly vegetables and fruit.[2] However, there was a lot of overlap between market gardeners and smallholders during the early decades of the twentieth century and it was not until 1919 that just 26 smallholders were listed separately in the trades section of Kelly's *Devon Directory*. By 1930, this number had increased to 384 with the addition of over 200 market gardeners and fruit growers.

This study looks at the role of the Devon County Council (DCC) in the implementation of the Land Settlement (Facilities) Act 1919 and the Small Holdings and Allotments Act 1926. Despite the challenges of acquiring land at a time of high prices and the depression in British agriculture during the first half of the 1920s,[3] the DCC oversaw training schemes for ex-servicemen and ensured financial support for new tenants, utilising government funding. Their response and encouragement of diversification led to the creation of at least 50 smallholdings for market gardeners, pig and poultry farmers in the Holcombe and Dawlish area.

Background

Demand in Devon for land, provided by DCC grew during the latter years of WWI and the years following when there was concern about food production. It was thought that the mental and physical health of returning soldiers, traumatised by the war, benefited from working on the land. For example, Lt Col Dr Arthur Hurst, a British physician who worked at Seale Hayne Military Hospital in 1918 and 1919, had successfully combined occupational therapy of working on a farm with intensive therapy sessions to help men suffering with shellshock.[4] Some ex-servicemen were medically unfit to return to the jobs they held pre-war. In 1921, Harry Pincock, of Kingskerswell, was waiting for training in horticulture as he had returned from the war with tuberculosis. The Astor report, a major study by the Departmental Committee on Tuberculosis set up by the Ministries of Health and Pensions found that up to August 1919 approximately 35,000 ex-servicemen were

[1] Ministry of Labour, *A Dictionary of Occupational Terms based on the Classification of Occupations used in the Census of Population, 1921* (London: HMSO, 1927).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Alun Howkins, 'Death and rebirth? English rural society, 1920-1940', 10-25, in Paul Brassley, Jeremy Burchardt, Lynne Thompson (eds.), *The English Countryside Between the Wars: Regeneration or Decline?* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006),13.

[4] https://heritagecalling.com/2018/12/14/home-from-the-war-what-happened-to-disabled-first-world-war-veterans/ (accessed 31 Jan 1924).

suffering with tuberculosis attributable to, or aggravated by, conditions of service.[5] It maintained work on the land helped men with recovery and recommended they should be assisted to acquire smallholdings.[6]

It was also thought that animal welfare and breeding would be enhanced as individuals on smaller holdings would spend more time looking after their stock. To help with this aspect, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, prepared a series of *Guides to Smallholders* which it was hoped would be of benefit to servicemen intending to settle on the land. Individual guides dealt with the basics of pig-keeping, growing farm crops, soils and manure, and fruit and potato growing. Costing 2d. (1p) each they were issued, post free, to all those who requested them.[7]

The Land Settlement Act aimed to fulfil several criteria; to reward returning servicemen for the trauma they had experienced during the war by creating homes, a job and independence; to prevent rural depopulation and to create an agricultural career ladder. It was hoped that a man would start with a smallholding, move on to a larger holding, then a small farm and finally a larger farm keeping families on the land. As it was suspected that many of the men applying would have little or no experience in farming or running a business, the Ministry stated that applicants could not dictate the choice of land. The policy was 'to group Small Holdings together in large blocks' to give an opportunity for tenants to work co-operatively with people in similar situations, sharing tools, purchasing and marketing costs, and offering mutual help and support to 'have the best choice of securing a good livelihood'.[8]

Initially there was to be a two-year project with Government loans paying for land and expenses, with a payback period of eighty years. Land was acquired by private treaty, leasehold or compulsory purchase. It was not always possible to acquire sites that the Council thought would be suitable for smallholdings. Land was in demand, both for food production and for building purposes, this frequently pushed the prices up beyond the Council's means or beyond that which government surveyors had set as a suitable price for a particular site.

Existing tenant farmers, in place from before the war, who hoped to purchase their farms, resented competition from the Council as this increased the final price of land at auction, especially in the case of land which could be easily converted to several smallholdings. A farmer from Tiverton maintained he had had to pay £1,500 more than he would otherwise have done to secure his farm.[9]

Initial Applications for Land

At the end of the war, returning servicemen were invited to apply for land. By May 1919, DCC had received 376 applications, including 40 from men who had no connection with Devon. However, the General Purposes Committee agreed that no men, or officers, should be considered until those who either lived in the county or had a close connection with Devon had been dealt with. By 25 September 1919 there were 507 approved applications with a further 71 under consideration. Being

[5] The Royal British Legion states over 55,000 ex-servicemen suffered from tuberculosis, of whom 18,000 had died by 1922. They were responsible for setting up Tuberculosis hospitals to help treat the disease (see britishlegion.org.uk/stories/tb-hospital. (accessed 31 Jan 1924)

[6] *Western Evening Herald*, 11 May 1920.

[7] *EPG*, 24 May 1919.

[8] DCC Minutes, 11 Mar 1920. The minutes are held by the DHC in the deposit DCC/148.

[9] Similar complaints were made by Farmers Unions. *EPG*, 26 Sept 1919; *North Devon Journal (NDJ),* 22 Oct 1919 and 20 Nov 1919.

approved for a smallholding did not mean applicants automatically became tenants, some had to wait years for a suitable place in the area they wanted.[10]

A list of 236 applicants from East Devon has survived in the papers of Col Acland-Troyte of Huntsham Court, Tiverton, a member of the Agricultural Committee and the Smallholdings and Allotments Sub-Committee. It included seventeen men from out of county and two women. The majority, 176, were ex-service.[11] The list details an individual's choice of holdings. These included bare land to add to existing farm holdings, held by tenants before the war ended, or to be near where they lived; land with outbuildings such as poultry houses, sheds, and stables, or cottage holdings with just one or two acres. The most popular choice was for a house and buildings with land of five to fifty acres with requests from 125 applicants.

Using directories and censuses over half of the East Devon applicants have been identified. They came from all walks of life, but not surprisingly the majority had an agricultural or horticultural background (see Table 1). Amongst some of the individual applicants Sydney Hill from Elton Road, Exeter was a plumber, George Martin, from Escot, a bricklayer. Marwood Welsman's father was a market gardener in Newton Poppleford. Marwood was listed in Kelly's *Directory* from 1919 to 1930, but it is not known whether he was awarded the five acres he applied for. George Felton Hedger was a gardener. He trained at Castle Hill, South Molton. From there he went to Bicton Gardens in East Devon, where he was working as a foreman gardener when he enlisted in the Devon Regiment in October 1916. He was gradually promoted to the rank of Sergeant and when he was demobilised, he returned to his old job at Bicton, living as a boarder in the bothy in 1921. His application was for a cottage holding with 3-5 acres. There are no details of him ever having a smallholding of his own, instead, in 1926 he was listed as a head gardener to Miss Chichester at Arlington Court in North Devon and in 1939 as head gardener at Maristow Gardens, Bickleigh.

Table 1: Breakdown of occupations of 143 applicants for smallholdings *c*.1919

CATEGORY	OCCUPATION	TOTAL
Agricultural	Farmer Farm / Agricultural labourer Thresher	58
Horticultural	Gardener Market Gardener	22
Services	Baker Builder Butcher Chimney Sweep Postman Saddler	23

[10] DCC Minutes. There were 48, pre-December 1920, ex-service approved applicants still waiting for a holding in March 1924.

[11] DHC 2547M/SS/25/9. Papers of Col J. Acland Troyte of Huntsham Court.

	Wheelwright	
Transport	Carrier Driver Haulier	11
Unemployed	Ex-Service Pensioner and Retired invalid	11
Other	Clerk Dealer General Labourer Miller Porter	18
TOTAL		**143**

Agricultural and Horticultural Training

DCC was allocated £85,000 of Government money, to train and resettle men. Intensive college courses, at reduced rates, were available for able-bodied officers at Seale Hayne Agricultural College, 49 were in training and 36 had been trained by March 1921.[12] There were also residential courses available at a Farm Centre in Launceston.[13] Disabled officers had a separate scheme paid for under the Royal Pensions Warrant. There were twelve officers in training under this scheme in September 1920 which included George Nosworthy of Exeter who had been gassed during the war and also suffered a 'derangement' of his right knee.[14]

An alternative was a farm placement lasting up to two years. Farmers were expected to provide board, lodging, and training for which they would be paid up to £1 10s. (£1.50p) per week. Trainees would receive an allowance of £125 per year with an additional allowance of £24 per year for each child up to a maximum of £96. By 11 March 1920, it was noted that 63 men were training with selected farmers.[15]

Under the Training in Horticulture scheme, where trainees lived at home, Tancred Purdue, was placed with Mr Percy Stevens, market gardener, at Woolbrook Nurseries, Sidmouth. An artist, Purdue had been in the Labour Corps during the war. Harold Bolt, a former cabinet maker, was sent to train with Torquay Co-operative Society on their market gardens and nursery at Oldway Gardens, Paignton. Alexander Dark, a disabled army officer, and former milliner, trained in fruit farming with George Pyne at Denver Nurseries in Topsham.[16]

Court Farm Training Centre, Holcombe, Dawlish

An important example of local authorities initiating training schemes came about in 1919 after DCC acquired Court Farm at Holcombe. Lying midway between Dawlish and Teignmouth, it was

[12] DCC Minutes, 17 Mar 1921.
[13] DCC minutes, 11 Dec 1919 and 23 Sep 1920.
[14] Forces War Records. DCC Minutes, 23 Sep 1920.
[15] DCC General Purposes Committee Minutes, Sep 1919 and 11 Mar 1920.
[16] Devon census returns 1921.

purchased initially to create more smallholdings. However, it was decided that 85 acres of the farm would make a good site for training disabled ex-servicemen. Livestock was purchased, which included cows and calves, steers, breeding ewes, six pigs, three horses, ducks and 230 head of poultry.[17] Army huts were erected on site and the farmhouse utilised for the staff who were employed to train and look after the men.

The training centre opened on 28 April 1920.[18] The Farm Principal was James Owen Baulkwill at a salary of £200 per annum. This was later increased to £250 due to 'the number of detailed returns which he is required to keep'.[19] House Master, Thomas Henry Cole; Poultry Instructor, George Edward Dixon, and Horticultural Instructor, Mr E. Gillard, were each paid a salary of £180 per annum. Baulkwill was employed from 6 April, all were in post by 21 April.[20]

In June 1920 there were 43 ex-servicemen at the centre which increased to 60 in September and included ten men from out of county. They were undertaking courses which included dairying and general farm work, market gardening and pig breeding. Poultry farming, of free range and intensively kept birds, included carpentry where the men were taught to make poultry houses and incubators. The most popular, for half the men, was a mixture of all the courses.[21]

Men were paid training allowances - single men £2 per week, married men £2 10s. plus 6s. per child plus 17s. 6d. if he had to keep a home elsewhere. Extra payments were made for rank held in service from 3s. 4d. to £1 per week. Out of their allowance, men paid £1 per week for board and lodgings plus 3d. towards the provision of games, newspapers and similar for the recreation hut. They were housed in three of the 60 by 20 foot corrugated-iron Army huts. Other huts housed recreation, dining and teaching areas. Initially the centre aimed to train 50 men, although there was accommodation for 72.[22]

Horace Thacker Jeary was an example of a trainee who did not go on to have an agricultural or horticultural career. A former railway porter at Bethnal Green in London, he had been living with his widowed father before he enlisted in the army on 26 February 1912. Discharged on 16 February 1919 with 'defective vision', he lived at 14 Stepcote Hill, Exeter, a tenement house which was pulled down at the end of the 1920s, with wife Fanny and three small children and his mother-in-law.[23]

Holcombe Farm as a training establishment was short-lived and by December 1920 the list of ex-service applicants requiring training was closed. The economy had taken a sharp downturn in the early 1920s which affected agricultural funding. Government cutbacks, and the Ministry of Agriculture's concerns that there were limited opportunities for disabled men to be employed in agriculture led to early closure of a successful enterprise. However, the Ministry insisted that civilians should not have newly created holdings, and that special preference should be given to those who had served overseas during the war.[24]

The centre closed on 30 September 1921.[25] Of the 76 men who completed their training there, 21 had become smallholding tenants. A further 21 had been approved for a holding when suitable land was available. Twenty were working in agricultural employment, five of those abroad. The

[17] DCC Minutes, 23 Sep 1920.
[18] DCC Minutes, 17 Jun 1920.
[19] DCC Minutes, 23 Sep 1920.
[20] DCC Minutes, 17 Jun 1920.
[21] DCC Minutes, 17 Jun 1920.
[22] DCC Minutes, 11 Mar 1920.
[23] Julia Neville, email notes 23 Jul 2023.
[24] DCC Minutes, 23 Sep 1920.
[25] DCC Minutes, 16 Dec 1920.

remaining fourteen were in other jobs or unemployed.[26] Each man who had completed their training was paid an efficiency bonus of 5s. for each week of approved service and was also given tools up to the value of £10.[27] It was noted that 'The marked difference in the health of the men and good average of those who have obtained or likely to obtain work in connection with the land have been very pleasing features of the scheme'.[28] Eleven men who were still in training were transferred to other centres, six were placed with private firms within the county.

On the closure of the training centre, the land was let as smallholdings to seven ex-servicemen at Michaelmas 1921.[29] Six men, who had been working or training at the Centre took holdings including Lewis Milford (1890-1962). Serving with the Royal Garrison Artillery, he had been gassed on the Western Front and was invalided out with the resultant continuing health problems. Milford had been living in St Marychurch, working as a commercial traveller at the outbreak of the war, possibly for the local brewery which employed his father.[30] Until there was an outbreak of fowl pest Milford ran his smallholding as Brookside Poultry Farm, but then changed to market gardening growing a mixture of vegetables, fruit and flowers, sent to London by the Dawlish Train. He paid £3 10s. a week for his bungalow, one of the converted huts from the training centre, and £32 10s. per annum for his holding of 2.88 acres.[31]

Five of the trainees, who lived in the newly converted 'bungalows', had holdings of slightly less than three acres each.[32] The farmhouse at Court Farm was converted into accommodation for two families. One half was tenanted by James Baulkwill who had overseen training at the centre. His holding became an approved egg station for sale of eggs including those of Light Sussex and Buff Rocks.[33] The other half of the farmhouse was let to Joseph Campbell a former landlord of the Three Crowns Hotel, Chagford. Campbell had moved early in 1922, 'being an ex-service Army Captain' to take the other half of the then divided farmhouse;

> The cob part of the farmhouse – Court Farm, took some 50 acres on the north side, and the big stone house, Manor Farm, took 50 acres to the south side, including the stream as far as the end of the orchard. There were also in these fields two more semi-detached cob farm cottages. These were turned into a farmstead with about 22 acres.[34]

The whole of the 145 acres of Court Farm was let as fourteen individual smallholdings, split in 1921 between twelve smallholders.

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[26] DCC Minutes, 29 Sep 1921.
[27] DCC Minutes, 16 Jun 1921,
[28] DCC Minutes, 29 Sep 1921.
[29] DCC Minutes, 16 Jun 1921; *EPG*,15 Jun 1921; *WT*, 16 Jun 1921; 30 Sep 1921; DHC 7491C, Smallholding registers 1908-47.
[30] Family history information from Tony Bartlett and www.findmypast.co.uk, accessed 1 Apr 2021 and written up by Julia Neville, Apr 2021.
[31] Family history information from Tony Bartlett written up by Julia Neville, Apr 2021.
[32] Oliver Hart, William Laing, Frank Bellamy and Cyril Turner.
[33] *Dawlish Gazette*, 8 Oct 1921.
[34] Christine Campbell, *The Story of Court Farm Holcombe Nr. Dawlish in the County of Devon* (unpublished manuscript, 1968). Courtesy of Dawlish Museum.

Women Smallholders

Government directives stated that smallholdings could only be let 'to suitable women who are certified by the Board to have been engaged in whole-time employment on agricultural work during a period of not less than six months during the war'.[35] Two women were on the East Devon applicants list. Kathleen Maud Granger was born in June 1895 at Padiham, Lancashire. Her father was a bank manager. In 1921 she lived at Hillside, Topsham and had applied for three acres of bare land. Adelaide Acland was born in 1878 at Nymet St George (George Nympton), Devon. In 1921, listed as a 'Poultry and Dairyman', she was a boarder with Earnest Frost, a gardener, and his family. She was single, aged 43, and worked for Captain Phillips at Bydown, Swimbridge in North Devon. She had requested five acres with a house and buildings in East Devon. Both women were registered as ex-service, but, to date, no details have been found of their service careers, nor does it appear that they became smallholding tenants.

Of the nearly 500 smallholders noted on the 1921 Devon Census, 56 were women. The youngest was Milly Stanbury, aged 15 who assisted her mother, Eliza, at Bishop's Tawton. The oldest was Fanny Dart at Newton St Cyres aged 86. Not surprisingly most women were widows (33) or single (17).

There was encouragement for women to gain a horticultural or agricultural education. Ten-week courses which covered market gardening, dairying and poultry management at a reduced rate of £15 to cover board, lodging and tuition, were available for women at Seale Hayne.[36] These were held in the summer when there were no courses running for men.

At Lee House, Marwood, in north Devon, Hilda Meugens and Helen Tabor ran an up-market smallholding as a training centre for gentlewomen from early 1921 to November 1924. With a small staff which included Edith Reeve, a poultry manager and Lottie Herring a gardener, they offered residential and day courses covering a range of subjects which included dairying, market gardening, poultry and beekeeping with fresh produce sold locally.[37] Students were also encouraged to take Royal Horticultural Society examinations. Meugens was a passionate believer that women should play their part in food production to help the war effort and had encouraged women's work on the land through a series of talks during the war.[38]

Shutterton Farm, Duckaller and Gulliford, Dawlish

On the edge of Mamhead and Dawlish parishes, 37.76 acres, part of Gulliford Farm, was acquired by DCC and divided into one large plot of 35 acres rented by William Trant, and a smaller plot of 2.496 acres tenanted by James Tarr. A further 207 acres, part of Duckaller farm, would be converted into more than thirty smallholdings.[39] At Shutterton, opposite Duckaller, approximately 38 acres of bare land was divided into six plots of between four and eight acres held by Messrs G. J. Tutty, W. J. Rendell, W. E. Rabbage, L. S. Gilpin and the Farley and Beck families.

In 1920 Dawlish builders, J. H. Lamacraft, agreed with DCC to erect six semi-detached cottages, and to sink wells at Duckaller Farm. A further eight cottages, with wells were added in 1921, two more in 1925.[40] The properties had earth closets and provision for sink waste only, the

[35] DCC Minutes, 17 Jun 1920.
[36] *EPG*, 23 Apr 1920: *NDJ* 17 Mar 1927.
[37] *NDJ*, 10 Mar 1921; 24 Aug 1922; 23 Oct 1924; 6 Nov 1924: *Common Cause,* July 28, 1922.
[38] *Wells Journal*, 15 Dec 1916.
[39] DCC Minutes, 1919.
[40] DCC Minutes, 1920, 1921 and Jun 1925.

latter drained through clinker filter that became clogged and unworkable. Wells were needed because it had proved too expensive to connect to the mains water supply. The cost of laying the pipework had increased from about £300 per mile prior to the war to almost £1,000.[41] By 1929 DCC had to build brick cesspits for the houses due to the number of complaints about the drainage, and, in September 1930, Newton Rural District Council were asking DCC for a contribution towards the cost of supplying mains water which had been estimated at £1,459.[42]

Tenants were expected to keep their homes and buildings in 'good tenantable and decorative repair … including doors, gates, posts, fixtures, pumps, water pipes, drains' and so on. Timber was supplied by the Council for some repairs, but tenants frequently paid half the cost of improvements.[43] They also had to prove that they were capable of running a smallholding. This meant that they should have some capital for tools, equipment, animals and so on. Match-funded loans were awarded to some tenants to purchase livestock and equipment, fruit trees, seeds and fertilisers. Initially, with interest set between 3½% and 5%, loans were not to exceed £500 and to be repayable in two years for seeds and fertiliser, in five years for other items.[44] In 1920 the largest loan given was £300, for livestock, to W. H. Heal who had two holdings at Great Stone Farm, South Molton. The smallest was given to A. J. Farley, of Lot 178a at Duckaller, Dawlish. He had already spent £150 of his own money on his holding and asked for £25 'for seeds etc' to be repaid over two years.[45]

Rents varied according to the size of the plot, the quality and the cost of the land. Land had been bought when prices were high; DCC had to charge an economic rent which meant some ex-service men struggled due to the slump and there were several references to arrears in the DCC minutes.[46] William Ashplant, at Holcombe, needed a rent rebate following a poor harvest and depressed trade in cider apples. He survived by diversification into pig keeping.[47] Plots, as they became vacant, were often snapped up by existing tenants to enlarge their holdings. When Mrs Searle gave up her tenancy due to rent arrears, her plot was taken by Lammas who had an adjoining plot. By 1925 some holdings had been combined with tenants cultivating two or three separate plots.[48]

Produce

Smallholdings held a mixture of animals and crops. Poultry provided both eggs and birds to local markets. Pigs were also sold locally, cattle provided meat, milk and cheese. Staple vegetables such as beans, cabbages and potatoes were also grown together with orchard and bush fruit. Agricultural and horticultural shows encouraged careful breeding and selection of animals and crops. High-value crops, such as violets and primulas were beginning to be grown in Dawlish and Holcombe from 1916, and by 1930 A. G. Lammas & Son, initially pig farmers, advertised gift boxes of violets in three sizes for sale across the country from Duckaller Violet Farm.[49] Holdings at Holcombe, Starcross and Dawlish had easy access to trains to transport produce to Covent Garden Market,

[41] *Dawlish Gazette*, 28 Aug 1920.
[42] DHC 7491C, Smallholdings Registers 1908-47, Duckaller 2 Jan 1929: *EPG*, 25 Sep 1930.
[43] DHC 7491C, 1908-1926 Agreement. Clause 7 (repairs).
[44] DCC Minutes, 11 Mar 1920.
[45] DCC Minutes, 17 Jun 1920.
[46] *Western Evening Herald*, 28 Jul 1922.
[47] Bryan Weston, *Captured in Time: Memories of a Devon Village* (Dawlish: author, 2003), 106.
[48] DHC 7491C, Smallholdings Registers 1908-47.
[49] Grace L. Zambra, *Violets for Garden & Market* (London: Collingridge, 1950): *The Scotsman,* 29 Nov 1930.

London and to other large towns and cities. Produce was carried to stations by horse and cart or lorries.

In 1931 Lewis Baker took over a smallholding on the Duckaller site. The varied produce listed in the inventory of the holding included chrysanthemums, violets and bulbs, also vegetables and fruit. (See Appendix at end of article). Livestock consisted of fowls and chickens accommodated in two fowl houses. Baker, a pensioner of the Admiralty, had 'about £250 to enable me to commence in business as a Small-holder at Duckaller, Dawlish'. Two years later, after struggling to make a go of the holding, he had returned to the navy.[50]

Conclusion

Twenty million pounds was allocated by the Government for resettlement following WWI enabling 24,000 men to be settled in England and Wales. The number of smallholdings doubled. The number of separate holdings returned in England and Wales as exceeding one acre and not exceeding 50 acres in extent on 4 June 1928, was 260,125.[51] Confirming a continuing demand, the number of applicants on the DCC's waiting list on 31 December 1927 was 5,821 of whom 2,522 had been approved, while the remaining 3,299 were waiting for a fuller inquiry into their qualifications.[52]

Part of the aim of the 1919 and 1926 Acts was to keep a large population on the land under what was considered satisfactory and attractive conditions, and many men benefited physically and financially by having a smallholding. However, smallholdings were not available to all ex-servicemen; they needed to have sufficient start-up capital, be physically capable of cultivating their plot and to have some knowledge of what was involved, either as a result of DCC training schemes or through previous experience. In some cases, financial problems occurred as tenants, especially those unused to running a business, suffered with disease and crop failures.

Despite setbacks, such as the ending of the Court Farm scheme at a time when British agriculture generally was enduring hard times and the acreages of land given over to cultivation were falling significantly during the first half of the 1920s, Devon's initiatives in relation to smallholdings were mainly successful. By the end of the decade there were thriving smallholders, market gardeners, fruit growers, poultry and pig farmers in Holcombe, and on the outskirts of Dawlish to the west, many of them DCC smallholding tenants. Although many holdings were small in terms of acreages there were opportunities for those willing to diversify and small businesses were expanded to incorporate new products and handed down through the family. Dawlish and its area benefited from local produce, and national markets benefited too, especially from the expanding flower trade which became a feature of the area in the 1930s. These findings accord with the broad thrust of argument made by Paul Brassley *et al*, in *The English Countryside Between the Wars: Regeneration of Decline,* in that agriculture was more resilient than the traditional image of inter-war depression and decline suggests.

Acknowledgements

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[50] DHC 7491C Smallholdings Registers 1908-47, Duckaller.

[51] https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1929-01-28/debates/f894a9c4-2395-4246-95c9-8dbce95ba9e0/SmallHoldings(Ex-ServiceMen). Accessed 19 Sep 2021.

[52] DCC Minutes.

APPENDIX

Valuation of Produce and Equipment of Small Holding No 11 at Duckaller, Dawlish July 19 1931:

	£. s. d.
Chrysanthemums	1. 0. 0
Peas	2. 11. 0
Kidney Beans	4. 0. 0
Potatoes 18 yds	1. 16. 0
Violets	2. 0. 0
Strawberries	3. 0. 0
Cob	4. 0. 0
Harrows	10. 0
Plough	4. 0. 0
Skuffle	3. 10. 0
Plannet Hoe	2. 0. 0
Plum Trees. 11 in number	3. 6. 0
Bulbs	13. 0. 0
Fowls	3. 8. 0
Chickens	2. 0. 0
Wirenetting	2. 18. 0
2 Fowl Houses	3. 0. 0
Galvanised Sheeting	3. 12. 0
Frame work for shed	1. 10. 0
Waggon	2. 0. 0
Frame	2. 6
Tools	1. 10. 0
Marketing baskets	2. 0
Chips	1. 2. 0
Boxes	5. 0
Harness	15. 0
Scales & Weights	2. 0. 0
Spring Balances	1. 9. 0
Seeds.	5. 0
Lamp Buckets & Watering Can	2. 0
	70. 13. 0[53]

[53] This was added incorrectly and should have read £70.13. 6d. DHC 7491C (Dawlish) 1927-31.