Housing in the 1920s

Tiverton Rural District Council's House-building Programme

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Tiverton Rural District Council (TRDC) first set up a Housing Committee in November 1918 to create housing under the 1909 Housing for the Working Classes Act.[1] While subsequent Acts enabled councils to allocate grants to private house builders, to force property owners to repair and upgrade deficient housing, and to encourage councils themselves to repair and upgrade private rural houses, this paper is concerned only with TRDC's own new house-building projects.

TRDC responded to the Local Government Board's requirement for housing schemes to be submitted swiftly, asking the parishes within its area to revise previous returns as to requirements and recommended building sites. The parishes covered by TRDC are illustrated in Figure 1.

In the months and years following the introduction of the Housing and Town Planning Act in July 1919, and subsequent Acts of Parliament, the complexity of interactions with and procedures between both government and council departments became onerous. These organisational relationships are sketched in Figure 2.

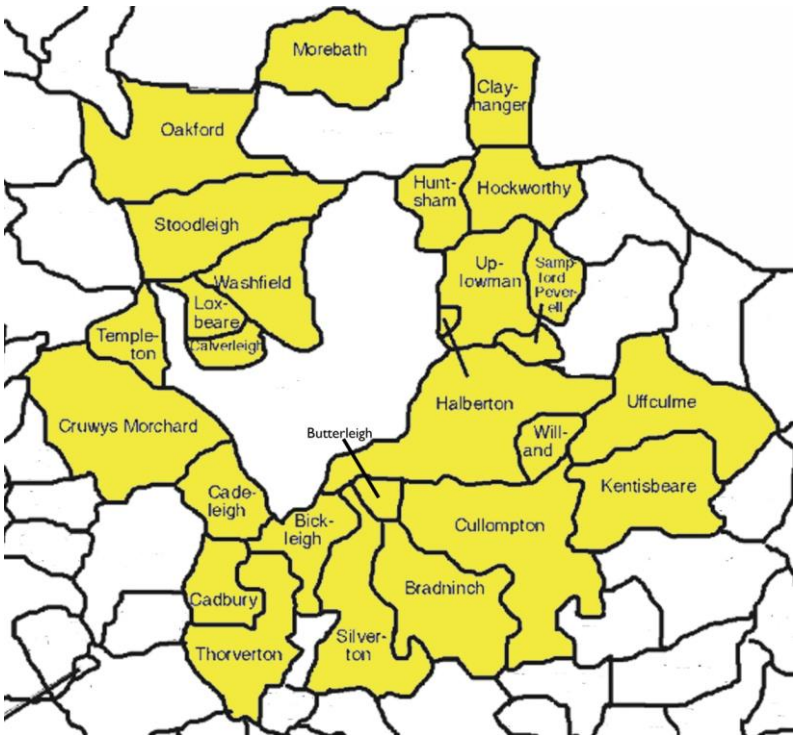

Figure 1: Parishes covered by TRDC, after DCC 2002.

[1] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 46.

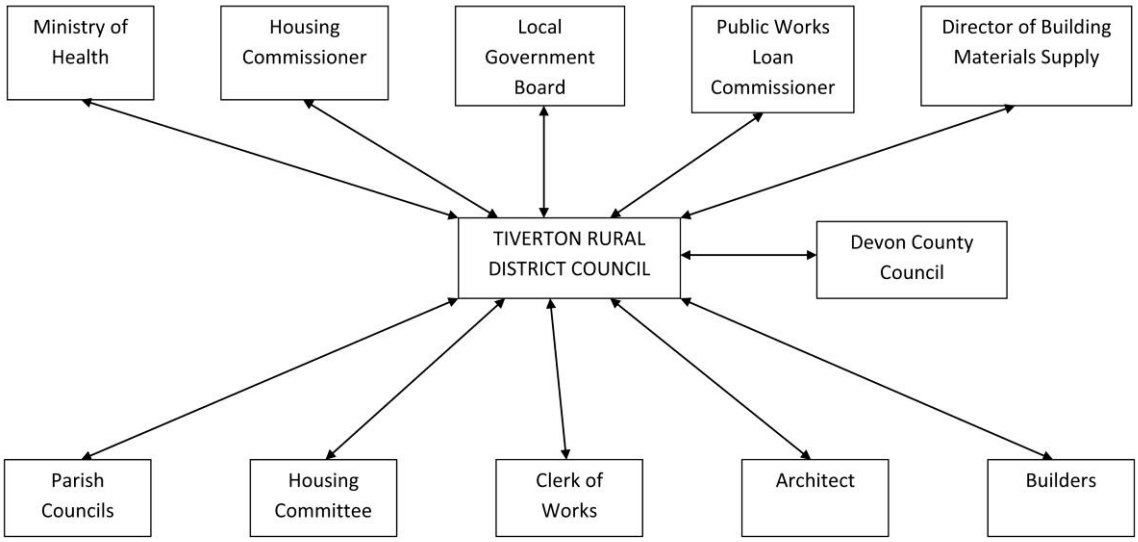

Figure 2: Illustrating the relationships between council and government bodies.

Once the number of houses required was returned by each parish and agreed, the process of building houses commenced with TRDC's purchase of sites, involving negotiations with owners large and small, and financing both the land purchase price and the legal costs. Sourcing water supplies was problematic. Houses were provided either with or without parlours; a non-parlour house had a single living room where cooking took place, but a parlour house was larger with a separate sitting room. Building quantities and costs were standardised, and house building was put out to tender with local builders. Parishes could recommend potential tenants, and people could apply for tenancy, but TRDC initially awarded and managed the tenancies. The management function was later delegated to housing management committees in each parish. Government departments were involved in discussion with the council to set the level of rents. These themes are discussed below, with council-built housing in Thorverton parish forming a case study.

The main source for this paper is TRDC minutes. Instances of incorrect record have been discovered (see Exeter Road, Cullompton houses, below, for example); nor do the minutes consistently record detailed data, such as site sizes, costs, numbers of houses, etc. More systematic and detailed information may have been recorded in the Housing Committee minutes, but these have not survived. Though complete accuracy cannot be assumed, and statistics cannot be presented precisely, some data analysis is possible.

Land acquisition

Several parishes responded to TRDC's questions on housing needs by December 1918.[2] Thorverton's verbatim response, recorded in the parish council minutes of December 1918, was:

> State the present number of vacant houses suitable for the working classes and in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation:
> Answer: None, other than those belonging to farms.

[2] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 49.

> State the number of new houses which are likely to be required in the parish in the near future to provide the necessary accommodation for persons of the working class:
> Answer: 10.

Regarding what sites might be available, Thorverton Parish Council (TPC) responded that the ecclesiastical commissioners were the owners of the only suitable land.[3] Although TRDC had surveyed three building sites in Uffculme by February 1919 at a cost of £46 11s. 11d., it was not until May and June that the Local Government Board issued a circular outlining the procedures for acquiring land and approved costs for visiting parish sites, and the Housing Commissioner issued a letter (contents not recorded) concerning water supply and sewage facilities in the selection of sites.[4]

On the recommendation of the Local Government Board to avoid unnecessary delay, all powers except borrowing money and making a rate were delegated to the TRDC Housing Committee, and an architect appointed, Captain J. P. Dixon. Sites were approved in Bradninch, Butterleigh, Cadbury, Cadleigh, Clayhanger, Cruwys Morchard, Cullompton, Halberton, Hookworthy, Huntsham, Kentisbeare, Morebath, Oakford, Samford Peverell, Silverton, Stoodleigh, Templeton, Thorverton, Uffculme, Uplowman, Washfield and Willand during July 1919, and approved by the housing commissioner in August, who then asked for valuations.[5]

Although the Thorverton site is recorded as approved, its acquisition was running anything but smoothly between April and June 1919. The landowner of much of the parish was the ecclesiastical commissioners dealing through their agent, Cluttons. TPC minutes record the correspondence. TPC wanted the ten houses on a site both near the village and in proximity to the sewage system; part of a field called Rack Park to the east of the village. Cluttons' initial response was that they were:

> … not prepared to advise the Commissioners to sell OS Nos. 373 and 366 to the Council for the erection of Houses for the Working Classes. We should however be prepared, if terms could be arranged, to advise the Commissioners to sell a site for the erection of say 4 cottages on one of the places marked A, B, or C on the enclosed tracing, and on hearing which of these sites meet the approval of your Council, and the actual area you require, we would let you know what terms the Commissioners could be advised to accept.[6]

Since TPC could not recommend the sites Cluttons suggested, they formed a subcommittee to meet with a subcommittee of TRDC's Housing Committee.[7] It was not until October that negotiations were in the hands of TRDC, and in December the Housing Committee actually had a site valuation and were in a position to negotiate. Bearing in mind the Local Government Board's interest in 'avoiding unnecessary delay', the Housing Committee were preparing to buy 1a 2r 17p from the ecclesiastical commissioners for ten houses at a cost of £150, seeking approval from TRDC and the Ministry of Health; it required sanction for a loan of £200 from the Ministry of Health to cover this and incidental expenses. TRDC gave approval and requested that the Ministry of Health recommend the Public Works Loan Commissioners to advance the sum.[8] The conveyance was completed in December 1920.[9]

[3] DHC 2499A/1/PX/2 Thorverton Parish Council minutes, 1914–1957, 11 December 1918, p. 33.
[4] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, pp. 97, 108.
[5] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, pp. 119, 128, 139–40.
[6] DHC 2499A/1/PX/2 Thorverton Parish Council minutes, 1914–1957, 16 April 1919–01 October 1919, p. 40.
[7] Ibid., pp. 38–41.
[8] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 185.
[9] Ibid., p. 373.

This multi-level approval procedure took place for each step in the acquisition of every individual building site in Tiverton Rural District. An analysis of the site purchases arranged between December 1919 and March 1921, and noted in TRDC minutes, indicates that each house occupied on average twenty-six poles, a little under one fifth of an acre. The land cost an average £142 10s per acre, including conveyancing costs. A particularly high cost of £392 per acre (for one site in Washfield with Courtney Cottage on it, suitable for upgrading)[10] has been excluded from this average calculation. The data[11] is given in Table 1.

Site	Area	No. Houses	Cost	Owner
Bradninch	2a 1r 3p	12	£240	Duchy of Cornwall
Cruwys Morchard 1	0a 1r 15p		£25	Mr L G Cruwys
Cruwys Morchard 2	0a 1r 34p		£55	Mr J T F Webber
Cruwys Morchard 3	0a 2r 28p		£60	Mr J W Hoskins
Cullompton 1	2a 0r 0p		£325	Mr F H Rawlins & another
Cullompton 2	2a 0r 33p		£280	Mr G B Sellwood
Huntsham	0a 1r 5p		£40	Col. J G Acland Troyte
Loxbeare 1	0a 1r 8p	2	£45	Major Chichester's Trustees
Loxbeare 2	0a 3r 0p	4	£90	Mr E Kenward
Oakford 1	0a 1r 4p	2	£40	Charles Spurway
Oakford 2	0a 1r 4p		£50	Rev. F G Buller
Sampford Peverell	4a 1r 20p	25	£735	Mr E Pearce
Templeton	0a 1r 13p	2	£55	
Thorverton	1a 2r 17p	10	£180	Ecclesiastical Commissioners
Uffculme 1	0a 3r 17p		£130	Mr R Edwards
Uffculme 2	0a 1r 16p		£70	Mr H H G New
Uffculme 3	8a 3r 5p		£1,130	Uffculme War Memorial Committee
Uplowman	0a 3r 2.5p		£130	Mr T Batting
Washfield 1	0a 1r 11p		£130	Mrs C A de las Casas
Washfield 2	1a 0r 23p		£155	Mrs C A de las Casas

Table 1: Site purchases, December 1919 to March 1921
with some indications of number of houses to be built.

There were various setbacks to several site purchases, often of great complexity and involving the government departments, not just the site vendor, as in the case of Thorverton. At both Butterleigh and Clayhanger, the offered sites were found to be smallholdings, which meant that the sites could not be bought for housing development.[12] The Uffculme War Memorial site vendors had specified that two-and-a-quarter acres should be set aside for recreation; although the Ministry of Health sanctioned the price of £1,130 because the cost of recreational ground could not be supported by the state, the matter went to the housing commissioner. This particular issue played out for sixteen months. At one point the site was abandoned, then an accommodation was reached, but there followed difficulties getting tenders past the housing commissioner.[13]

At Silverton there were many problems with the government departments not sanctioning or being prepared to pay for sites there, to the extent that TRDC decided to finance the cost of one site itself, the housing need there being so critical. The Silverton site became an issue in October 1920, the Ministry of Health not approving it and recommending another that TRDC found ‘quite unsuitable’: Silverton Parochial Committee rejected the alternative site too.[14] In December 1920

[10] R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 290–91.
[11] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, pp. 119, 128, 185, 198, 212, 233, 248, 250, 267, 334.
[12] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 248.
[13] Ibid., pp. 248, 250.
[14] Ibid., pp. 361, 373, p.402; DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 25, 39, 77–78, 79, 92.

the district valuer had approved a site, but the government housing commissioner was due to inspect the site personally. By February 1921, TRDC reached the point of deciding on compulsorily purchasing a site, which seemingly took place in May, though there was still dispute six months later. In September 1921 the correspondence between TRDC and the Ministry of Health verged on confrontational; TRDC's minutes recording:

> … the Ministry of Health asking whether it was fully understood that they would not pay for the site or the houses at Silverton. Resolved to write back that [this was] fully understood and [that] council desired to proceed with site purchase.

In January 1922:

> A letter had been received from the Ministry of Health stating that before deciding on the Council's application for confirmation of the Order made by them for the compulsory acquisition of a housing site at Silverton, a Local Enquiry will be held on the subject by one of the Ministry Inspectors.[15]

In the spring of 1921, among ongoing intervention of the government departments over the minutiae of site acquisitions, TRDC had begun to abandon plans to build on a number of sites. For example, no houses were to be built at Huntsham[16] and one of the Uffculme sites was abandoned in order concentrate on building on the war memorial site.[17] In August 1921, further sites were abandoned at Butterleigh, Cadbury, Cruwys Morchard (Pennymore), Templeton and Uffculme (Ashill).[18] In December 1922, the Willand housing site was let to a local football club, and the following month some other sites were let for grazing.[19] In contrast, another site in Cullompton called Factory had been acquired, and the parish council there were agreeing that twenty-four houses was sufficient, though it is unclear whether this number included the houses earmarked for other Cullompton sites.[20]

In April 1925, the Housing Committee recommended building a further 100 houses under the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act 1924, and was in preliminary negotiations to buy building sites at Bradninch, Halberton, Cullompton and Silverton.[21] By July, the Housing Committee had feedback from parishes, indicating a further 104 houses were required in the district. It sought to buy another two-and-a-half-acre site at Cullompton and take back one of the sites at Uffculme shelved during the earlier assisted housing scheme, and acquire a site at Willand.[22]

During the autumn of 1925 there were land acquisitions begun at Silverton and for half an acre at Kentisbeare, though the procedures for approvals and sanctions and obtaining funds from government departments was as tortuous as ever.[23] This was no doubt a contributory factor to the reacquisition of the Uffculme site not being completed until January 1926.[24]

And so it continued throughout 1926. Sites small (for two houses, such as at Morebath) and larger (for up twelve houses, such as at Silverton) processed through the many stages to successful

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[15] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 92, 138.
[16] Ibid., pp. 9, 25.
[17] Ibid., unnumbered typed pages inserted between pp. 41–42.
[18] Ibid., pp. 77–78.
[19] Ibid., pp. 328, 347.
[20] Ibid., p. 420.
[21] DHC R4/4/0/C/14 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, May 1923–June 1925, p. 383.
[22] DHC R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, p. 6.
[23] Ibid., pp. 42–46.
[24] Ibid., p. 115.

purchase, and sites undeveloped during the previous building programme were reinstated (such as at Cruwys Morchard and Sampford Peverell).[25]

It was not until 1928 that six more houses for Thorverton were requested, among the eighty throughout the district minuted on 24 April:

Cadbury	2
Cadleigh	4
Cullompton	20
Halberton	8
Kentisbeare	4
Loxbeare	2
Morebath	4
Samford Peverell	6
Thorverton	6
Stoodleigh	2
Uplowman	4
Washfield	2
Uffculme	16.[26]

August 1928 saw the start of a new round of negotiations with the ecclesiastical commissioners through their agent Cluttons to purchase the adjacent part of Rack Park for the six new houses at Thorverton. They didn't want to sell and suggested a plot, with fewer houses, behind the then Conservative Club, which was rejected due to the difficulty of sewage disposal.[27] Cluttons were asked to reconsider. Negotiations dragged on throughout the rest of 1928, reaching the point in January of the following year when compulsory purchase of the new Rack Park site was suggested.[28] Bargaining reached £100 per acre in February. In May, the ecclesiastical commissioners approved the sale of the site and the Ministry of Health sanctioned the amount of £90 to include costs.[29] It had taken ten months to get this far.

But even then there was further administration to get through. During June, TRDC was next applying for specific approval from the Ministry of Health for the erection of six houses at Thorverton, and there was more to-ing and fro-ing about the cost of the site; at the rate of £100 per acre, the cost was actually £78, though the price had mistakenly been agreed at £100,[30] and further government department sanction was required for the extra £22.

There was further nitpicking from the ecclesiastical commissioners in July. They had slipped a clause into the contract to the effect that if the road in front of 1–10 Exe View (the street name of the first ten houses) was continued in front of the new houses, it should be maintained by TRDC 'to the satisfaction of the Commissioners', but TRDC responded that they were under no

[25] Ibid., pp. 179–84.
[26] DHC R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, p. 377.
[27] DHC R4/4/0/C/16 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, March 1927–May 1928, p. 63.
[28] DHC 2499A/1/PX/2 Thorverton Parish Council minutes, p. 95; R4/4/0/C/17 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, June 1928–September 1929, p. 195.
[29] DHC R4/4/0/C/17 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, June 1928–September 1929, pp. 319–20.
[30] Ibid., pp. 240, 347–48.

obligation to maintain such a piece of road ‘for the benefit of other persons’. Such a piece of road was never built.[31]

This second Thorverton land purchase was not sealed until the end of 1929.[32] It had taken eighteen months.

Building houses

In June 1920 it became apparent that the housing commissioner’s department wanted all houses to be built to an agreed schedule of prices, and two local conferences with the government deputy housing commissioner took place. The first considered prices submitted by builders, and the second set the schedule at £827 12s 6d for non-parlour houses and £940 for parlour houses within one-and-a-half miles of a station, with an additional seven-and-a-half per cent for carting materials a greater distance.[33] TRDC was then able to approve the building contracts given in Table 2.

Builder	Site	No. Of Houses	Cost per House	
Messrs Nicks Brothers	Bradninch	12 Parlour	£940	
Messrs Percy & Sons	Cullompton Exeter Road	2 Parlour	£940	
Messrs Percy & Sons	Cullompton Exeter Road	2 Non-Parlour	£827 12s. 6d.	
Mr Taylor	Cullompton Exeter Road	2 Parlour	£940	
Mr Taylor	Cullompton Exeter Road	2 Non-Parlour	£827 12s. 6d.	
Mr Andrews	Uffculme, Craddock	2 Parlour	£940	
Messrs Goffin & Son	Samford Peverell	2 Non-Parlour	£827 12s. 6d.	
Messrs Labdon & Son	Cullompton, Tiverton Road	12 Parlour	£940	
Messrs J Thorne & Co.	Washfield	4 Parlour	£940	+ 7.5 %
Messrs J Thorne & Co.	Washfield	1 Non-Parlour	£827 12s. 6d.	+ 7.5 %

Table 2: Building contracts awarded mid 1920.[34]

The necessary sanction of each individual contract from the housing commissioner remained pending until August, when all but the Bradninch contract were approved. Though the minutes do not record when the Bradninch building contract was sanctioned, its progress is monitored, along with others. The builders were paid instalments as the contracts progressed, commencing in October 1920 and continuing through December 1920 and February 1921, by which time Mr Andrews was also building on one of the other Uffculme sites.[35]

TRDC appointed Messrs Nicks to build the ten houses at Thorverton in December 1920, nine months after the site purchase had been concluded.[36] Ministry approval of the contract in January 1921 records the pricing of the ten non-parlour houses at £8273 15s 0d. Mr Nicks was authorised to take stone from the River Exe to build the new access road.[37] These houses were completed by

[31] Ibid., p. 383.
[32] DHC R4/4/0/C/18 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, October 1929–January 1931, p. 36.
[33] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, pp. 282, 295.
[34] Ibid., p. 295.
[35] Ibid., pp. 320, 345, 359, 372.
[36] Ibid., p. 374.
[37] Ibid., p. 388; DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 27.

March 1922.[38] However, in June, tenants were petitioning that the road was unfinished.[39] Figure 3 illustrates the completed Thorverton houses and shows them raised above the main village road, necessitating the access road. In October 1922, Nicks Brothers were still receiving payment for the Thorverton contract, and final instalment and retention money was not paid until November 1923.[40]

Figure 3: Numbers 1–10 Exe View, Thorverton, circa 1925. Chapman photograph.

There were ongoing problems with materials supply throughout the district, exacerbated at times by queries and interference from government departments. Small additions to houses, even to individual ones, went through the same approval process. In June 1921 houses were not being completed because of the failure of the director of building materials supply to deliver WC sets and baths; TRDC were requesting the Ministry of Health to obtain the fittings from another supplier.[41] Note though that the houses did not have bathrooms: baths were situated in the scullery or washhouse and were filled manually from a water boiler. Lavatories, though integral to the houses, were accessed from external doors and often froze up.[42]

As example of the financial minutiae, the Ministry of Health approved six shillings and sixpence per house for the addition of locks on fuel stores.[43] On a site at Samford Peverell, the Ministry of Health had approved a split chestnut fence at a cost of £33 5s 0d, but the housing commissioner considered this not strong enough for purpose, instead recommending a concrete post and wire fence at £36 3s 0d. TRDC's architect was requested to get a reduced estimate – and having done

[38] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 168.
[39] Ibid., p. 246.
[40] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 309; DHC R4/4/0/C/14 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, May 1923–June 1925, p. 97.
[41] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 55.
[42] Interviews with old residents dated June and August 2022.
[43] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 246.

so, at £34 16s 0d – the housing commissioner then had to get sanction from the Ministry of Health for the additional cost of £1 11s 0d.[44]

In February and March 1929 during exceptional frost, TDRC were repairing frozen pipes and installing secondary stopcocks such that tenants could drain their systems to avoid frost damage. The bib cocks' installation was ten shillings per house, with printed instructions put up in each house.[45] Any subsequent damage was to be repaired at tenants' expense.

At Bradninch, where the land had been purchased from the Duchy of Cornwall estate, Messrs Nicks were appointed the builders of the first tranche of twelve parlour houses,[46] and it is interesting to note that they were of a more uniform and plainer style than the Thorverton houses (see Figure 4). The building was underway between October 1920 and February 1921, but due to water supply issues they were not let until October 1921.[47]

Figure 4: First phase of houses at Westfield, Bradninch.
Photograph, the author, October 2022.

Houses on Exeter Road, Cullompton were among the first tranche built at the beginning of the 1920s. Though TRDC minutes record four of each type of house being contracted,[48] a newspaper report of a Cullompton parish meeting records the TRDC architect's description of them. His initial proposal was for twelve non-parlour houses in six blocks, with 20 yards of garden and steps down to the road. The living room was to be 10 × 11 feet and 8 feet high; the scullery 8 × 7 feet; and there would be a copper bath, larder, and necessary conveniences. Three bedrooms

[44] Ibid., p. 258.
[45] DHC R4/4/0/C/17 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, June 1928–September 1929, pp. 244, 270; <https://community.netweather.tv/topic/33865-the-severe-winter-of-1928-29> [accessed 6 June 2023].
[46] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 295.
[47] Ibid., pp. 345, 398; DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 69, 102.
[48] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 295.

would measure 18 × 10 foot 6 inches; 12 × 9 feet; and 12 × 7 foot 6 inches. However, the parish requested instead four parlour houses and eight non-parlour houses, with a combined range and grate in the non-parlour houses. The dimensions of the twenty-four parlour houses at Tiverton Road in Cullompton were to be the parlour: 10 ×10 foot 9 inches, living room: 15 × 10 feet, bedrooms: 18 foot 6 inches × 10 foot 6 inches; 14 foot 10 inches × 8 foot 6 inches; and 9 × 8 feet. Two of the bedrooms would have fireplaces. There would be a scullery, a bathroom, a copper and other conveniences, and gardens would be 20 yards long.[49]

However, the parish council requested instead four parlour houses and eight non-parlour houses at Exeter Road. The houses actually constructed – which became known as Exon Buildings – were six of one type in two blocks of three, and four of the other type as two pairs of semi-detached, completed in spring 1921 (illustrated in Figures 5a and b).

Figure 5a: One of two pairs of semis at Exon Buildings, Cullompton. Photograph, the author, August 2022.

[49] *Western Times*, 20 April 1920, p. 3.

Figure 5b: One of two blocks of three houses at Exon Buildings, Cullompton. Photograph, the author, August 2022.

In March 1925, the unspent portion of TRDC's housing loan, £1111 6s 0d, was returned to the Public Works Loan Commissioners, marking the end of TRDC's building of houses for the working classes under the Act of 1919.[50] According to the June 1925 minutes of the Devon County Council Housing Joint Subcommittee, district councils had been surveyed as to the number of houses built under the 1919 Act, to which TRDC reported they had built forty-five houses, and forty had been built by private enterprise. TRDC forecasted a further 104 houses needed in the district.[51]

In April 1925, the Housing Committee tabled its recommendation to build a further 100 houses under the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act 1924. Locations were to be Halberton, Silverton, Uffculme and Willand, followed by Cullompton, Cruwys Morchard, Templeton, Morebath, Uplowman and Bradninch.[52] It was not until April 1927 that the Universal Housing Company was asked to tender for forty-eight houses:

12 parlour houses at Bradninch

2 non-parlour houses at Clayhanger

2 non-parlour houses at Crewys Morchard

2 non-parlour houses at Kentisbeare

4 non-parlour houses at Morebath

2 non-parlour houses at Templeton

16 parlour and 8 non-parlour houses at Willand.[53]

[50] DHC R4/4/0/C/14 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, May 1923–June 1925, p. 367.
[51] DHC DCC 155/2/12/1 Devon County Council Housing Joint Sub-Committee Minutes 1925–1930 (pages unnumbered), 30 June 1925.
[52] DHC R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, pp. 261, 263.
[53] DHC R4/4/0/C/16 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, March 1927–May 1928, p. 71.

However, some progress was made prior to this. In early 1925, the Housing Committee had made a site visit to Nissen Petren houses, recently erected at Yeovil, Somerset. Since the costs were favourable, parlour and non-parlour houses could be built in Tiverton District using this construction method.[54] Estimates for Nissen Petren houses at Uffculme and Willand were received in October, but tenders were also sought for traditionally built houses.

By the end of 1925, Andrews and Miller had tendered to build sixteen Nissen Petren houses at Uffculme for £500 each.[55] Charles Bradbeer and Son were contracted for a further eight at Willand. Both builders had building timescales included in their contracts, and they deposited deeds on other properties as security. Andrews were scheduled to complete the sixteen at Uffculme in fifteen months, and Bradbeer to complete the eight at Willand in twelve months. Ministry of Health sanction for funding was £10,000 and £5,300 respectively, so the houses were costing £625 each at Uffculme, and £662 10s 0d at Willand (these prices may reflect modification of the specification to construct the walls of Pinhoe brick on the outside and coke breeze on the inside).[56]

Building could not have started immediately, since in February 1926 the Ministry of Health were 'raising difficulties' about the Uffculme and Willand sites, summoning Tiverton's clerk and architect to an interview at the Ministry. TRDC minutes record that the chairman should accompany them 'empowered to make the best terms possible with the Ministry'.[57] The minutes for March 1926 indicate that the contracting must have gone back to the drawing board for these two sites.

Three builders tendered for these houses, quoting for both Nissen Petren houses and those designed by the council's architect: TRDC contracted Andrews to build sixteen Nissen Petren houses at £858 10s 0d per pair, and Bradbeer to build eight houses to the architect's design at £980 17s 0d per pair.[58]

Additional costs crept in. Andrews, having omitted the cost of chimney pots, was allowed 30s for chimney pots for each pair of houses. Uffculme Gas Company offered to install gas, cookers and lights for £5 per house; the cooker and meter to remain the property of the company, rented quarterly by tenants at four shillings for the cooker and one shilling and three pence for the meter, but Andrews wanted an additional £4 per house for gas installation. Messrs Nicks charged £302 18s 0d to build a water reservoir for the Uffculme scheme.[59]

Nine of these houses were let by March 1927 and Nissen Petren were paid their final instalment in June. By January 1928, the house walls and roofs were leaking.[60] Andrews repaired the roofs with a coating of Rito in October 1928.[61] In December 1929, plaster was falling off the wall in one of these houses.[62] The Nissen Petren houses at Highland Terrace, Uffculme, are illustrated in Figure 6. They were demolished in 1980.[63]

[54] DHC R4/4/0/C/14 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, May 1923–June 1925, p. 376.
[55] Ibid., p. 383; DHC R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, pp. 73, 98.
[56] DHC R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, pp. 116–17.
[57] Ibid., pp. 133–34.
[58] Ibid., p. 150.
[59] Ibid., pp. 262, 265, 289, 384.
[60] DHC R4/4/0/C/16 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, March 1927–May 1928, pp. 44, 113, 294.
[61] DHC R4/4/0/C/17 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, June 1928–September 1929, p. 114.
[62] DHC R4/4/0/C/18 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, October 1929–January 1931, p. 175.
[63] <https://www.blackdownarchives.org.uk/?s=highland> [accessed 10 June 2023].

Figure 6: Nissen Petren houses at Highland Terrace Uffculme.
Reproduced with permission of the Blackdown Archives.

During April and May 1925, TRDC were negotiating to buy further housing sites at Bradninch, Halberton, Cullompton and Silverton; Bradninch Parochial Committee recommending a further one-and-a-half acres be bought from the Duchy of Cornwall for housing.[64] This was a plot for the second phase adjacent to the earlier built houses on Westfield. TRDC received approval of the government loan for this and four other building projects in November 1926.

The first tranche of funding arrived in March 1927, accompanied by specific Ministry of Health approval for the next twelve Bradninch houses with prescribed conditions as to size, construction, materials etc., and a warning that these houses would not be eligible for the full Exchequer Grant if they failed to be completed by 1 October 1927.[65] As seen above, these houses were initially tendered for by the Universal Housing Company, but instead TDRC awarded the contract for the Bradninch (and all the other houses listed above) to Andrews and Miller, for £18,760. The company had to supply samples of the concrete blocks they proposed to build with.[66] The revised tenders and quotes were:

Bradninch, 12 parlour houses: £428 4s7d per house

Clayhanger, 2 non-parlour houses: £389 9s 0d per house

Cruwys Morchard, 2 non-parlour houses: £393 16s 6d per house

Kentisbeare, 4 non-parlour houses: £388 0s 9d per house

Morebath, 4 non-parlour houses: £383 4s 9d per house

[64] DHC R4/4/0/C/14 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, May 1923–June 1925, pp. 383, 403.
[65] DHC R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, p. 338; DHC R4/4/0/C/16 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, March 1927–May 1928, pp. 33, 34.
[66] Ibid., pp. 85, 87.

Templeton, 2 non-parlour houses: £386 4s 3d per house

Willand, 8 non-parlour houses: £368 3s 0d per house

Willand, 16 parlour houses: £409 13s 10d per house.[67]

Andrews & Miller were scheduled to complete by 30 September 1928.[68]

Rents and tenant management

Just as the procedures and interactions between government departments and TRDC for the acquisition of sites and building of houses had been complex and convoluted, so it continued for the agreement of rent levels. Parish councils became involved with this and the allocation of tenancies.[69] Rental rates varied between housing sites and through time, and in the early years involved consultation with the parish councils. There was a steady reduction in rent levels over the decade.

Rent levels were first discussed in the autumn of 1920, concerning those for houses at Cullompton, with parlour house rent suggested at 12s 6d and non-parlours at 10s.[70] This is likely to have been for the houses built on Exeter Road and Tiverton Road, since these were the first building contracts sealed for Cullompton.[71] By January 1921 these rents were scaled down to 10s and 8s respectively, but in April the housing commissioner suggested 11s and 8s, to which Tiverton's Housing Committee responded: 'the rents should be as previously suggested if the houses are to be occupied by the classes of persons for whom they were erected'.[72]

The following month, TRDC set rents at Sampford Peverell, Uffculme and Washfield at 8s and 6s for parlour and non-parlour houses,[73] but the minutes of July 1921 recorded the Ministry of Health sanctioning the following rents:

Non-parlour in Washfield (Balman's Wood): 6s 6d

Non-parlour in Cullompton (Exeter Rd): 8s

Parlour houses in Washfield (Balman's Wood): 8s 6d

Parlour houses in Bradninch and Cullompton: 10s

(All per week, excluding rates.)[74]

Initially, the rent for the non-parlour houses at Thorverton was intimated to be 7s; the parish council's opinion being sought. TPC suggested that it depended upon whether piggeries were being provided, so they would hold their decision until the first block of two houses was complete. By October 1921, it being plain that there would be no piggeries, the rent was settled at

[67] DHC R4/4/0/C/16 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, March 1927–May 1928, p. 104.
[68] Ibid., p. 104.
[69] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 91–92.
[70] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 359.
[71] Ibid., p. 212, 345–6; DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 295.
[72] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 5.
[73] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 25.
[74] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 66.

7s.[75] By November 1921, TRDC was discussing the provision of rent books and tenancy agreements,[76] and housing management committees were being formed for each parish, consisting of two people from the parish council plus the district councillor for the parish.[77]

In March 1922, two years after the site was first mooted, TPC decided that the housing site at Thorverton should be called Exe View and numbered 1–10 from the east (these houses are now numbered from the west, 37–55 Silver Street). TPC allocated the tenants, and their backgrounds provide examples of the type of people being allocated the houses.

1. James Ridler
2. William Henry Yendall
3. William Henry Greenslade
4. Richard Langabeer
5. Miss B Humphries
6. Sidney Scorse
7. Cecil Batten
8. Harry C Brownridge
9. Frank Trump
10. Sydney Webb.[78]

Most of these people had addresses in Thorverton. James Ridler, aged 64, was the station master at Thorverton, previously living at the station. Two of these tenants worked at Thorverton Mill: William Henry Yendall, labourer, aged 54, formerly of Jericho Street, and Cecil Batten, rollerman, age 33, previously of Bullen Street; William Henry Greenslade, aged 44, was a retired police constable. Richard Langabeer, aged 56 and a farm labourer for most of his life, had lately been an engine driver at an iron foundry in Exeter, also living in Jericho Street. Sidney Scorse, age 34, was a platelayer, living at Rosepark, School Lane. Frank Trump, age 38, was a labourer at Silverton Paper Mill, living in The Berry. Sidney Webb, age 42, was a retired sergeant major working as a temporary postman at the Thorverton Post Office. All of these tenants were married – most with families. Miss Bessie Humphries, age 31, was the only person previously living out of the district, in Exeter with her widowed mother Jane.[79] She was a teacher at Silverton, and later her mother joined her at 5 Exe View, when they became joint tenants in April 1923. Mr Brownbridge cannot be traced locally. These Exe View houses were evidently homes for the working classes, not ‘homes for heroes’.

By the spring of 1922, tenants were beginning to apply for rent reductions, and the Housing Committee had applied to the Ministry of Health for permission to reduce rents ‘generally on account of the fall in wages’.[80] Several rents reductions were set out by TRDC in June:

Parlour houses in Cullompton from 10s to 8s

Non-parlour houses in Cullompton from 8s to 6s

Non-parlour houses in Thorverton from 7s to 6s

[75] DHC 2499A/1/PX/2 Thorverton Parish Council minutes, pp. 52–54;
DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 77.
[76] Ibid., p. 114.
[77] Ibid., pp. 92, 126.
[78] Ibid., p. 168.
[79] Find My Past 1921 Census.
[80] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 186–87.

Parlour houses in Washfield from 8s 6d and 8s to 7s

Non-parlour houses in Washfield from 6s 6d to 5s.[81]

But discussion between TRDC and the Ministry of Health about rent levels continued. When approval was received from the Ministry of Health in July, the government figures were:

For non-parlour houses:
Thorverton 6s
Washfield (Balman's Wood) 5s 6d
Cullompton 6s 6d.

For parlour houses:
Washfield (Balman's Wood) 7s 6d
Washfield (Courtney) 7s
Bradninch 8s 6d
Cullompton 8s 6d.

TDRC pointed out that these rent levels in Bradninch and Cullompton were considerably in excess of local rents for similar accommodation. Exchanges continued during August, until the Ministry wrote that it 'could not regard less than 6s 6d for non-parlour houses in Cullompton sufficient for the purposes of Article 7 (1) (e) of the Local Authorities (Assisted Housing Schemes) Regulations 1919', and TRDC 'resolved that the decision of the Ministry be accepted under protest'.[82]

At a special meeting of TRDC in August 1922, the council's architect resigned from collecting rents, and parish assistant overseers were to be asked to collect them on a commission of five per cent. The following month, the overseers of Bradninch, Cullompton, Sampford Peverell, Thorverton, Uffculme and Washfield had agreed to take on the task.[83] In December, Sampford Peverell tenants were requesting a rent reduction from 8s to 5s, but this was refused by the TRDC because they were earning far more than farm labourers.[84] The Ministry allowed a reduction at Washfield Courtney from 7s to 6s in March 1924.[85]

There is no further mention of rents until June 1925, when Devon County Council's Housing Joint Subcommittee received responses to their survey of town and district councils, when one of the difficulties being experienced was that the economic rent of houses built to date was far too high.[86] There are mentions in TRDC's minutes of people being served notice to quit because they were in rent arrears, and in May 1927 the council recorded most of the tenants in Washfield in that situation.[87] The issue is reflected in a letter from the National Housing and Town Planning Council asking TRDC to adopt the following resolution:

> This conference of delegates from Local Authorities and Associations interested in Housing desires to record its unqualified opinion that notwithstanding the considerable number of houses

[81] Ibid., p. 244.
[82] Ibid., pp. 255–60, 275, 289–90.
[83] Ibid., pp. 283, 289.
[84] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 328;
[85] DHC R4/4/0/C/14 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, May 1923–June 1925, p. 161.
[86] DHC 155/2/12/1 Devon County Council Joint Subcommittee minutes, pages unnumbered, 30 June 1925.
[87] DHC R4/4/0/C/16 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, March 1927–May 1928, p. 87.

> that have been erected in England and Wales since 1919 there is still throughout the country a very serious shortage of houses which can be let at rents within the means the lower paid wage earners: further that this lack of adequate housing accommodation constitutes a perpetual danger to the physical and moral well being of the community and is in the highest degree detrimental to industrial peace and efficiency.
>
> It expresses its firm conviction that the houses required by the working classes cannot be provided without adequate State assistance and accordingly directs the Executive Committee of the National Housing and Town Planning Council to make immediate representations to His Majesty's Government with the object of obtaining the cancellation of the Housing Acts (Revision of Contributions) Order 1926, so that the present housing subsidies may be continued until the date of the next statutory review.

TRDC supported the resolution and sent a copy to the Member of Parliament for the Tiverton Division.[88]

Unfortunately, the TRDC minutes do not offer any explanation as to why rents varied across the district. A possible reason might be the remoteness from town or village centres, which appears borne out by the minutes of January 1929, when rents were set at 7s 3d for most parlour houses, and 4s 6d for non-parlour houses, except in Cullompton, Silverton and Willand where non-parlour rents were set at 6s – these three being large villages or, in the case of Cullompton, a town.[89] Rent reductions continued at the end of 1929, commonly by 9d or 6d. Thorverton's ten houses at Exe View rent reduced from 6s to 5s 3d in January 1930.[90]

[88] Ibid., pp. 136–37.
[89] DHC R4/4/0/C/17 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, June 1928–September 1929, p. 210.
[90] DHC R4/4/0/C/18 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, October 1929–January 1931, pp. 79–80, 89.

Water supply and sewerage

There is little evidence in TRDC minutes of advanced planning of water supply and sewage provision; rather, assessing needs on each site and dealing with problems and issues as they arose. Work commenced at each housing site as requirements manifested themselves.

As discussed above, Thorverton house building started in the first quarter of 1921. However, the question of water supply was not addressed until June, when the architect submitted an estimate from H. Pontifex & Sons for a windmill and tank for water supply for the Thorverton houses.[91] Such a system, which taps into ground water, is illustrated in Figure 7.

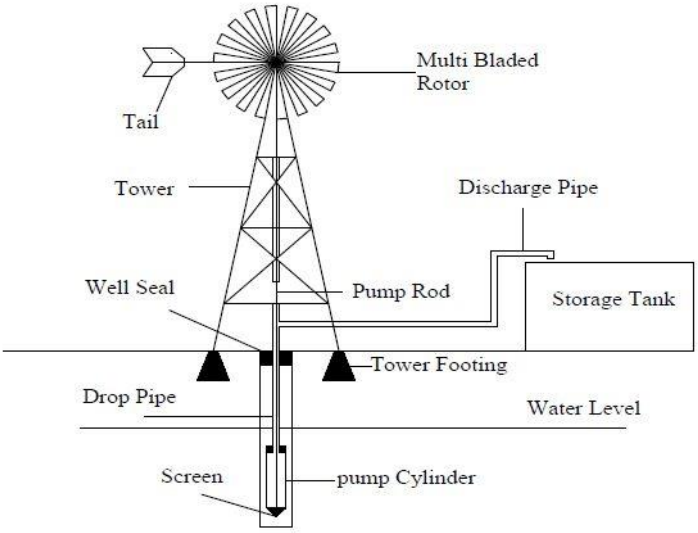

Figure 7: Windmill pump water supply arrangement.[92]

This water supply was still being debated in October when the Ministry of Health suggested obtaining water from the village reservoir (this reservoir is situated over half a mile away on the north-west side of the village). the Housing Committee rejected this as impractical and countered with a proposal to sink two more wells on Rack Park. There is no reference to other wells; there may have been one there already for either agricultural purposes or to supply the two properties known as Station Hill, which housed Thorverton mill workers.[93]

TRDC's architect tabled a letter with alternative proposals (details not minuted), which may have been his original proposal for an artesian supply.[94] The Ministry of Health was still arguing in November, asking whether two wells were really necessary and querying what protection there would be against contamination from the piggeries, to which TRDC countered that there was no alternative to the wells; the Ministry 'to be advised that there were to be no piggeries and [asked to] sanction building of two wells'. The following month, the Ministry was asking for further details about the windmill supply, to which TRDC responded that the two wells had already been

[91] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, p. 56.

[92] <https://www.agritechtomorrow.com/article/2018/03/using-windmills-to-deliver-water/10595>. [accessed 1 July 2023].

[93] 1901 Census RG13/2132.

[94] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 102–3.

sunk.[95] This exchange over the Thorverton water supply between TRDC and the Ministry had lasted six months, and was just one example of the delays caused by water supply issues.

Though building works were in progress at Bradninch during the last quarter of 1920, in December it became apparent that an adit for a new water supply there required extra permissions from the Duchy of Cornwall. Negotiations for a thirty-one year lease for the installation of a water pipe from a well and a spring and driving the required adit took six months. Though the adit was completed in May 1922, further sophistication caused extra expenditure of £1500.[96]

During the summer of 1922, Bradninch Cricket Club was in trouble for using this new supply to water their grounds: if they failed to get permission from the parochial council, their supply would be cut off. A well over the adit supplying a water trough on other Duchy land ran almost dry, leading to Bradninch Parochial Council having to arrange another supply.[97] In September, supply issues continued, such that Bradninch consumers were asked not to waste water – a familiar request to consumers 100 years later![98]

A similar conversation took place over the water supply at Sampford Peverell between October 1921 and June 1923; the Ministry approving £332 for a windmill supply system, with further expense of £13 1s 6d for fencing the windmill and providing the tank with a cover to prevent contamination.[99] There was also a well there, which ran dry in September 1923, requiring deepening of it by 5 feet and making a borehole.[100] In March 1925, the Ministry of Health sanctioned the sale of the Sampford Peverell water pump for £2 10s 0d, subject to the district auditor agreeing that this was the best price obtainable.[101]

TRDC minutes for May 1925 record that with the passing of the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act 1924, separate costings (and the negotiations on funding) for wells would not be necessary, and would be included in the government loans for the house building.[102] Unfortunately, this simplification patently failed to occur; only the following month:

> … letter received from the Ministry of Health stating that they would be prepared to entertain application for sanction to the borrowing of the amount required for the provision of a water supply on the Halberton Housing site at a cost of £323 19s.6d. on receipt of a copy of Council's resolution authorising the application.
>
> Resolved on the motion of Mr Mildon, seconded by Mr Brice that application be made to the Ministry of Health for sanction of the borrowing of a sum of £325 for the provision of water supply on the Halberton Housing site, and incidental expenses.[103]

While contamination of water had been dealt with in previous years by putting lids on supply tanks (as at Samford Peverell, above), by June 1926, a supplier quote of £2 5s 4d was accepted for chemical and bacteriological analysis of water supply (though per site or installation is not

[95] DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 102, 114, 128.
[96] DHC R4/4/0/C/12 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1918–March 1921, p. 375;
DHC R4/4/0/C/13 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, April 1921–May 1923, pp. 58, 209.
[97] Ibid., pp. 246, 262.
[98] Ibid., p. 292.
[99] Ibid., pp. 104, 153, 187, 275; DHC R4/4/0/C/14 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, May 1923–June 1925, pp. 16, 49.
[100] Ibid., pp. 65, 83.
[101] Ibid., pp. 344–45.
[102] Ibid., p. 400.
[103] DHC R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, p. 243.

recorded).[104] In November, all the wells in Halberton tested negative, not just the council's building site (which had both a windmill system and a well), such that supply for the whole parish was under consideration.[105] The housing site well was sunk deeper in the effort to obtain better-quality water: Messrs Plumpton and Sons' tender was:

> Sinking a well to 50 feet: £1 5s 0d per foot
>
> Sinking a well between 50 and 100 feet: £1 10s 0d [per foot]
>
> Steining up well with 4½-inch brick: £1 [per foot]
>
> Cement concrete rings, if required in case of slip: £3 each.[106]

Water quality for subsidised bungalows at Halberton was 'not yet satisfactory' so Messrs Plumpton were to clean out the well and test again.[107] In the early part of 1927, advertising and tendering for water supplies was initiated for the housing schemes in Bradninch, Cruwys Morchard, Morebath and Kentisbeare. In Willand, it was for laying water mains and sewers, with further expenditure of £106 19s 0d on an engine and £34 10s 0d in January 1928 on a pump house for when the windmill was not working. Cullompton was to be provided with a steel water tower and windmill with pump and rising main. These are the first mentions of water mains. Though there is no record of mains in Thorverton during the 1920s, there remain a few TRDC water plate covers in the pavements, illustrated in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Water supply plate in Thorverton pavement. Photograph, the author, May 2022.

In March 1927, TRDC once again resolved that all future building contracts should include the sinking of wells. Meanwhile, the tender for a well at Bradninch was to start with sinking to 25 feet, but by October there was only 2 feet of water in it, so the contractor was authorised to sink a

[104] DHC R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, p. 246.
[105] Ibid., p. 346.
[106] Ibid., p. 368.
[107] DHC R4/4/0/C/16 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, March 1927–May 1928, p. 149.

further 10 feet to 'yield a sufficient supply'. In July another well was to be built in Silverton 'to augment the current supply and provide enough for the new houses'.[108]

Conclusion

In 1919, housing sites were approved in twenty-two out of the twenty-five parishes within Tiverton Rural District, but only forty-five houses had been built in six parishes by the time the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act 1924 came in. It is apparent that in setting an ambitious target, TRDC did not appreciate how time-consuming negotiating land purchases with owners would be. Nor could it have foreseen that the detailed level of government administration would cause many months of delays at every step, through the processes of approving, contracting and paying for building sites; tendering and approval of costs prior to contracting builders; the approval and accounting for the smallest of items; the disagreements on how water was to be supplied; and later, disputes over rent levels.

The majority of the sites initiated in 1919 to 1921 were set aside, with building underway in the early 1920s only in Bradninch, Cullompton, Sampford Peverell, Thorverton, Uffculme and Washfield. The second phase of building under the 1924 Act was burdened with the same level of government administration. Despite resolutions to include the cost of wells in the government loans for the house construction (in May 1925), the problems of these cost negotiations continued until March 1927. Contracting for land purchases did not get any quicker – the second Thorverton land purchase taking eighteen months to the end of 1929 meant that these houses were not completed until outside this project's study period, in 1931.

Nor could TRDC have foreseen the problems that would be encountered in supplying water to the new houses. Wells often had to be deepened to obtain sufficient supply, and windmill systems with water tanks could get contaminated, which led to probably the first chemical and bacteriological testing of water supplies.

Throughout the period, TRDC's minutes hint at both the frustrations of dealing with so many different government departments, but also record the patient attention to the meticulous documentation that the government required. However, newspaper reports give an inkling of reality. TRDC's meeting on 16 November 1920, reported in the *Western Times and Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* perhaps better reflects the council's conflicts with the Ministry of Health, as it records the actual discussion at the meeting, revealing much more that the dry minutes. The *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*'s heading is 'Tiverton District Housing, Severe Criticism of the Ministry'.[109] Discussing the two additional wells for Thorverton in October 1921, the newspaper records:

> Captain Dixon urged that the work should be put in hand immediately without waiting for the consent of the Ministry of Health. "If these fellows (the Press) were not here... I would say something, but they will put it in the papers".[110]

[108] R4/4/0/C/15 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, July 1925–February 1927, pp. 385–86;
DHC R4/4/0/C/16 Tiverton Rural District Council minutes, March 1927–May 1928, pp. 17, 18, 71, 134, 205, 296–97.
[109] *The Western Times*, 17 November 1920, p. 3; *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 19 November 1920, p. 6.
[110] *Western Morning News*, 19 October 1921, p. 3.