Two Depressions Between 1921 And 1940

There were two depressions between 1921 and 1940 — a junior mortgage depression during the years 1921-1930 and a senior or first mortgage depression during the years 1931-1940. To understand the nature of these two depressions it will be helpful to follow through the financial history of Farmer A who bought the 240 acre farm for \$95,000 in 1920.

The first blow which came in 1921 was the drop in prices of farm products. Corn which had been averaging over \$1 a bushel and actually selling for \$2 a bushel in the summer of 1919 plunged to 41 cents in 1921. The land boom was definitely over.

The second blow was the interest payment on the mortgage debt which hit like a "ton of brick" in 1921. In the actual case of Farmer A with a \$90,000 mortgage debt, the required interest payment of \$5,000 was more than the value of all the corn produced on both of his farms that year. Some farm owners borrowed money from banks, relatives, and any other sources available in order to meet their required payments, hoping that next year would see corn above \$1 a bushel. But the hoped-for did not happen, the average corn price for 1921-1925 was only 63 cents a bushel.

Foreclosures and bank failures began to occur in the early 1920's. Those buyers who had made only a small down payment and owed a large debt were the first to lose their farms, usually to the holder of a junior mortgage, that is a second or third mortgage. In the case of Farmer A, who had paid over half the purchase price in cash, the foreclosures did not occur until 1927 and 1928 when the farmer lost both of his farms. Up to this time our farmer had hopes that conditions might improve, but they did not. In the meantime he had borrowed all he could to stave off foreclosure only to give in finally when he had exhausted his borrowing ability and could meet neither his property taxes nor the interest on his debts. Farmer A was typical of a particularly unfortunate group of land boom victims who had invested a large amount of their own resources only to see them evaporate with the continued low level of cornhog prices after 1920.

The foreclosures of the 1920's were largely the foreclosure of junior mortgages, in most cases second mortgages but in some cases, even third and fourth mortgages. When the farm owners were unable to pay the interest, they usually stopped paying all obligations including property taxes. In a situation like this the junior mortgage holder had to step in, pay up the property taxes and the interest on the first mortgage, and foreclose his mortgage to obtain title, otherwise the

first mortgage holder could do this and cut the junior mortgage holder out entirely. In cases where the value of the farm had declined below the amount of the first mortgage, there was no point in the junior mortgage holder doing anything because he had no equity, but during the 1920's the farm in most cases was worth more than the first mortgage so the junior mortgage holder almost always stepped in, foreclosed, and took title.

In our example of Farmer A one of the second mortgages was for \$16,000 on 160 acres representing part of the profit made by the seller of the farm in 1920. At the time of the foreclosure in 1928 the amount of back interest and penalties due on the \$16,000 mortgage brought the total up to \$19,200. At the foreclosure sale the farm was bid in by the second mortgage holder for \$12,000 subject to an existing first mortgage of \$16,000 or \$100 an acre. The sale left a deficiency of \$7,200 which the second mortgage holder used to have a receiver appointed so that he was entitled to rent from the farm during the year of redemption. About this time the second mortgage holder dropped out of the picture giving up all his rights to the farm to a local bank which obtained title to it. The bank sold the farm to a farmer, who will be designated as Farmer B, for \$27,000 or \$170 an acre. Farmer B paid \$11,200 cash and took on a mortgage debt of \$16,000.

Farm values during the junior mortgage de-

pression declined steadily. They started at \$255 an acre at the top of the boom in 1920. In 1921 they were down only to \$235 but this was a nominal figure because there were few farms being bought, no one was interested in buying. By 1930 the average value per acre had dropped to \$135.

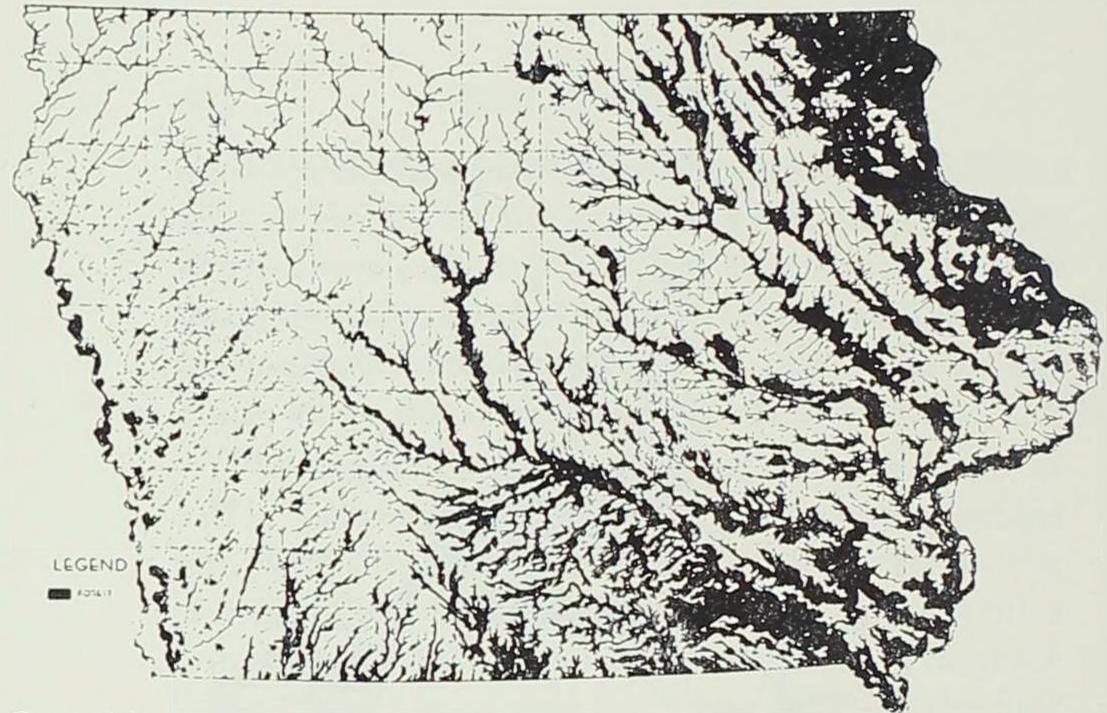
The senior or first mortgage depression hit in 1931. Corn prices were down to 43 cents a bushel and they dropped to 23 cents in 1932. Hogs, the proverbial mortgage lifter, declined from \$8.80 a hundred in 1930 to \$3.20 in 1932. A low price for corn and hogs was the basic cause of the first mortgage depression which saw farm owners having trouble paying their property taxes and the interest on their first mortgages. Those owners who had only a first mortgage against their land during the 1921-1930 period had been able to get by and in some cases make some progress financially. But the decline in corn and hog prices, which came in 1931 and 1932, made it virtually impossible to do much more than pay property taxes and current operating expenses with nothing left to pay the interest on the first mortgage.

The property tax burden was particularly heavy in the depression years and was one of the important causes of financial distress. Here are average figures for Iowa which show the slow adjustment of property taxes to changes in product prices:



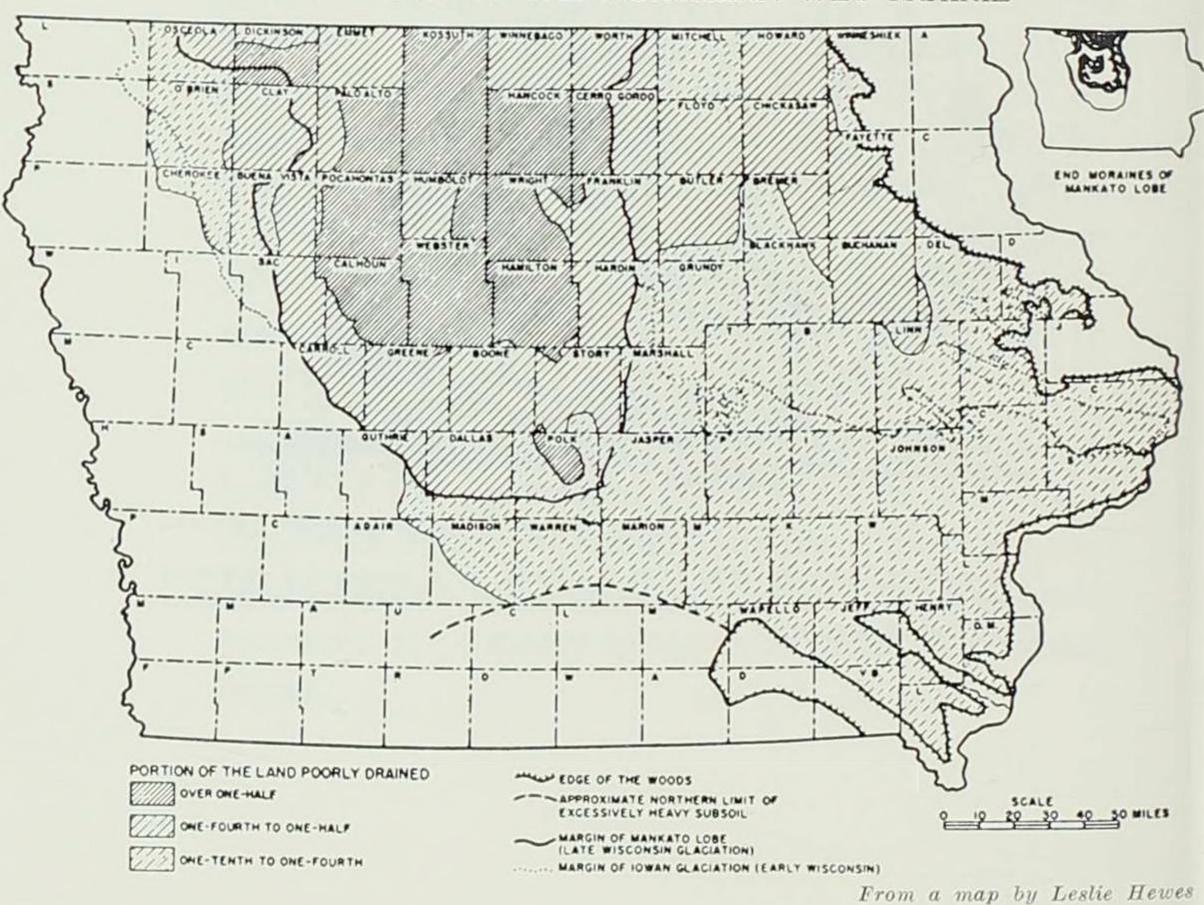
—From iowa and proud of it—

Iowa farmers have in their land the basis for a sound and enduring prosperity provided land speculation and severe declines in product prices can be prevented.



Original forest cover in Iowa. Based on original land surveys in Iowa which started in 1836 and were completed in 1859. Map by Iowa State Planning Board.

IOWA PORTION OF THE NORTHERN WET PRAIRIE



Circular (No. 4)

IOWA GENERAL LAND AGENCY:

by LE GRAND BYINGTON

AT IOWA CITY, IOWA.

SIR: - The assignability of the Bounty Land Warrants issued under the act of 1850, has rendered the forms and instructions which accompanied my former circulars unnecessary, and induced me to modify the propositions therein submitted. I have also increased my facilities, with a view to more extensive operations. I will now receive these warrants, (assigned in blank) at my residence in Iowa City, Iowa, and, as directed by the sender, either-

I. Locate them upon the choicest land in the state (when the warrant holder desires the land for his own use, or for speculation) for the following fees in advance: for 40 acres, \$5; 80 acres, \$7; 160 acres, \$10; paying thereout all land office and other charges of selection and location; or-

II. Purchase them at 15 per cent. above their current price in the city New York; or-

III. Sell them to actual settlers, for cash or on time, for a commission of ten per cent. upon the amount realized, besides conveyancing fees; or-

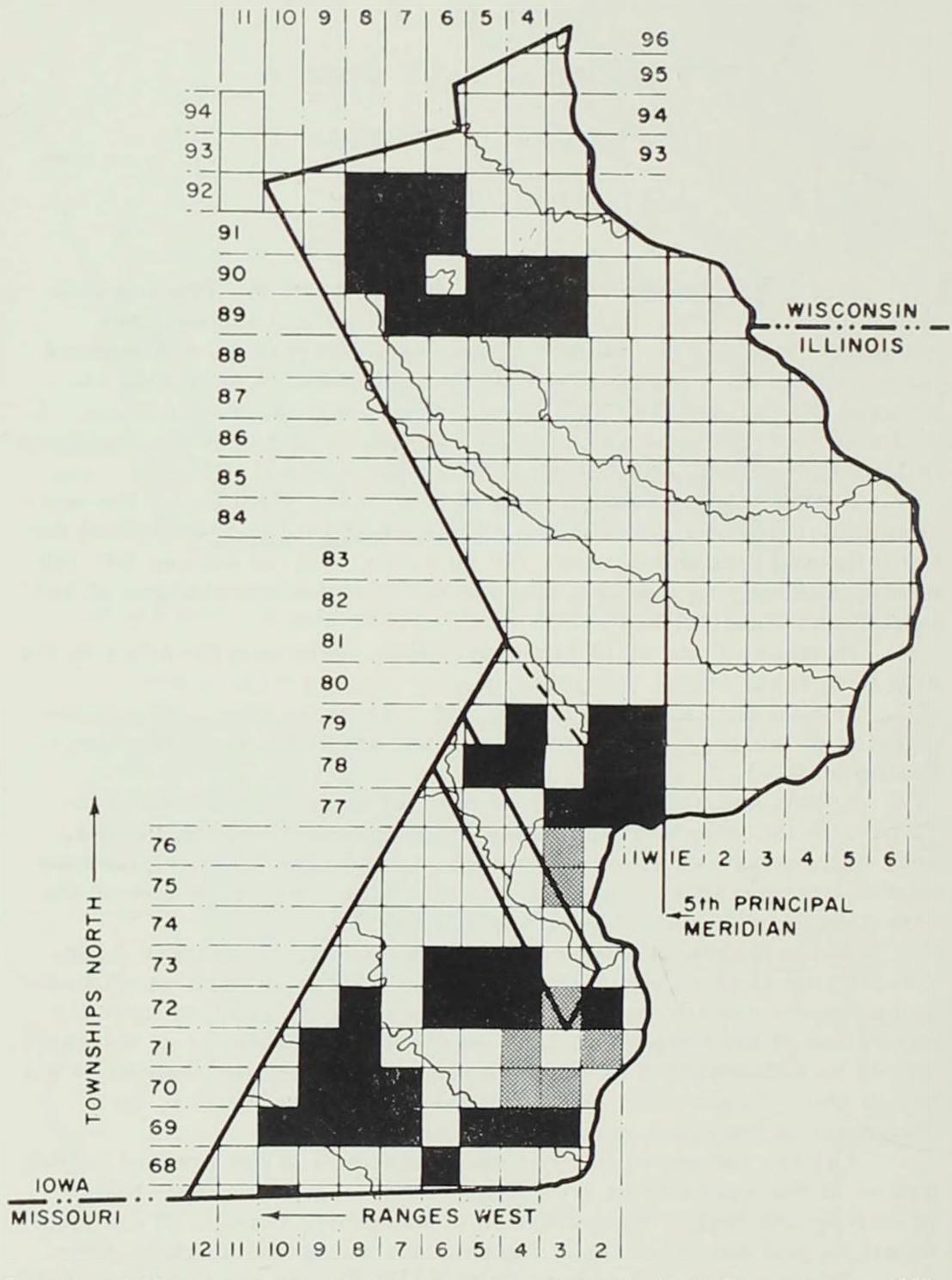
IV. Locate and sell the land, or sell the warrant in the first instance, to the very best advantage for a moiety of the net profits, and, on time sales, allow the sender, in addition, interest upon the cost of his warrants at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, from the date of sale to the time his money is remitted.

Where warrants are sent to me regularly, by Eastern Agencies, I report sales and make settlements monthly, and on all time sales, guarantee the payment of the money to the sender, upon the expiration of the time given. All warrants, or packages of warrants, should be accompanied by specific directions as to the manner of disposal; and, if sent under the 4th of the above propositions, by a statement of the exact cost of each warrant.

I attach for your information, a schedule of the present selling prices of the warrants at Iowa City; remarking, however, that prices for the larger denomination of warrants, cannot, in my judgment, be maintained at these figures, for any great length of time.

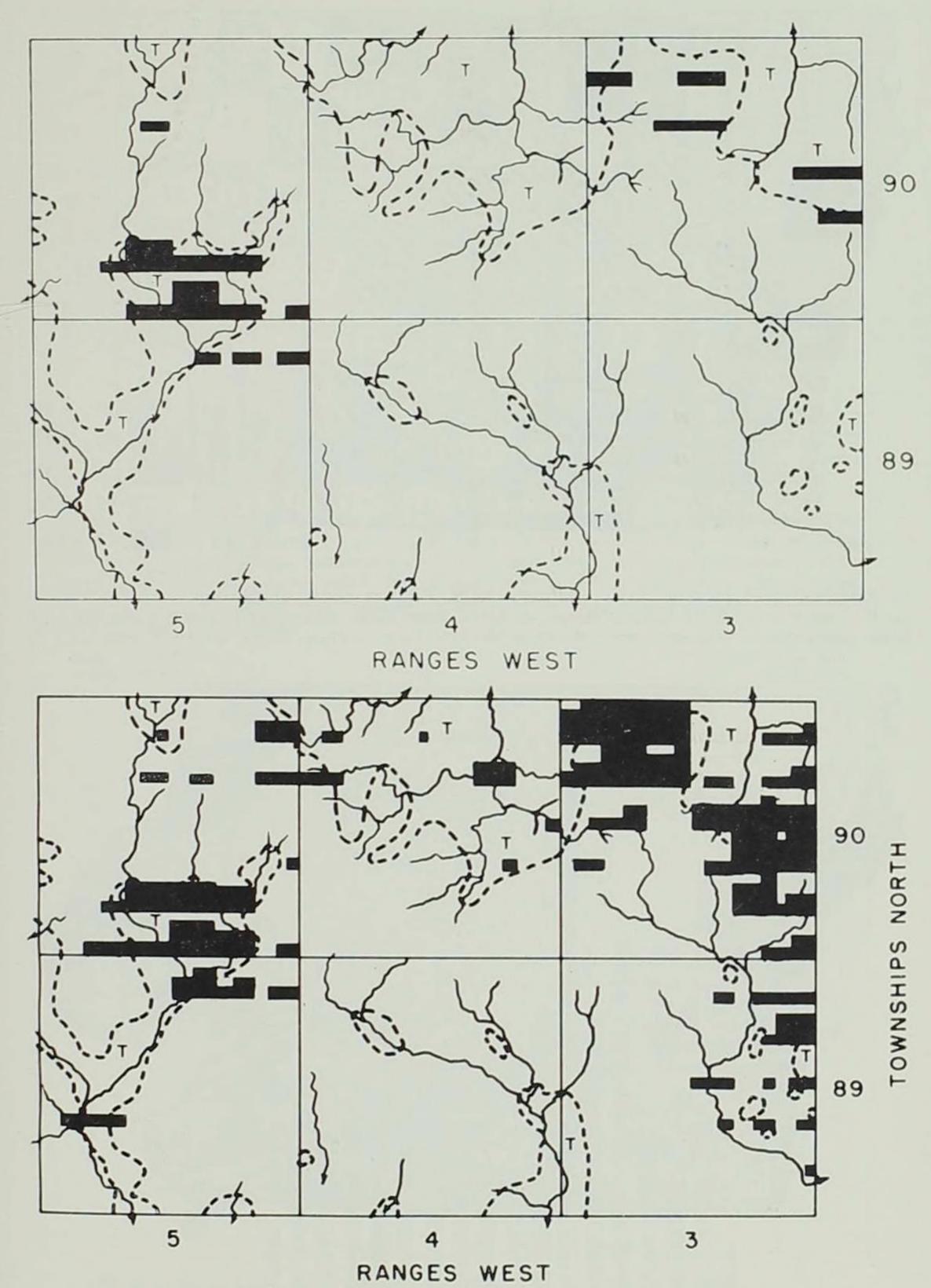
Warrants for 160 acres, Cash \$135; On one year's time, \$200;
" " 80 " " 75; " " " 110;
" 40; " " 55;

Part of an advertisement sent out in the 1850's by Le Grand Byington, an Iowa City land agent. Byington, a successful farmer and real estate agent, helped in bringing the Rock Island Railroad to Iowa City.

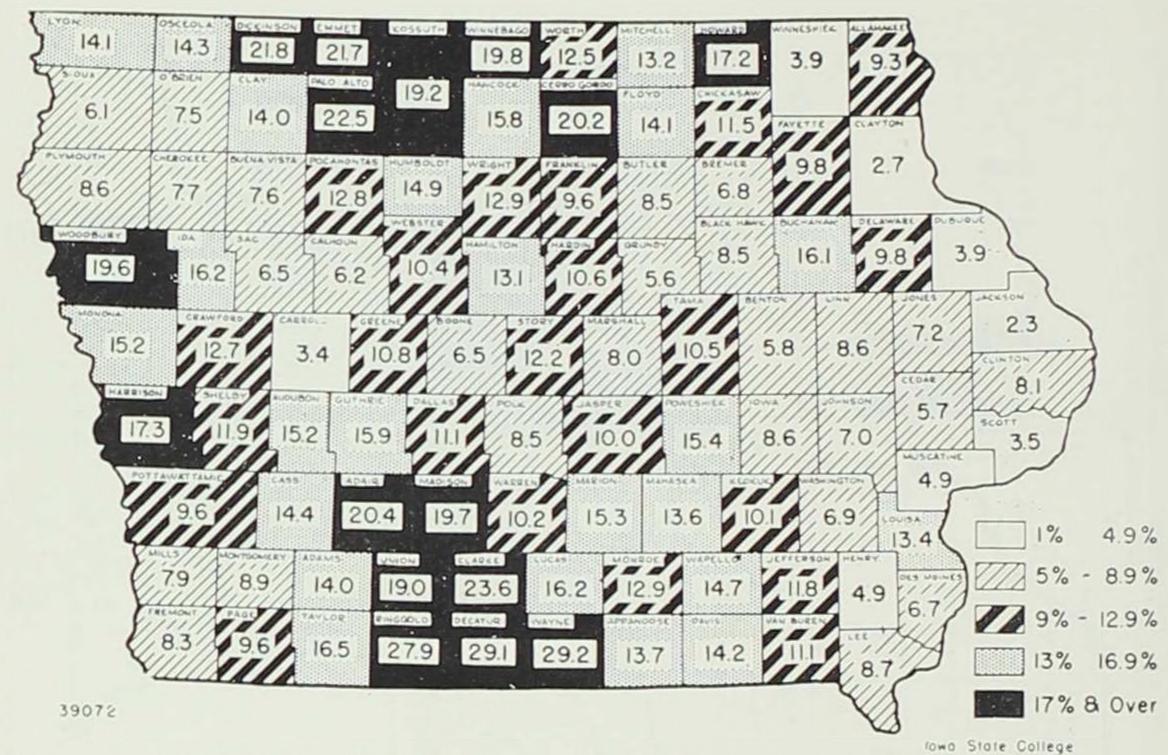


Location of 48 townships (in black) offered for sale by the U. S. Government in 1838, and the 7 townships (cross-hatch) offered in 1839.

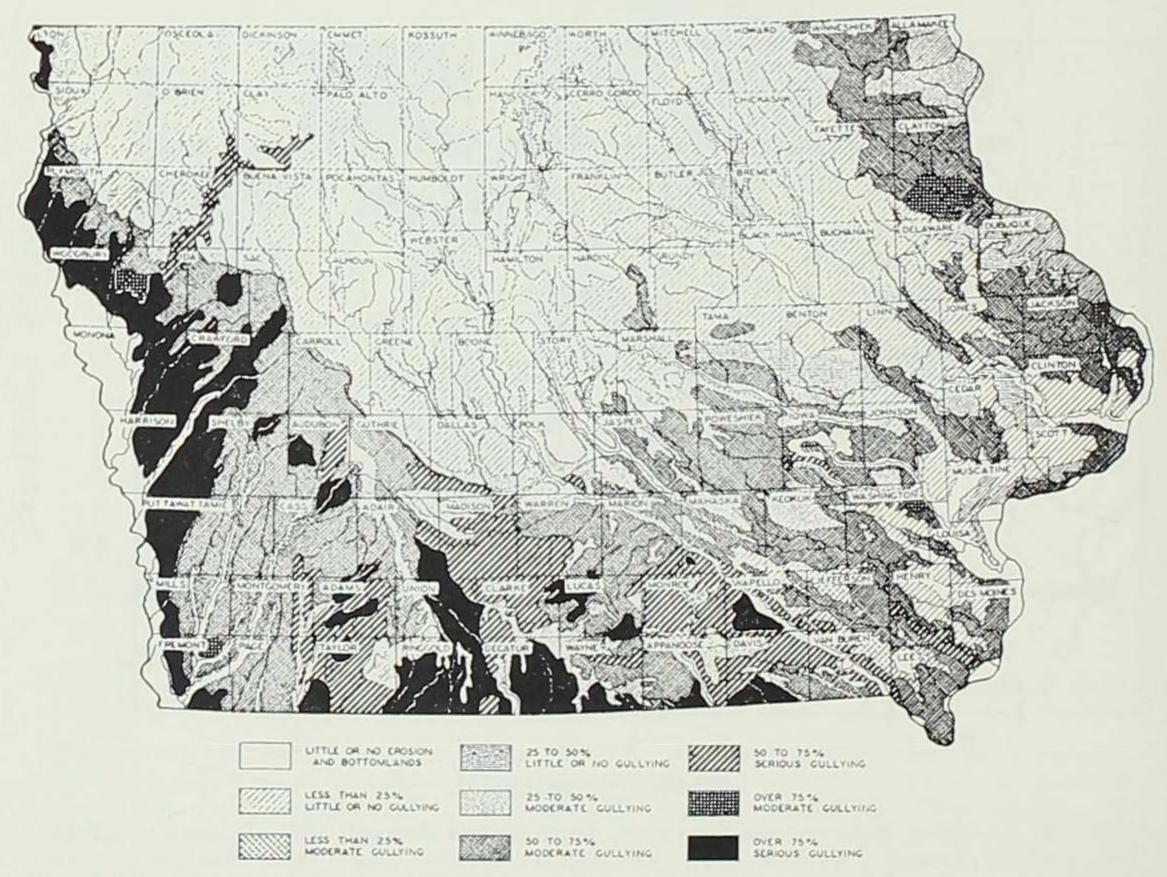
(Opposite page, top) Timber, streams, and original entry sales of public lands through 1839 in a block of 6 townships in northeastern Iowa are shown. This is the location of original entry sales in 1839. Timber (T) is enclosed within dash lines, streams are solid lines, and original entry sales are in black. Most sales, it is evident, were located in or near timber.



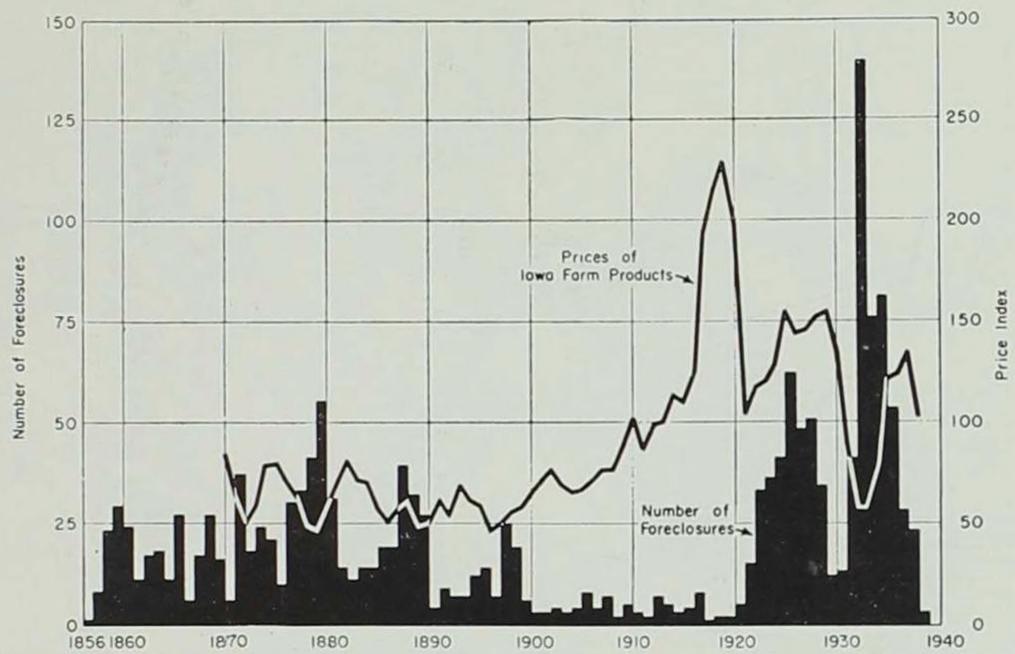
Same map as above, but with original entry sales shown through 1846. In the period, 1838-1846, settlers showed a definite preference for lands in or near timber and water. Out of 130,778 acres offered for sale in the 6 townships, 14,007 acres, or 11 per cent, were sold through 1846.



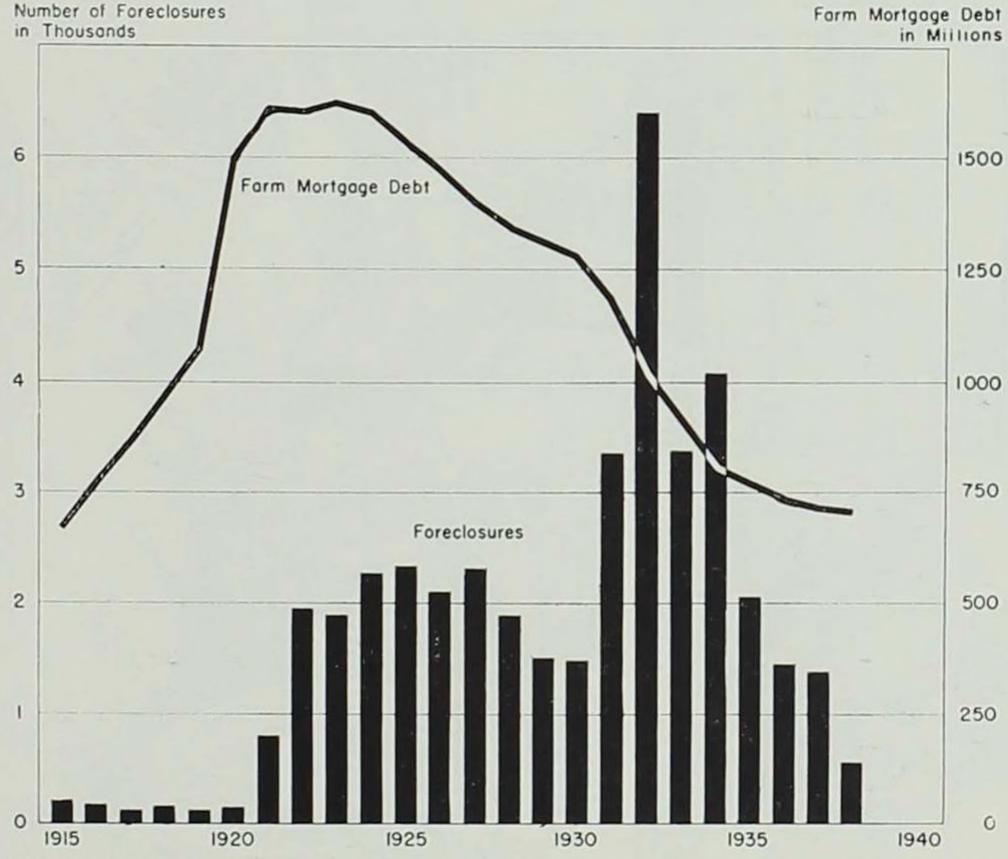
Corporate-owned land in Iowa, January 1939. Figures show percentage of farm land in each county owned by corporations—most of them farm mortgage lenders. Counties with high percentages are generally those with low farm values. State average was 11.9%.



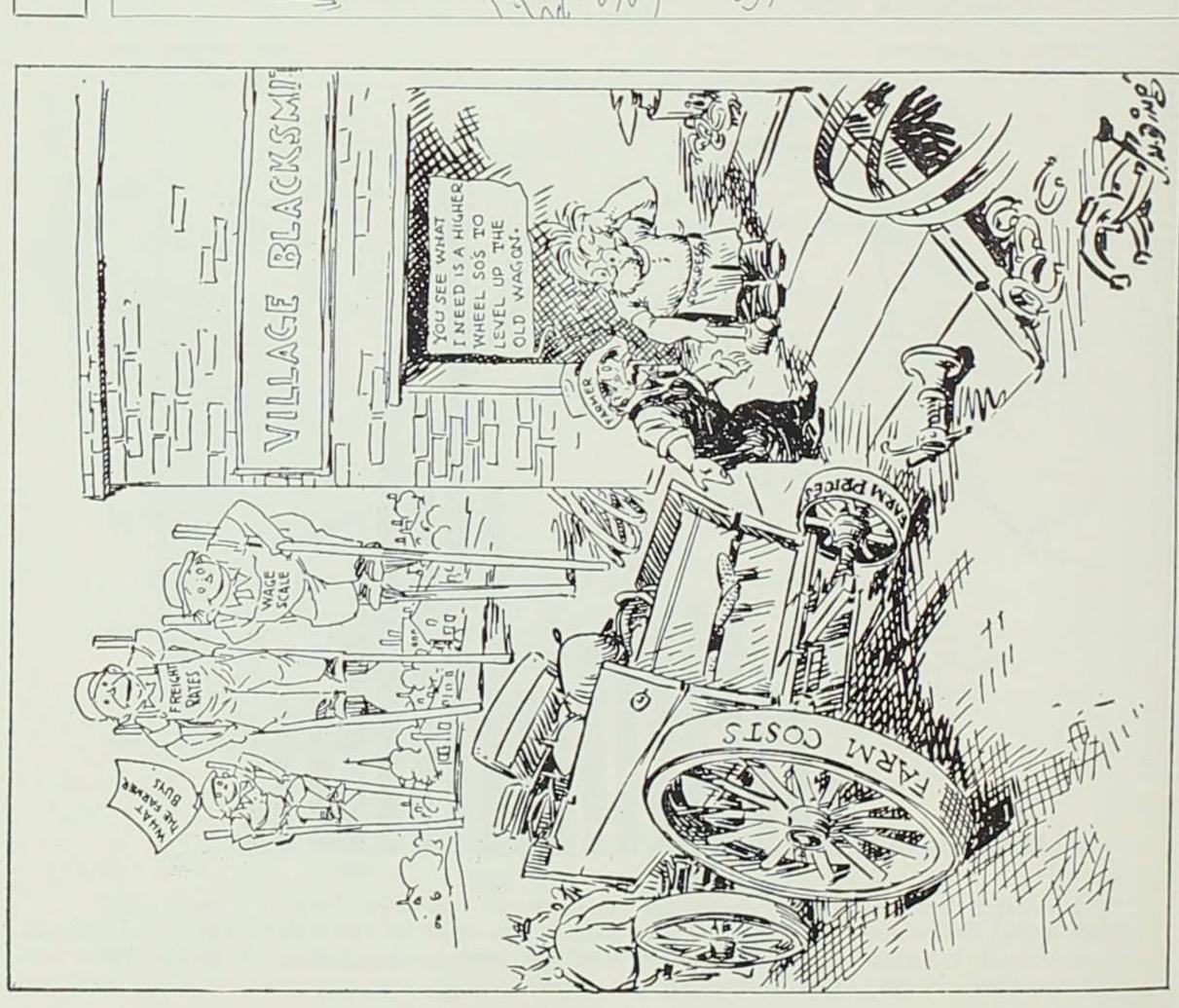
Areas of highest erosion in southern and western Iowa are also areas where foreclosures and corporate land holdings were especially high. Prior to 1930, such areas were frequently over-valued. Poor drainage, not erosion, was a serious problem in northern Iowa.

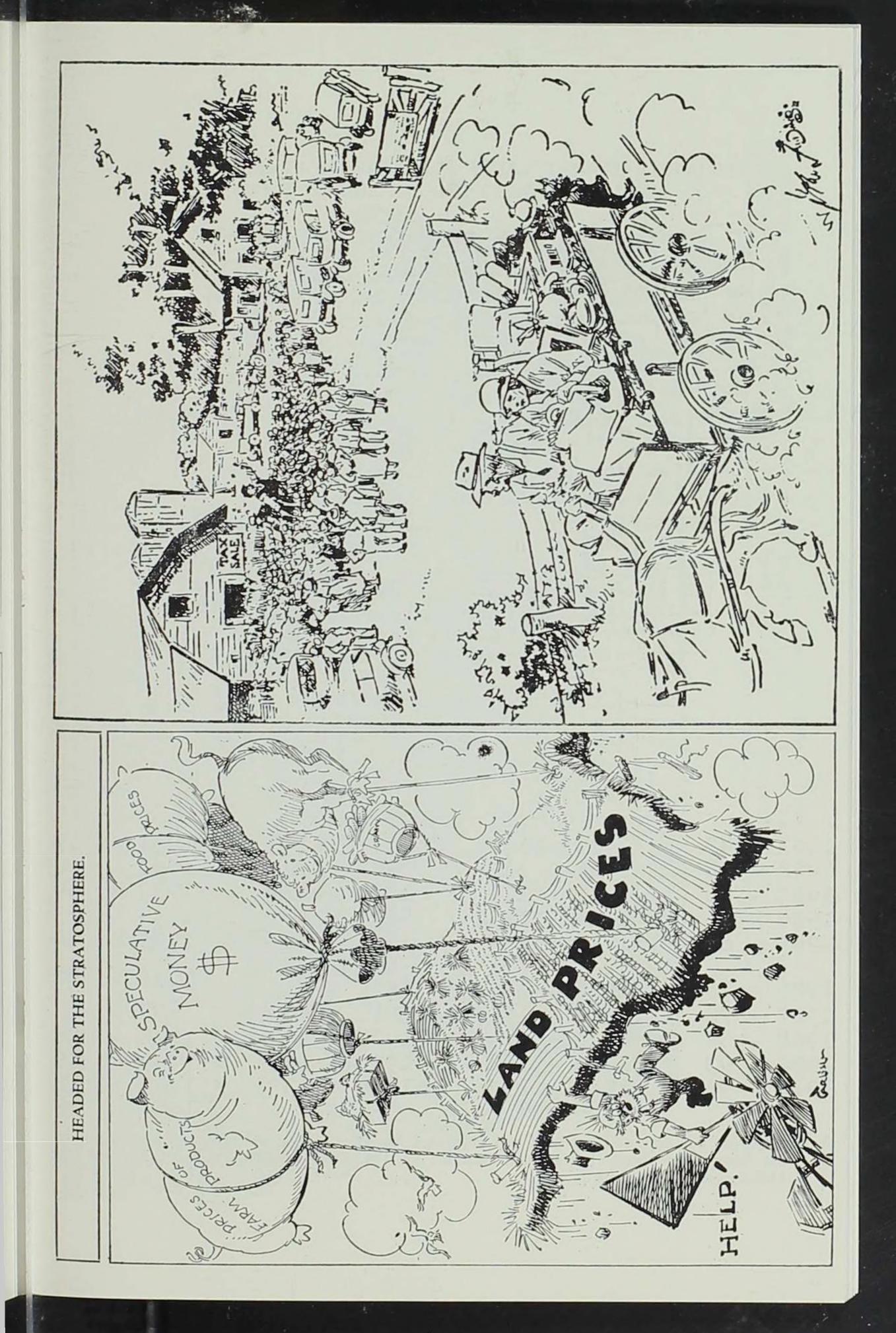


Shown are the number of farm mortgage foreclosures in Boone and Story Counties, 1856-1938, and index of prices of farm products, 1870-1938. From 1870 to 1900 farm product prices fluctuated at a low level and foreclosures were relatively heavy each time the price index fell. From 1900 to 1920 prices rose rapidly and foreclosures were almost non-existent. From 1921 to 1938 prices slumped and foreclosures rose to new highs.

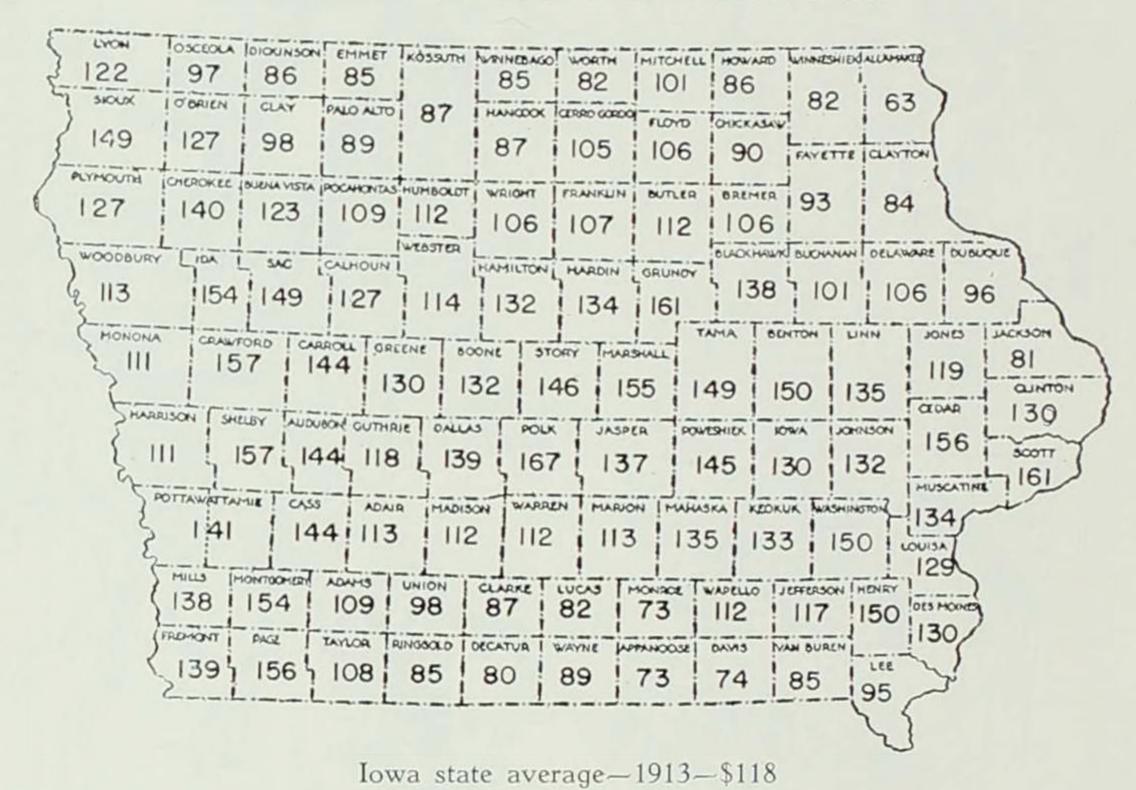


Estimated number of farm mortgage foreclosures and total farm mortgage debt in Iowa, 1915-1939. Chart shows two depressions—that of 1921-1930 when junior mortgage foreclosures predominated, and the deeper depression of 1931-1939 when first mortgage foreclosures were common.



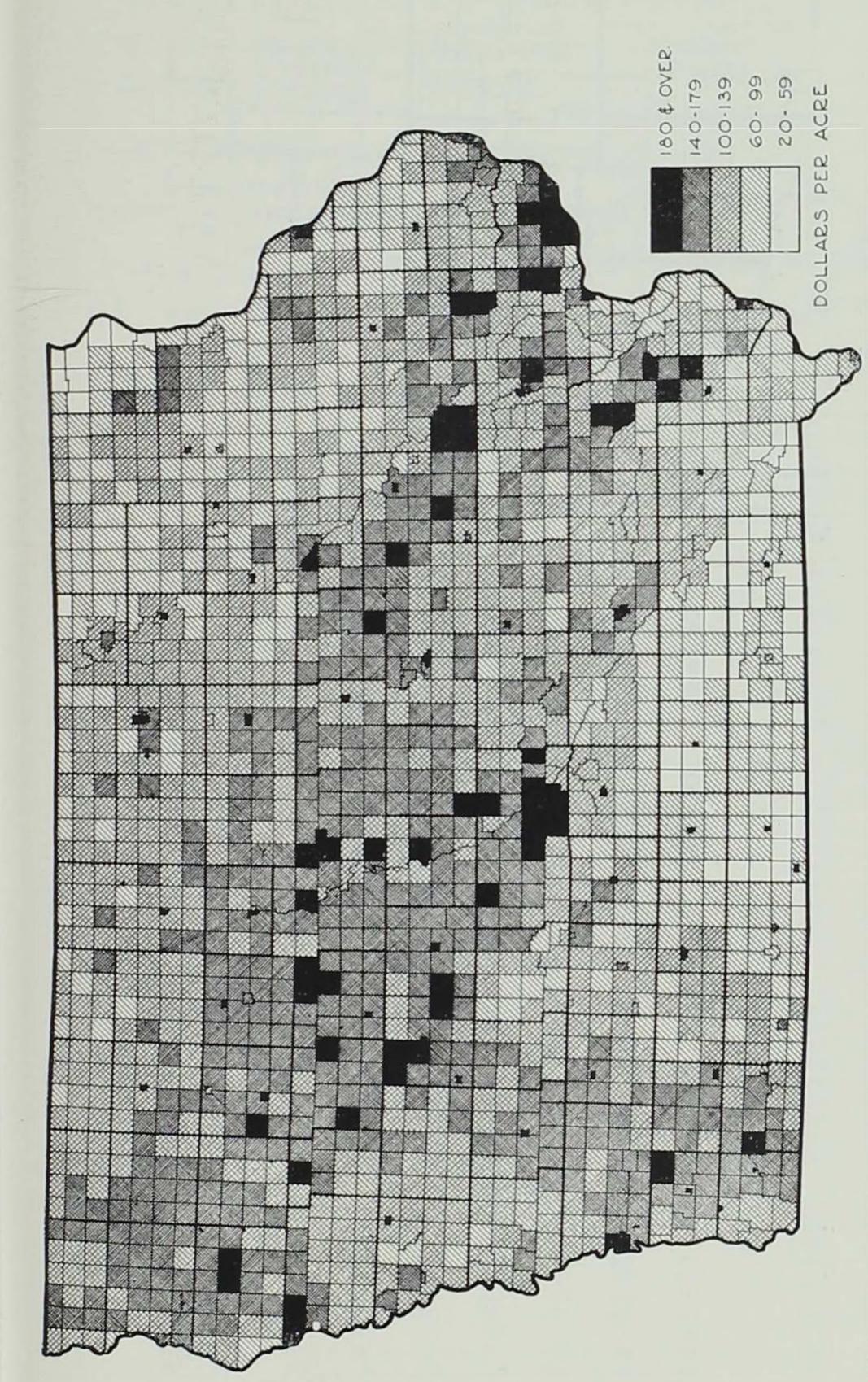


ESTIMATED MARKET VALUE PER ACRE OF FARM LAND AND BUILDINGS BY COUNTIES, MARCH 1, 1913



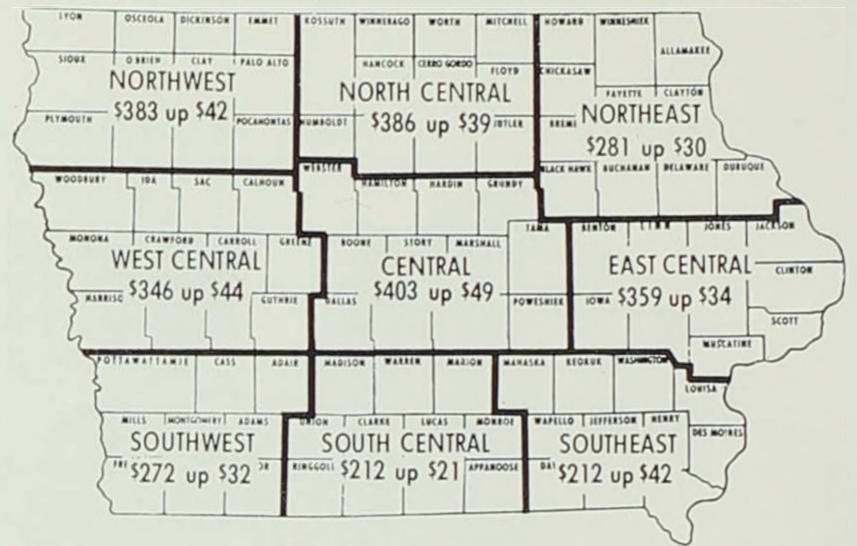
1901 -\$48	1911 -\$110	1921 -\$235	1931 -\$117
1902 - 58	1912 - 115	1922 - 194	1932 - 96
1903 - 66	1913 - 118	1923 - 186	1933 - 69
1904 - 66	1914 - 124	1924 - 171	1934 - 75
1905 - 67	1915 - 134	1925 - 162	1935 - 80
1906 - 75 1907 - 78 1908 - 82 1909 - 93 1910 - 96	1916 - 153 1917 - 160 1918 - 174 1919 - 192 1920 - 255	1926 - 155 1927 - 145 1928 - 140 1929 - 139 1930 - 135	1936 - 87 1937 - 87 1938 - 88 1939 - 88 1940 - 88 1941 - 88

Average value per acre of farm land and buildings, March 1, 1901-1941. Figures for 1901-1911 from the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station; for 1912-1941 based on index figures of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.



Value per acre of farm land and buildings shown by townships from data supplied by the Federal Census of 1930. The Census of 1930 is the only one providing farm values by townships. Those with the highest values are located in or near the larger cities and in an area extending from northwest to southeast Iowa. Low-value townships are located mainly in southern and northeastern parts of the state where timber and permanent pasture are more prevalent.

IOWA FARM VALUES BY CROP REPORTING DISTRICTS

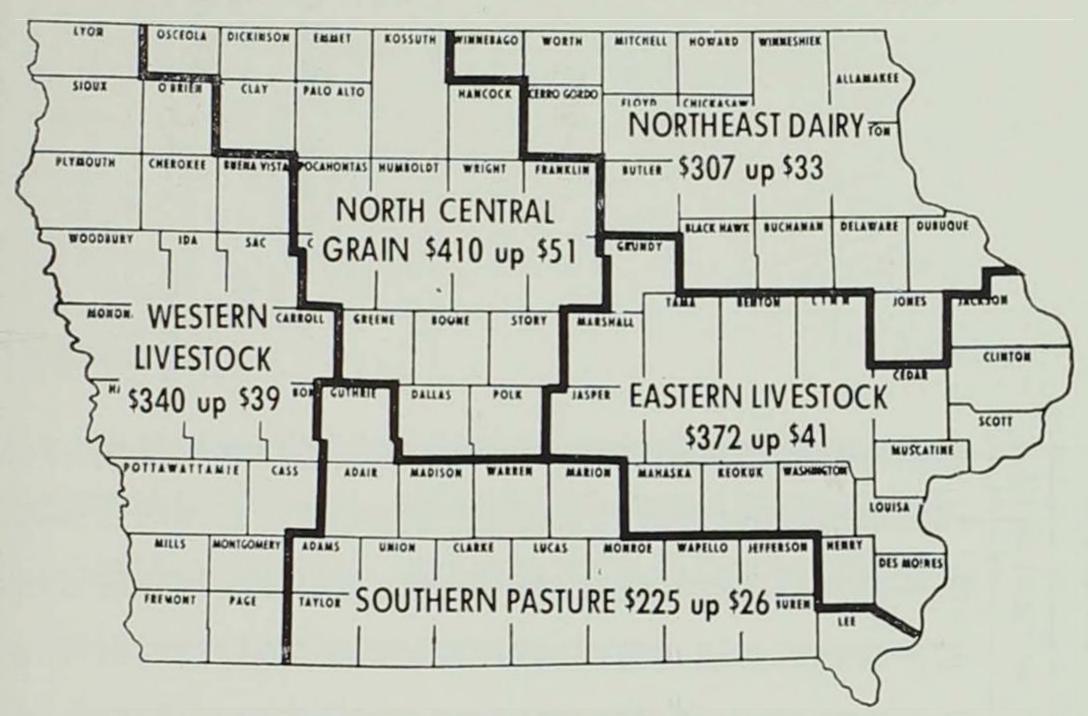


Average Iowa farm land values on November 1, 1966, and amount of increase over the previous year.

4	North- west	North Central	North- east	West Central	Central	East Central	South- west	South Central	South
Year				Grades L		Comital		Comman	Cusi
1957	\$274	\$263	\$193	\$226	\$277	\$262	\$184	\$138	\$211
1958	289	286	213	244	293	286	202	153	226
1959	292	279	225	256	305	305	200	160	227
1960	270	271	214	238	287	280	191	149	224
1961	270	268	224	243	283	276	192	153	226
1962	277	279	214	250	293	277	197	155	232
1963	284	291	231	262	295	283	211	154	239
1964	307	311	229	277	324	292	213	171	252
1965	340	346	250	302	354	325	239	191	276
1966	383	386	281	346	403	359	272	212	318
			Hig	h Grade L	and				
1957	370	350	272	330	393	407	270	223	359
1958	388	375	306	347	411	440	292	248	376
1959	392	348	326	368	427	445	292	256	373
1960	359	362	317	350	403	416	281	238	366
1961	363	361	324	355	397	409	272	247	369
1962	374	370	316	364	405	409	286	249	378
1963	384	378	334	378	413	419	299	245	391
1964	412	401	332	396	443	432	309	267	402
1965	454	452	358	422	481	478	339	297	436
1966	509	506	400	497	550	525	392	328	498
			Medi	um Grade	Land				
1957	275	261	193	219	272	254	178	129	191
1968	291	285	207	243	291	276	195	141	210
1959	291	291	219	251	301	310	192	150	210
1960	271	272	205	235	283	277	184	140	208
1961	274	266	216	235	281	274	189	142	214
1962	280	279	205	243	293	273	193	145	219
1963	287	288	220	254	292	278	210	143	220
1964	308	313	221	271	322	288	210	161	239
1965	337	348	241	299	349	319	236	185	263
1966	379	383	272	331	402	352	260	200	301
				Grade La					
1957	178	178	113	129	166	126	102	61	83
1958	189	196	126	143	177	143	119	71	93
1959	191	198	131	149	183	158	118	75	98
1960	178	180	200	131	175	148	107	70	97
1961	172	177	131	139	170	145	108	71	94
1962	176	189	121	144	180	148	112	71	98
1963	182	206	138	153	180	153	123	73	106
1964	202	218	135	163	206	156	120	83	114
1965	230	238	153	185	232	180	143	91	130
1966	261	268	169	212	256	201	162	108	155

Average value per acre of Iowa farm land and buildings, by crop reporting districts and grades of land, November 1, 1957-1966.

IOWA FARM VALUES BY TYPE OF FARMING AREAS



Average Iowa farm land values on November 1, 1966, and amount of increase over the previous year in various type areas.

Year	State Average	North Central Grain	Eastern Live- stock	Western Live- stock	Northeast Dairy	Southern Past Ire
1941	\$ 88	\$106	\$101	\$ 90	\$ 87	\$ 58
1942	100	118	115	103	95	6
1943	119	141	138	119	110	8
1944	130	158	151	136	115	83
1945	140	168	167	148	118	91
1946	149	180	177	161	127	10
1947	167	196	200	187	138	117
1948	176	207	204	198	146	124
1949	177	213	203	197	151	123
1950	197	240	226	217	168	135
1951	212	258	244	238	174	148
1952	209	258	240	224	182	143
1953	198	246	226	212	171	134
1954	205	258	236	222	180	126
1955	215	270	242	231	190	140
1956	220	279	251	231	197	144
1957	276	278	264	228	212	147
1958	244	305	282	246	231	158
1959	252	306	290	253	244	165
1960	237	284	277	237	230	158
1961	237	282	273	241	229	159
1962	241	272	273	247	228	162
1963	250	307	281	257	237	167
1964	265	328	297	272	248	183
1965	293	359	331	301	274	199
1966	331	410	372	340	307	225

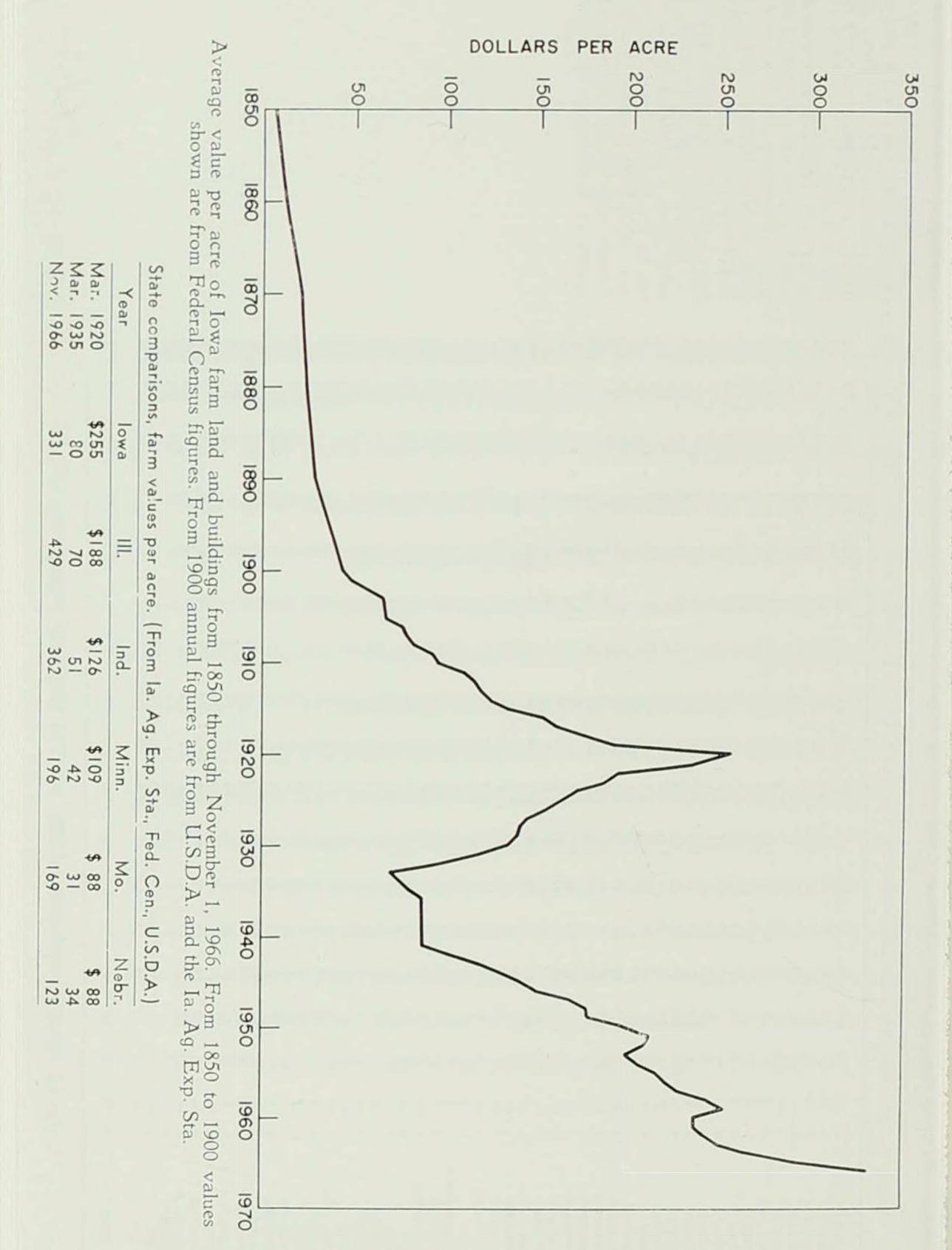
Average value per acre of Iowa farm land and buildings, by type of farming area on November 1, 1941-1966.

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	Blackbayk		77	30	25	36	200	110	200	160	1 (4	8 &	\$ 8	110	108	one	320	220	
1	Boone		12	55	22	25	199	107	273	170) N	1 5	103	145	8 2	263	300	87×	
1.	Bremer		10	28	18	31	67	86	170	135	10	78	83	96	150	187	267	270	
	Buchanan	4	77	25	50	8	17	82	184	123	0	57	102	8	1%	167	272	284	
	Buena Vista	!	7	10	15	36	147	100	312	186	155	95	106	146	252	270	317	320	
1	Butler	-	80	27	50	56	94	16	500	146	112	18	82	98	154	188	265	284	
1	Calboun	-	80	11	13	22	42	103	313	201	166	98	112	154	242	8	198	×76	
	Carroll	1	2	6	19	33	45	120	293	180	164	8	100	135	217	265	301	X FB	
	Cass	!	6	22	22	31	45	117	564	1771	134	17	17	00	146	191	000	200	
	Cedar	9 :	16	36	35	15	20	127	270	170	151	88	108	140	205	27.5	3173	x lin	
1	Cerro Gordo	1	8	10	18	70	17	85	213	152	115	9	18	105	178	208	233	XXX	
	Cherokee	:	2	1	77	28	7/7	114	305	167	140	00	00	110	200	284	800	*O*	
1	Chickseav	!	. 40	27	10	23	145	7.3	163	115	00	200	24	14	101	121	2000	O K	
1	Clarke	-	10	17	18	36	33	35	356	200	187	37	36	2 4	200	101	100	106	
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1	Clayton		13	25	200	280	200	3 %	118	101	101	0.00	200	83	102	2 6	367	100	
1	Clinton		17	33	36	F2	28	300	200	150	700	175	b d	100	275	700	100	101	
1	Crawford		9	55	17	25	17.	107	260	152	134	14	27.0	60	1111	170	666	2000	
The color of the	Dallas	1	10	24	54	8	146	113	261	175	156	84	03	127	108	237	200	210	
1	Davis	71.	1	57	16-	18	30	9	122	86	61	30	300	177	130	7.8	108	121	
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1	Delaware	: 5	0	82	8	34	20	8	186	138	100	63	8	0.1	136	167	241	265	
1	Des Moines	6	22	39	38	33	64	106	201	141	100	65	72	112	182	202	500	a to	
1	Dickinson	-	9	7	10	19	32	70	214	143	100	69	84	106	165	214	202	263	
1	Dubuque		13	8	31	39	147	78	150	120	112	67	73	84	122	155	215	245	
1	Sheet	-	2	7	27	17	33	69	224	141	110	72	6	120	180	540	8	305	
11	10.00		7	21	27	56	43	92	173	122	95	53	79	82	117	144	213	224	
1	Floyd		11	23	22	56	94	88	199	136	116	9	80	100	151	194	275	298	
1	Franklin	-	6	13	17	54	7.7	87	230	151	136	83	96	122	193	253	330	34	7
1	Fremont	: 1	13	53	54	9	84.	113	233	160	143	82	82	98	159	203	218	546	5
1	Oreene	!	0;	10	13	50	45	901	298	185	157	92	90	154	233	566	351	363	1.8
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1	Harden	:	7 5	77	200	107	30	7.5	214	155	125	80	16	122	195	242	323	338	19
1	Harrigon		2	2	7.0	v c	4,7	607	254	709	145	92	66	130	203	248	322	346	
1	Renry		1 2	33	22	500	200	2,5	200	743	122	10	R	200	623	159	182	198	
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Dates at which the Fe sus were taken follow:	1850-1900	1920-1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1954-1964

	every Census the valuerstood to mean "estimated	fences, permanent improvements, and buildings." Up until 1950 every farmer was asked to give an estimate of farm value. Beginning in 1950 and in each Federal Census since only about one-fifth of the farmers have been asked the farm value guestion. This table, except for 1964, was taken from "Farm Real Estate Values in the United States by Counties, 1850-1959," edited by T. J. Pressly and W. H. Scofield, University of Washington Press, 1965.	
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The 1964 state average was \$271.77 *Value for Allamakee in 1850 was \$7



Property Tax Per Acre on Farms

Year	Tax	Year	Tax	Year	Tax
1918	\$.72	1926	\$1.14	1934	\$.85
1919	.90	1927	1.14	1935	.94
1920	1.10	1928	1.15	1936	.97
1921	1.12	1929	1.22	1937	.99
1922	1.12	1930	1.24	1938	.99
1923	1.13	1931	1.13	1939	1.04
1924	1.14	1932	1.02	1940	1.00
1925	1.15	1933	.90	1941	1.01

Local commercial banks, along with farm owners, had hard sledding in the 1920's and early 1930's. In 1920 there were 1,703 state and national banks operating in Iowa. By 1930, largely as a result of bank failures and mergers to avoid failure, the total had declined to 1,212, and by 1935 the total was down to 656 banks.

The low point in farm values came in 1933 at \$69 an acre as the average value for farm land and buildings in Iowa. Every year from 1920 to 1933 farm values had dropped—a total decline of \$186 in 13 years or an average of \$14 a year.

The contrast between the situation before and after 1920 was striking. From the beginning of the state's history to 1920 there is no record of any decline in farm values for the state as a whole. All of the Federal Census values reported to 1900 show increases, and all the annual values reported from 1900 to 1920 show an increase, with the exception of 1904, when values remained stationary. The farm family in 1920 which looked back

could see nothing but rising farm values for three generations back to the original settlers in the 1840's and 1850's. On the other hand, this same family in 1933 could look back 13 years and see nothing but declining values with each year bring-

ing a new low to the value of its farm.

It is no wonder that farm owners with mortgages were discouraged in the early 1930's. Some of these owners, like Farmer B, had purchased their farms in the depressed years of the 1921-1930 period and had invested substantial amounts in their farms. Other owners had bought their farms before the land boom, had weathered the junior mortgage depression of 1921-1930, and were now about to lose their farms through no speculation on their part. With close to one-half of the land in Iowa being under mortgage at an average debt of \$75 an acre, it was evident in 1931 that a serious financial crisis existed.

The crisis in 1931 which became worse in 1932 can be illustrated in simple terms by referring to the farm which Farmer B purchased only a few years earlier for \$170 an acre. This was part of the same farm which sold for \$396 an acre in 1920. Now, in 1931, Farmer B was in trouble with his first mortgage debt of \$100 an acre. Besides he was in debt for loans on livestock and equipment.

There were only two ways Farmer B could go in 1933—one was to give up and the other was to hang on by using emergency financial measures

voted by Congress and the State Legislature.

If he gave up, as many did, his first mortgage would have been foreclosed and he would have lost his farm, or he might have agreed to deed his farm to the holder of the mortgage for a small amount provided he could give a deed that the lender would consider satisfactory. The fact that corporate lenders owned nearly 12 per cent of the farm area in the state in 1939 is sufficient evidence to indicate the large number of farm owners who lost their farms to first mortgage holders.

Farmer B, however, like many other farmers took the other route—hung on by using emergency aids in the hope that farm product prices would eventually bail him out. As it turned out, Farmer B and others, who hung on, lived to see the value of their farms rise substantially above the 1933 level, and lived to see themselves move from a bankrupt condition to one of solvency and a sizeable net worth.

What actually happened to Farmer B is typical of the success story of the depression in the 1930's. First, he applied for relief under the Iowa Mortgage Moratorium Act which froze any foreclosure actions for the duration of the emergency which eventually ended in 1939. This made it impossible for the holder of the first mortgage on B's farm to foreclose and take title. Under this Moratorium Act Farmer B was required to pay the mortgage holder a rental share of the crop pro-

duced which had to be applied on the mortgage interest due, and if there were anything left over, which was unlikely, it had to be applied to the principal of the mortgage.

Another emergency aid at this time was a refinancing program provided by the Federal Land Banks and the Farm Credit Administration. If the mortgage holder was pressing for payment and willing to take a discount on his loan in order to get cash, it was possible through the combined financing of a first mortgage Federal Land Bank loan and a second mortgage Land Bank Commissioner loan to pay off all the creditors. This allowed the distressed farm owner a new start with all of his old debts cancelled and a new debt load which was adjusted to what his farm would support under current price conditions.

The Federal refinancing was assisted by county debt conciliation committees who used the refinancing offer to scale existing debts to a level which the farmer could carry. For example, Farmer B, in 1933, had total debts of more than \$19,000 and total assets including his farm of \$16,000. B became discouraged and tentatively decided to give up, deed the farm to the mortgage holder, and try to rent the farm from him. As a last resort he came to the county debt conciliation committee before deeding the farm. The committee, after extended negotiations, arranged an agreement with the bank and other creditors to

give Farmer B time to work out his difficulties. There was no scale down of debt; neither was there any refinancing through the Federal Land Bank and the Land Bank Commissioner. Farmer B held on to his farm, did well in the next ten years accumulating \$26,000 of net worth in his land when it sold in 1943 for \$206 an acre.

Another actual example, this one involving refinancing, shows how many financially distressed farm owners were able to hold on to their farms. In this case the farmer had a \$30,000 first mortgage on a half-section farm and owed the local bank and other creditors \$10,000 on machinery and livestock. All that he owned was his farm worth \$28,000 and machinery and livestock worth \$6,000. In short, he was \$6,000 in the "hole."

Although this farmer considered his farm worth \$28,000, actually there was no one willing to pay him that much for it. It was a nominal value in the sense that if there had been more buyers it could have been sold for that figure. There were, to be sure, a few buyers, enough to set a market price but that was all. In Story County, there were only 19 farm sales in 1932 compared to 70 in 1930 and 516 in 1920.

The Federal Land Bank and Land Bank Commissioner offered to lend \$26,000 on this farm and the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation offered to advance \$5,000 on the machinery and livestock. With these offers totalling \$31,000 the

county debt conciliation committee went to work. They obtained a settlement of \$26,000 on the first mortgage and an agreement with the bank and other creditors to take \$5,000 in cash for their \$10,000 in claims. The creditors did not get paid in full but they did get cash which at this time was at a premium and could be invested in many places to good advantage. The farm owner who had been hopelessly insolvent with \$40,000 of debt was now able to make a fresh start with his debts at a manageable level of \$31,000. This assumed, of course, that product prices did not go any lower. If they had declined even the \$31,000 would have been too high. As events worked out, product prices and values did not go down, they went up instead. This farmer saved his farm.

Between the depth of the depression in 1933 and 1940 there was some recovery but not much. Farm values which hit their lowest point at \$69 in 1933 had recovered to \$87 by 1936. Part of this recovery was the support which the refinancing loans of the Federal Land Bank and Land Bank Commissioner gave to the land market. This was the extent of the recovery. In the next four years there was practically no change in average farm values. In 1940 farm values were still \$88 an acre, far below the average of \$135 in 1930.

One reason why farm values failed to rise more than they did in the late thirties was the large supply of farms in the hands of corporate lenders. As pointed out earlier, the total acreage held in 1939 was nearly 12 per cent of the farm area of the state, with a major portion of the total, roughly two-thirds, owned by insurance companies who had been heavy lenders on first mortgages in Iowa prior to 1930. Other lenders included joint stock land banks, Federal Land Bank of Omaha, and local banks. By law most of these lenders were required to sell any farms they acquired within five years. Consequently, even though there was no rigid enforcement of the five-year rule, there was an active campaign to sell the farms they had acquired through foreclosure of loans and through deeds in place of foreclosures.

Some of the insurance companies provided excellent terms in their efforts to sell their farms. Contract sales were common, and down payments as low as 10 per cent were also common. The prevailing policy of most lenders was to sell their farms at current prices and not try to hold for an increase in price.

Considerable resistance to the buying of farms was evident in the 1936-1940 period when lenders had a large supply of farms to sell and were making a determined effort to sell them. It was the reverse of the situation in 1920 when every one was eager to buy. How strange! When the price of an Iowa farm was \$255 an acre there was a stampede to buy, when it was down to \$88 an acre it was difficult to get anyone interested in buying.

An explanation of the low interest in buying in the 1936-1940 period is not hard to find. Farmers had just been through a continuous 13-year decline in farm values which had wrecked the hopes and dreams of countless farm families. Many a farmer, who was tempted to buy a good quarter section at \$100 an acre with only a small down payment required, decided against it. Some of those who got "burned" in the land boom vowed "never again." There was a current attitude commonly expressed that you could make more money by investing in livestock and machinery than you could in land, by renting rather than owning. Fortunately, there were a number of farm operators who did yield to the temptation and bought one of the best farm bargains between 1909 and 1967.

The irony of the situation in 1936-1940 is illustrated by the excess of sales in 1920 and the relatively few sales in 1939. In Story County, the 516 sales in 1920 averaged \$289 an acre while the 95 sales in 1939 averaged only \$99 an acre. Those who bought in 1920 in many cases lost everything while those who bought in 1939 made a small fortune.

For the future the moral of the 1919-1940 period is clear. If we can avoid the speculative excess of the land boom we can avoid the tragic consequence of financial distress. This means we may never again have farms on the bargain counter as they were in the 1936-1940 period.