



by Thomas Wessel and Marilyn Wessel



Highlights of 4-H History

Taken from a chronology of 4-H that includes 190 noteworthy dates, events and actions that contributed to 4-H history.

- 4-H Clubs were preceded by corn clubs for boys and canning clubs for girls organized early in this century by public school educators.
- Cooperative Extension Service was created as Congress passed the Smith-Lever Act of 1914.
- A four-leaf clover with H's standing for Head, Heart, Hands and Health replaced a threeleaf emblem after World War I, and 4-H club work came into common usage.
- National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work was organized in 1921 to encourage private sector support.
- First National 4-H Congress was held in 1922 and the first National 4-H Club Camp in 1927.
- National 4-H Pledge and National 4-H Motto approved by state leaders in 1927.
- Increased public funding of the Extension Service, including 4-H, was assured by Acts of Congress in 1928,1935 and 1945, and special appropriations in 1969, 1972 and 1977.
- Extension Committee on Organization and Policy created a 4-H Subcommittee to deal with policies and procedures in 1939.
- County 4-H agents organized a national professional association in 1947.
- 4-H moved rapidly to other countries after World War II.
- International Farm Youth Exchange began in 1948.
- National 4-H Club Foundation organized in 1948, opened the National 4-H Center, a special citizenship/leadership training facility, in 1959 at Chevy Chase, Maryland.
- Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs was created in the U.S.
 Department of Agriculture in 1952.
- Increased emphasis was given science, work with low-income people, minorities, urban youth and contemporary concerns of society in the fifties, sixties and seventies.
- Successfully used television as a 4-H educational method in the sixties and seventies.
- Extension in 1976 issued 4-H in Century III, a 4-H program guide of 28 recommendations.
 Earlier guides included — 4-H in the 70s, Set for the Sixties, Ten Guideposts and others.
- National 4-H Council was created in 1976-77 by the merger of National 4-H Foundation and National 4-H Service Committee.

4-H:

• An • American Idea 1900-1980

A History of 4-H

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by Thomas Wessel and Marilyn Wessel

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Manuscript Editing by: Joyce A. Bower, Communi-Tech Associates, Morgantown, West Virginia 26505 This book is dedicated to all 4-H youth, past and present, parents, volunteer leaders, professional staff and friends of 4-H from the public and private sectors, without whom 4-H history would not have been possible.

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Foreword

There has been a growing demand in recent years to prepare a second volume of 4-H history to document the development and phenomenal growth of the organization, particularly during the past four decades. To meet that demand, State Extension Services, three national associations of Extension agents, the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, and the National 4-H Council contributed funds for thoroughly researching written materials, interviewing persons intimately involved in 4-H, and drafting the manuscript.

The title selected for this new book, 4-H: An American Idea, 1900–1980, is indeed appropriate. 4-H is an idea generated in the United States. It has become an integral part of an even larger American idea—the land-grant university and Cooperative Extension Service systems. One of the many unique aspects of 4-H is its continuous and growing private support, which has joined with the public sector to make 4-H one of the most successful youth programs in this country. The 4-H idea also has been an expanding one whose concepts have been adapted to more than eighty countries around the world.

The 4-H Story by Franklin M. Reck, the first official history which was published in 1951, dramatically portrayed the beginnings of the 4-H movement near the end of the last century and the early 1900s and traced its growth through the 1940s.

As noted in the foreword of that first book, people had been asking how 4-H clubs got started, who organized the first club, and where it had been located. That volume endeavored to answer such questions while providing a permanent record of facts that tend to become lost or embellished with the passing of time and events. And it focused on those lessons drawn from early struggles that would become helpful traditions in later years.

Because the first volume is now out of print, a summary of the earlier book has been included in the first two chapters of this book, which records in depth the history of 4-H to the present.

Following approval of the national 4-H history project by the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy and its 4-H subcommittee in July of 1979. a National Advisory Committee was appointed by the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) to begin planning this monumental undertaking. Committee members included: John Banning and Elsie Carper, Extension Service/4-H, USDA; Fern Kelley, retired, Extension Service/4-H, USDA; James Veeder, National 4-H Council; Kenneth H. Anderson, retired, National 4-H Council; the following representatives of State Extension Services/4-H. Nancy Ascue, Virginia; Raleigh Brooks, Colorado; Jeanette Carnes, New Mexico; C. J. Gauger, retired, Iowa; Merle Howes, Massachusetts; and Lloyd Westbrook, Arkansas: USDA agricultural historians Jane Porter and Wavne Rasmussen; and John Demons of Georgia, representing the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy, E. W. Aiton, retired, USDA Extension Service, and Norman Mindrum, National 4-H Council, were special consultants.

In Tom Wessel, chairman of the Department of History and Philosophy at Montana State University, and Marilyn Wessel, the committee found an outstanding historian-author team to write the new history. The committee identified target audiences for the book, areas of content, style and the general flavor it hoped the new volume would convey. In addition to committee members, there has been involvement by many others, including persons to sort and review pertinent documents, correspondence, photographs and other materials needed by the authors. More than fifty persons were interviewed personally by the authors, and tape-recorded interviews of others were made by committee members and key volunteers. Special meetings were held with various groups, including representatives of America's minorities, to gain additional insight into the development of 4-H nationwide.

Readers can be assured that there has been no lack of resource materials in the archives of the USDA, National 4-H Council and state 4-H offices. In fact, there was as much documentation for each of the twenty primary areas identified for coverage in the book as there was for the entire 4-H program at the time *The 4-H Story* was written. However, as with that first history, practical considerations of time, resources and book size placed certain limitations on the authors and committee for this new work.

Writing history carries with it awesome responsibility. It must be accurate in fact and true in its interpretation. In this history every attempt has been made to report accurately and as completely as possible. At an early meeting of the committee and the authors, much consideration was given to the following guidelines provided by Wayne Rasmussen, USDA historian:

- Recognize biases from the beginning;
- Avoid homogenizing and "sugarcoating" everything;
- Avoid viewing with alarm;
- Recognize that 4-H or any other program is like life—a series of opportunities, problems and challenges, some of which are solved and some are not; and,
- Do not turn history into a sermon.

Many thousands who will read this new history have been an important part of the 4-H program, and each person will recall his or her own version of how 4-H history developed.

It is hoped that this volume will help people fondly recall their 4-H participation, inspire others to become involved in leadership roles and help motivate and guide those who will make 4-H history in the future.

Dr. John W. Banning, Chairman National 4-H History Committee

Preface

Most histories have more than one author even when a single name appears on the book cover, and this history of 4-H is no exception. For the authors it was a genuinely shared effort. A host of others, however, were intimately involved in the process. John Banning, recently retired from the Extension Division of 4-H-Youth, chaired the committee that originated the idea of publishing a new 4-H history. The writers were given free access to the records of the Division of 4-H-Youth, the National 4-H Council, and the National Association of Extension 4-H Agents and to the archives of the former National 4-H Service Committee. In addition. many former and current workers from professional and volunteer ranks were interviewed about their experience. Those interviews are now part of the permanent record. Draft copies of the manuscript were read by several individuals involved in the development of 4-H who gave generously of their insights and saved the authors from errors of fact and judgment. Needless to say, those that remain are the sole responsibility of the authors.

The authors have tried to let the massive documentation of 4-H speak for itself. Where controversy existed, the authors made a conscious effort to explore all sides of the issue. If the controversy led to programmatic or administrative changes, it was included in the history, not to irritate old wounds, but to relate the 4-H story faithfully. Where the documents used specific terms, the writers used the same terms. For example, when the word *Negro* appeared in the documents, the writers used that term and used *Black* when the documents did so. Every organization develops a language of its own. The authors tried to avoid language peculiar to Extension and 4-H unless it added clarity to the narrative. Although 4-H did not invent the committee, it raised the use of committees to a high art. Generally, complete committee names are given in the first reference in a chapter and then abbreviated in subsequent references.

Several people rendered special assistance during this project, not the least of whom was Franklin Reck, author of *The 4-H Story*.

The first two chapters are based largely on his pioneering work. John Banning provided wise counsel as well as substantive information. Elsie Carper of the Division of 4-H-Youth applied her astonishing memory of 4-H to find obscure references on numerous occasions. And Merle Howes, of Massachusetts, and James Veeder, National 4-H Council, provided useful guidance as members of the executive committee. Jack E. Seibert toiled in the archives of the National 4-H Service Committee in Chicago to find documents and point out sources that otherwise would have escaped attention. Minnie Paugh and Ilah Shriver of the Montana State University Library Archives provided the authors with a quiet office in which to work. Sue Schulz acted as both research assistant and typist in the early stages of the project. Josephine Jensen typed the final manuscript and displayed rare good humor in trying to decipher editorial notes and scribbling. Dianne Ostermiller of the Department of History and Philosophy at Montana State University contributed significantly to the project by fending off interruptions which gave the authors time to work and reflect on the material. Finally, the authors wish to thank their daughter. Chelsea Diane. who showed patience beyond her ten years when her parents were preoccupied with writing and talking about 4-H.

> Tom and Marilyn Wessel November 1981 Bozeman, Montana

Introduction

American history is replete with examples of volunteer organizations and youth movements, but the characteristics of 4-H are unique. From its inception, 4-H tied both public and private resources to the single purpose of helping young people. Throughout its history, the organization maintained a strong attachment to local initiatives as it developed a national character. In many ways, the growth of 4-H mirrored the general growth of the United States. 4-H members participated in the quiet revolution that confirmed the United States as the most advanced agricultural nation in the world. When the United States shifted its posture from an insular nation to one active in international affairs, 4-H moved in the same direction. As the nation agonized over social changes emerging in the post-World War II period, 4-H suffered the same false starts, confusion and lack of focus as the larger society. When governments and private organizations worked to raise American consciousness about minorities, urban poor and rural decay, 4-H felt the same tug of special interests as other American institutions. Nevertheless, 4-H retained throughout its history a central concern for the development of young people and worked to meet their needs. In short, 4-H was part of the growth of American society and culture in the twentieth century.

Ultimately, 4-H is the thousands of clubs and millions of participants, volunteers, Extension professionals, land-grant college specialists and administrators throughout the country. We have tried not to lose sight of that fundamental fact. This national history of 4-H however, necessarily focuses on the major support elements that provided continuity, coordination and leadership to the development of 4-H in our time. Public support came principally from the United States Department of Agriculture and land-grant universities. Private support at the local level came from a myriad of individuals, businesses and county and state 4-H foundations; it was obtained at the national level through the efforts of the National 4-H Service Committee and the National 4-H Club Foundation. The evolution of relationships between these institutions is a

major part of this history. While most institutions in the United States moved toward more central management in the twentieth century, 4-H remained largely a federally organized group with state and local organizations having as much or more authority than the national level. The organization of 4-H paralleled that of the Extension Service, with authority vested in a cooperative structure of national, state and county offices. Private support through the National 4-H Service Committee and the National 4-H Club Foundation reflected policies and interests of the Extension Service. While these institutions worked together, each also worked to sustain its individual identity. Nevertheless, the two major private support organizations merged into the National 4-H Council in 1976.

4-H is one of several program divisions in the Extension Service. Consequently, 4-H competed for recognition and financial support in the bureaucracy of the Extension Service and ultimately in state legislatures and the Congress. For the most part, 4-H over the years, fared remarkably well in acquiring funds for its programs, although those involved constantly sought more. Private funds tended to support specific projects or training efforts that enabled 4-H to develop more professionalism in its volunteer corps and paid ranks.

During its first eighty years, 4-H changed from an organization primarily concerned with improving agricultural production and food preservation to one dedicated to the development of young people. In its later years, the organization moved into urban areas and broadened its appeal. By 1980 it offered a market basket of programs and activities for a wide range of audiences and age groups. None of the changes came easily. Most organizations develop a "genesis" complex and 4-H was no exception. 4-H quickly acquired an appealing image, and new programs for new audiences were sometimes viewed as a threat to that image. The problem was complicated by early successes. Most professionals and volunteers in 4-H came from farm backgrounds. Most had studied agricultural production or home economics at land-grant colleges. These men and women had participated in one of the astounding achievements in American agriculture. They moved technological and scientific advances from the laboratory and the test plot to practicing farmers and homemakers more rapidly than had been done anywhere else in the world. 4-H and the Extension Service were largely responsible for that achievement. When 4-H looked to new educational achievements in later years, many found it difficult to move away from programs and methods that had proved so successful in the past.

In the post-World War II years, Extension and 4-H tried to instill in both professionals and volunteers a sense of concern for the development of young people. That met some resistance from men and women whose technical expertise often did not extend to dealing with young people and their problems. Later, when 4-H moved to urban areas, with the teaching techniques that had worked so well in the countryside, Extension professionals encountered a whole new array of problems. 4-H found itself in the paradoxical position of wanting to broaden its appeal while retaining its original image.

The tensions such problems created between Extension personnel in the field and national leaders, between private support and public policy, and between those taking pride in 4-H traditions and those not sharing those traditions, made up the dynamics of the 4-H program. Not every problem found a solution. Not every concern was addressed, but 4-H fashioned a consensus on a remarkably large number of issues.

The term, consensus, probably best defines the administrative system of 4-H. With its unique county, state and federal governance, consensus building was imperative, if sometimes frustrating, for early leaders. The absence of a well-defined consensus, however, did not prevent advancement in 4-H. Individual counties or states could pursue their own programs, influence others to join them and often derive a consensus in time. Because of the decentralized nature of 4-H, it is difficult to say accurately that 4-H is pursuing or failing to pursue a particular emphasis. In nearly every case, an example can be found of a county or state deeply involved in a program long before any national recognition. Just as frequently, nationally initiated programs often become the possession of local 4-H groups and are administered as best fits local conditions. Even in training programs that appear to have national initiative and leadership, training materials often originate in a state and are adopted nationally. Ultimately, 4-H has relied on a remarkable number of dedicated people of goodwill throughout its history.

1 A New Century

As the twentieth century dawned, American agriculture had already entered its "golden age." In less than 100 years American farmers had penetrated a wilderness from the Atlantic to the Pacific and mastered the vagaries of climate and soil to create one of the world's most productive enterprises. An international marketing system carried American farm products by rail, wagon and ship throughout the world, while sophisticated technology and rapidly advancing scientific discoveries poised American agriculture on new thresholds. Specialization gave rise to cattle zones, cotton belts, corn belts and milk sheds. And agricultural prices, which stabilized in the early twentieth century, returned to farm labor a prosperity equivalent to other forms of investment. Later agricultural planners looked back to 1909–14 as the one period of parity between agriculture and other forms of labor. Future agricultural policy reflected the period as the appropriate measure of farm prosperity.1

While economic prosperity generally characterized American agriculture at the turn of the century, something was missing. Even with unquestioned agricultural success, the rise of cities and the development of industry dominated the American experience. With the closing of the frontier, young men and women no longer found it possible to move West and homestead as their fathers and mothers had. The attractions of city life blazed in contrast to the image of a plodding horse hitched to a plow. For young people, the lure was so strong that by 1870 more Americans found employment in nonfarm jobs than on the land. In the midst of economic prosperity, rural Americans felt a loss not only of their children to the cities, but also of the deep emotional attachments to the land that had sustained them. Throughout the nineteenth century, rural life set the social tone for America. But individualism, tempered only by obligations of neighborliness, that had been so fiercely practiced in the western movement came under attack as a residue of the past. At best, the agrarian code depicted a romantic ideal; at worst, an authoritarian aloofness that had no place in the industrialized life of the twentieth century. Rural Americans, although still a majority of the population, saw their numbers declining along with their influence on the course of national development.

In an atmosphere of economic prosperity darkened by nagging concern for the future of a generation of rural children, the movement that would be called 4-H began. Like most popular and enduring ideas, 4-H had no one beginning. It was not the idea of a recognized national leader nor the result of a charismatic personality. In its beginnings, 4-H embodied those qualities that had characterized the movement of agriculture across the continent. Here and there, among farm families, agricultural scientists, school teachers, administrators and concerned citizens, the seeds of 4-H were scattered. While 4-H had diverse origins, a central theme was emerging. Rural people wished to instill in their children the same sense of purpose that had conditioned their own lives.

4-H, in its many origins, avoided the temptation to recreate the past. Instead, it used the institutions at hand to train and educate young people in the best techniques available for successful agriculture. Farming and rural living were not just for those who failed to find a place in the growing urban environment but were cherished and nurtured as a way of life.

The beginnings of the 4-H idea of practical or applied educational principles came at a time when many rural educators were openly questioning the relevance of public schools to country youngsters. While education in agriculture was advancing at the university level, it was apparent that agricultural education in the public schools had not progressed from mid-nineteenth century levels. In many rural schools, its absence seemed a denial of the nature of American public education.

From its beginnings in the eighteenth century, public education in the United States was directed toward creating an enlightened citizenry for the new republic. Americans were proud that all citizens could advance to leadership through an egalitarian public education system, which differed from European education designed to produce scholars and a limited number of national leaders. Scholarly education, while not unimportant, was incidental to the needs of a democracy. Consequently, American education took on an applied character that was absent in Europe. At the time of the 4-H movement's early development, John Dewey articulated the American approach to education as a combination of abstract instruction and learning by doing. Under the rubric of

"progressive education," Dewey's ideas profoundly influenced the course of public instruction.²

The American approach to education was already established in the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, which created the land-grant college system dedicated to general education and the improvement of agricultural and mechanical arts. By the turn of the century the principle of applied education was well established at the university level, but it had not penetrated the public school system, particularly in rural areas where the three Rs-readin', ritin', and 'rithmetic—constituted the bulk of a rigid curriculum.

Among those who first spoke out on the deficiencies of rural secondary schools were Liberty Hyde Bailey of Cornell University and Albert B. Graham, superintendent of schools for Springfield Township, Ohio. Bailey had read a study in which young rural boys in New Jersey were asked what they wished to do in their adult lives. Very young children expressed an interest in farming, but as they grew older an increasing number desired to leave the countryside and find employment in the city. Bailey thought the change in attitude resulted from a conditioning process that occurred in the public schools.

The teacher measures everything in terms of the city. She talks of the city. She returns to the city at the end of the week. In the meantime all the beauty and attractiveness of the country may be unsuggested. Unconsciously to both the teacher and pupil, the minds of the children are turned toward the city. There results a constant migration to the city, bringing about serious social and economic problems. But, from the educational point of view, the serious part of it is the fact that the school training may unfit the child to live in its normal and natural environment. It is often said that the agricultural college trains the youth away from the farm. The fact is, the mischief is done long before the youth enters college.

4-H Seeds Scattered

Beginning in 1896, Bailey used funds appropriated by New York for Extension work to disseminate a series of nature study leaflets to rural schools. Bailey tried to impress on schoolchildren and teachers that the natural environment around them was a classroom. Cornell University went so far as organizing clubs to ensure that the nature study leaflets were used. Eventually, the nature study leaflets expanded into magazines called *Junior Naturalist Monthly* and *Rural School Leaflet*. Bailey's work and Cornell University's commitment to get the information used in the rural

schools had their effect. News of the New York effort soon found its way to professional education meetings and the idea spread to other states. One of the most successful early efforts came in Springfield Township, Ohio.

Through his association with educational groups, Superintendent Graham became acquainted with the idea of offering vocational education in urban schools. Urban educators already had recognized that traditional methods such as apprenticeships were no longer sufficient to train young people for the new industrial economy of the twentieth century. Vocational classes in mechanical arts for boys and typing for young women had appeared in the schools of New York in the 1890s. Something similar for rural youth seemed an apparent need. Although the apprentice system between adult and child had not eroded, the need for rural youth to learn new techniques in agriculture and household management was just as vital.

In 1901, Graham consulted with students and teachers in his township about establishing experimental clubs outside of school hours. Graham was apparently hesitant to introduce this new approach too quickly or to infringe too dramatically on the right of farmers to train their own children in agriculture. He decided to hold his first meetings in the basement of the county building on Saturday mornings when most parents came to town for shopping. The parents approved, undoubtedly in part, because the meetings would keep the children out of trouble and out of sight while the parents visited and shopped.

Graham's first meetings, beginning in 1902, concentrated on projects the students could readily understand and complete. He asked them to test the soil on their farms with litmus paper and select the best seed corn from their father's crop for future planting in test plots. Later Graham expanded the projects and introduced the students to knot tying and rope splicing, and stimulated their interest in science with a microscope for viewing milk droplets and blood from a frog.

After a year Graham felt compelled to seek outside help. He contacted the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station at Wooster and the dean of agriculture at Ohio State University. It was a symbiotic relationship from the beginning. Experiment station personnel and Agriculture Dean Thomas F. Hunt had been searching for methods of communicating with the state's farmers. The college had already enlisted the aid of former students in the Agricultural Student Union who worked on new techniques at the experiment station. Graham's "agricultural" clubs seemed to provide a unique

opportunity to pass information to the most receptive part of the farm community, its inquisitive young people.

With the help of the agricultural union and the dean, Graham organized clubs throughout the township. L. H. Goddard, secretary of the union, provided varieties of seed corn for comparison with that grown on the children's farms. Flower clubs and garden projects began. That spring, Graham traveled around the township distributing seed corn and encouraging his young members. In June 1903, the school superintendent and over 100 club members visited the Ohio State campus to inspect laboratories and explore barns. Club work soon spread to nearby counties and by the end of 1904, thirteen such township-wide clubs were operating under the direction of school superintendents. Each club elected officers and established yearly progress exhibits. In one year, membership in school clubs had increased to 3,000.

Hunt was so impressed that he invited Graham to Ohio State University in 1905 to be the state's first superintendent of Extension. In later years the number of clubs declined as Graham and his associates introduced their work into the regular curriculum of rural schools. Nevertheless, he proved the worth of the club approach as a means of teaching agricultural techniques to young people and giving them a sense of pride in their rural heritage.

Corn Contests Start

While Graham worked in Ohio, efforts in Illinois under the leader-ship of another rural school superintendent had similar results. O. J. Kern worked closely with the Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station and farmers' institutes designed to bring new methods and seed varieties to the state's farmers. Kern's work in Winnebago County spread to other parts of the state and were noted in the 1904 yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). That same year another Illinois leader dramatized the second characteristic of future 4-H work. At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, one of the most popular and widely reported exhibits was a pyramid of corn from Farm Institute President Will B. Otwell.

Otwell had been active in the Macoupin County Farmers' Institute from its beginning in 1898. He found, however, that few farmers seemed interested in attending meetings. Consequently, he decided to ignore parents and concentrate on farm young people. Otwell offered a one dollar premium for the best yield of corn produced from midwestern seed he had collected. The response was considerable; 500 young boys requested seed corn for the contest.

By 1901 Otwell's annual corn growing contest had attracted 1,500 boys. Soon equipment manufacturers offered premiums of plows, cultivators and fanning mills to contest winners. Given the responsibility of creating an exhibit for Illinois at the 1904 St. Louis exposition, Otwell expanded the contest to include 50,000 entrants.



Corn clubs and corn growing contests, which were among the earliest beginnings of club work, involved thousands of young people. These "Farmer Boys" parading in Macoupin County, Illinois, were organized by Will B. Otwell, early youth leader. He and the young farmers gained national recognition for their Pyramid of Corn exhibit at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis.

Samples from the best 1,250 contestants along with 600 photographs of young farmers made up the exhibit. Newspapers around the country carried stories of the pyramid of corn from Illinois. The next year he invited farm youth from anywhere in the country to Carlinville, Illinois, for a national roundup of corn growing contestants. There, Illinois Governor Richard Yates and Vice-president Adlai Stevenson watched as young men and women from eight states paraded past the reviewing stand.

By 1907 the principal ingredients of 4-H had been tested. Graham had shown how well young people would respond to an organized club that introduced them to agricultural science and technology. Otwell's corn contests with their one dollar premiums and equipment prizes demonstrated the value of incentives to en-

courage young people to compete. It was only a matter of time before a merger of the two techniques formed the 4-H movement.

As news spread of programs like those conducted by Graham, Kern, and Otwell, other efforts began. By 1907 two patterns of activity had emerged. Leadership in the state farmers' institutes and sometimes the state offices of public instruction usually initiated programs to encourage agricultural training in the schools. In other areas local school officials took the initiative. A Wisconsin agronomy professor distributed seed corn to young people and invited them to exhibit their results at the county fair where prizes were awarded.

In 1905, Jasper L. McBrien, Nebraska's superintendent of public instruction, appointed E. C. Bishop to expand the corn growing, sewing and baking projects he had started in the York County schools. The program led to the organization of the Nebraska Boys' Agricultural Association and the Nebraska Girls' Domestic Science Association. Clearly, the organization of boys' and girls' clubs as a means of advancing rural youth education was an idea whose time had come.

The stated purpose of the Nebraska associations included a phrase that had come to symbolize the idea of agricultural clubs. Their statement of purpose read, in part, "to educate the youth of the county, town and city to a knowledge of their dependence upon nature's resources, and to the value of the fullest development of hand, head and heart..." Possibly taken from a poem by Rudyard Kipling, the phrase "hand, heart and head" became a popular way for educators and others to express a commitment to learning and the development of young citizens.

Meanwhile, other states continued efforts to duplicate the successes of Ohio and Illinois. In 1904, J. F. Haines, superintendent of Hamilton County, Indiana, schools began a corn growing contest that eventually spread to most of the state's counties. Similar programs began in Iowa where County School Superintendent Cap C. Miller, with encouragement from land-grant college and agricultural leaders such as Henry C. Wallace, organized boys' and girls' clubs to develop home projects. Wallace became an enthusiastic supporter of such programs and used the pages of his influential Wallace's Farmer to publicize the efforts. Wallace also awarded prizes at the state corn contests. A 1904 school fair in Iowa contained nearly 4,000 exhibits from school clubs ranging from wood collections to reports on cattle sales and maps of county farms, roads and woodlands. At the fair, young people spoke on their pro-

jects and their results. A Des Moines newspaper editor noted, "When a girl becomes eloquent over cabbages, peanuts, corn, to-matoes, pumpkins, or sweet peas, something valuable had been added to that girl's experience."

Corn growing contests and other agricultural projects were not limited to the Midwest. In Georgia, G. C. Adams, commissioner of Newton County schools, announced in 1904 a corn growing contest for boys between ages six and eighteen. The results were judged on the best twenty-ear selection from each crop. State School Commissioner W. B. Merritt agreed to make the contest a statewide event if it worked in Newton County. The experiment proved a resounding success and within two years the state agricultural college conducted contests in corn, cotton, and chickens with prizes awarded at county and state fairs. In each case, the agricultural college provided instruction and a means of judging the winners.

Similar activity began independently in Oregon where cooperative efforts with Portland Union Stockyards to organize local fairs for judging young people's exhibits gained wide support. As in most states, the projects were initiated on a county level through the work of local school superintendents. Formal clubs were not generally a part of the effort. Instead, there were statewide contests conducted in cooperation with the state landgrant college. As Otwell had discovered in Illinois, the best method of introducing new techniques and crop varieties to farmers was through the enthusiastic participation of their children. At the end of the first decade of the new century, clubs flourished in some parts of the nation, while other states and regions relied on contests to spread the word of good agricultural practices. Although little formal communication took place among those involved in local efforts, the ingredients for a national organization of boys' and girls' work were widespread and growing.

Improved corn production had been at the heart of much of the boys' club work in the first decade of the twentieth century. Not surprisingly, corn production was central to a series of events in Iowa that led to adoption of the familiar clover symbol of 4-H. As with earlier movements, initial efforts reflected the concern of local education leaders working to revitalize rural schools under their charge. At nearly the same time, two such concerned educators, Jessie Field and O. H. Benson, combined the introduction of agricultural and domestic science projects in their schools with the larger need of Iowa farmers.

The efforts to improve seed selection practices in Iowa began in 1903, when several grain dealers requested help from Perry G.

Holden of Iowa State College. Holden had recently come to Iowa from the University of Illinois where pioneering work in plant breeding would eventually lead to the production of hybrid corn varieties. In Iowa, Holden first devised a simple method for farmers to select the best germinating seed for their next year's planting. Holden instructed farmers to conduct germination tests on the ears they had selected. He found that about 40 percent of the seed corn did not germinate. A simple germination test on selected kernels of the ear reduced the failure rate significantly. In 1904, Holden organized a demonstration mounted on a train that toured the state. At one meeting, Jessie Field, the newly appointed superintendent in Page County, arranged for Holden to meet with some of her teachers.



With corn club work spreading to many states, some groups produced astonishing results using methods developed at land-grant colleges. Marius Malmgren of Hickory, Virginia, raised 209 bushels of corn on one acre of his father's farm in 1912, when national corn yields averaged only 45 bushels per acre. Such results were used by county agents to demonstrate new techniques of corn production to adult farmers.

He instructed the teachers in germination testing and the use of the Babcock butterfat test. Armed with knowledge of these simple methods, Page County teachers taught their students two of the most important tests farmers needed to improve crop yields and increase milk production. At the same time, they involved their students in the practical arts of scientific agriculture.

The enthusiasm of Field and continued support of Holden and others at Iowa State College filtered down to the students. By 1908, Page County was known as one of the best rural school systems in the state. Girls' projects included baking, sewing and basketry; boys worked on seed selection experiments, milk testing and road improvement. The projects helped the students gain a sense of pride in their schools. In short order the physical appearance of the schools improved, with floors scrubbed and flowers planted on the grounds. In August 1909, Page County agricultural and domestic science exhibits won first prize at the Iowa State Fair. Later a Page County exhibit won first prize at the International Corn Show in Omaha, Nebraska. In the course of their work the county schools and Iowa State College established a firm line of communication and demonstrated a system of cooperation that later would characterize the 4-H movement generally.

While Field worked in Page County, O. H. Benson paralleled her efforts in Wright County. Benson too had been impressed with Holden's traveling train demonstration. He quickly introduced home projects in agriculture and domestic science to his students. Benson also involved the parents of his students and gained their support for the entire school program. At commencement exercises it was not uncommon in Wright County for the traditional speech to be replaced by an agricultural demonstration conducted by an Iowa State College professor. Apparently Field and Benson simultaneously began awarding their students pins and pennants shaped like three-leaved clovers. Each leaf contained an imprinted H and represented the now-common phrase, "head, heart and hands."

USDA Takes Note

While thousands of enthusiastic educators and students worked on the local level, the federal government began to take an interest in introducing advanced agricultural practices to farmers. Federal interest in direct assistance had been stimulated by the plight of farmers in Texas where the cotton industry was in serious danger of being wiped out by infestations of the boll weevil from Mexico. The USDA Bureau of Entomology thought it had a method of reducing destruction by the weevil and sent Seaman A. Knapp to Texas to introduce the practice to Texas farmers. Knapp discovered that the task of teaching farmers was more difficult than finding the means to combat the weevil.

The federal government already had established a series of model farms in the South using effective techniques to control the weevil, but few farmers seemed willing to try the new methods. Then in 1903, Knapp pursuaded a local farmer, Walter Porter, and the town of Terrell, Texas, to cooperate in using the new tillage methods. The town agreed to cover any losses Porter might sustain from using the new techniques. Porter realized a substantial increase in income from the acres planted in the new way. His neighbors watched and learned more from that single effort than from all of the preceding model farms. Knapp demonstrated that while classroom work could not be replaced, applications of theory and techniques were best learned by doing the work. In later years, the Cooperative Extension Service and its 4-H branch raised the idea of learning by doing to an educational principle.³

In 1903, Knapp's work led to the creation of the USDA Office of Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work. Knapp's office was restricted to working in those areas devastated by the cotton boll weevil, but that did not prevent the spread of his earlier work to other states.

The General Education Board, a philanthropic arm of Standard Oil, financed a number of demonstration agents in the southern states. One of these agents, A. F. Meharg in Mississippi, came in contact with another local effort much like those developing in the Midwest. In Holmes County, Superintendent of Schools William Hall Smith began a corn contest for young boys in an effort to tie formal education to the rural experience of his students and to create more interest in the schools among county farmers.

Smith hoped that the corn contest would begin to erode the one-crop agriculture of the region. Southern agriculture had suffered since the Civil War's end from over-cropped land and reliance on a single cash crop. A pernicious system of sharecropping and dependence on a local general store for nearly all the farmer's needs nourished a system of agriculture barely one step removed from peasantry. Such an agricultural economy, Smith knew, could not be expected to support schools at a reasonable level. He hoped that the corn contests would convince farmers that corn could be a cash crop in addition to providing feed for farm animals. With corn available for chickens, pigs and milk cows, Smith thought farmers could dramatically improve rural diets.

In 1907, Smith invited teachers and student volunteers to a meeting at the county courthouse in Lexington. On hand were Meharg and a Mississippi State College representative who furnished seed corn. Meharg was well aware that even the best demonstration work often failed to impress adult farmers. He watched with interest Smith's effort to bring advanced agricultural prac-

tices to Mississippi by cultivating youthful enthusiasm. Throughout that year Smith kept in touch with the 120 young men who had agreed to raise corn on half-acre plots. The College of Agriculture at Mississippi State furnished bulletins and instruction to the participants. In October, 82 participants showed the results of their work at the county fair supported by merchants who provided ribbons and cash prizes. The experiment had been a resounding success.

More importantly for the future of Mississippi and the rest of the nation, Meharg brought Smith's work to Knapp's attention. In December Knapp appointed Smith a USDA collaborator at one dollar a year. The appointment allowed Smith to use a government frank to mail literature and gave his program official status. Smith's project also convinced state officials of its merits. Early in 1908, a committee consisting of Smith, representatives of the Mississippi College of Agriculture and state government organized corn clubs throughout the state. By the end of the year, Mississippi had established an outline of a cooperative venture between county officials, the state land-grant college and the federal government. The system of cooperation was a model for later general efforts of the same sort. Agricultural projects for young men and women were the heart of the cooperative venture. It was another six years before Congress generalized the Mississippi experience into legislation, but the foundations for a cooperative system of Extension education were already laid.

Throughout the South local leaders were discovering that farmers generally were reluctant to try new methods. The fastest way to introduce advanced farming methods was through young people. Tom Marks, a Texas newspaper editor, had been trying to convince his rural readers to raise more corn rather than importing animal feed. In 1907, he organized a corn growing contest for adults; only three participated. The next year, in cooperation with a state demonstration agent and the horticultural representative of the Rock Island and Frisco Railroad, Marks organized his corn growing contest for young boys. This time over eighty entrants exhibited their results. In Louisiana, Parish School Superintendent Victor L. Roy collaborated with a local railroad to transport boys to a meeting to initiate a corn club. Over 300 young men responded. Fifteen other parishes soon followed Roy's example, and more joined the next year. By the end of 1908, corn clubs were under way throughout the South.

Federal and State Officials Cooperate

Although Knapp had appointed Smith as a federal agent in Mississippi, there was no federal effort to coordinate the establishment of corn clubs in the southern states. If the successes enjoyed in Mississippi were to be duplicated, it became evident that some federal supervision was necessary. Consequently, Knapp appointed Oscar B. Martin, former South Carolina state superintendent of education, to the USDA Bureau of Plant Industry in 1908 to coordinate the establishment of corn clubs using the Mississippi model. Apparently, Knapp did not see a role for the land-grant colleges in Martin's work. He preferred to work directly with school administrators. The need for local educators to use land-grant colleges as sources of information and expert help, however, soon brought the colleges into the project, as had occurred earlier in Mississippi. During 1909, Martin worked throughout the South arranging for cooperative agreements between the federal government, landgrant colleges and local officials to create corn clubs. By the end of the year, Martin had agreements with Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. Each state agreed to cooperate with the federal office and appoint a state agent/leader for club work.

Further endorsement for expanding the type of work Knapp pioneered came from the Country Life Commission. President Theodore Roosevelt appointed the commission in 1908 and asked Cornell University's Bailey to chair the distinguished panel. Commission member Kenyon L. Butterfield, president of Massachusetts Agricultural College, already had been actively promoting Extension work through the Land-Grant College Association. The commission issued its report in 1909. Among a series of recommendations aimed at revitalizing rural life, was a strong statement urging Congress to authorize agricultural Extension Services through the land-grant college system. Although Congress ignored the recommendation for several years, many states moved on their own to create Extension Services.

After hearing a Knapp speech on demonstration work, Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction J. D. Eggleston helped organize a demonstration project there. Knapp provided some financing through the General Education Board and soon two demonstration agents were working in the state. One, T. O. Sandy, began organizing boys' corn clubs in 1909. Eggleston led rural development efforts in Virginia for years. In 1911, Clemson University signed an agreement to supervise club work in South Carolina.

Although club work in the South was receiving widespread support and public recognition, national recognition was still absent. Almost inadvertently, Knapp secured the national attention the movement needed to flourish. While visiting Mississippi, Knapp, in the enthusiasm of the moment, offered to finance a trip to Washington, D.C., for the boy who made the best record yield on his demonstration plot. The idea of a trip to the nation's capital as a prize for the state club winners soon caught on. Martin also made a trip a state winner's prize in South Carolina. Virginia merchants raised the money to send their winner to Washington, and the bankers' association in Arkansas created a similar prize. In 1909, four young men who traveled to Washington for sight-seeing and meetings with public officials were awarded certificates and introduced to President William Howard Taft. In future years, the trip to Washington became a major incentive for members of corn clubs.

From its many beginnings, club work had included programs for young women. Sewing and baking exhibits at county and state fairs became as common as corn and animal exhibits. As early as 1910, Martin was asking the USDA Office of Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work about establishing girls' clubs in his state. The establishment of girls' clubs also raised general philosophical questions about the club work conducted up to that time.

The principal emphasis in boys' club work until 1910 had been on finding a means of conveying new agricultural techniques from experiment stations and land-grant colleges to farm operators. The basic purpose was to improve agricultural techniques and increase production or shift production to other crops. Girls' clubs—confined to canning, sewing, baking and the like—had no such technological goal. Certainly, teaching safe and efficient methods of preserving food was a sufficient goal in itself, but very quickly the canning clubs took on a character different from the boys' corn clubs. Girls began as demonstrators of canning techniques, but soon looked at the entire role of women in the home and community. Girls' clubs worked to help young women develop self-confidence and a sense of community responsibility, an idea later incorporated into all club work.

Tomato Canning Sponsored

Knapp did not oppose girls' canning clubs, but was not in favor of a program that would dissipate the limited resources available. Consequently, rather than develop a comprehensive program incorporating a range of domestic projects, Knapp insisted that the model of corn clubs be followed with concentration on one project.

After considerable discussion he finally agreed to sponsor a tomato canning club effort in the southern states.



Girls in canning clubs, such as this Montana group at a 1915 fair, learned and demonstrated safe methods of preserving food from home gardens. Food poisoning from foods canned improperly in the home decreased dramatically as federally sponsored canning club work, begun in South Carolina in 1910, spread throughout the nation.

While the tomato canning clubs were enthusiastically promoted by some members of Knapp's staff, the response from local teachers was minimal at first. Later in 1909, Martin spoke to schoolteachers at the annual meeting of the South Carolina Education Association. Martin outlined the proposed plan for establishing tomato canning clubs in the state before a polite group, but only one teacher tried the idea. In 1910, Marie S. Cromer of Aiken County organized a canning club. Forty-six young women each planted one-tenth acre of tomatoes. Using material furnished by the USDA, the first federally sponsored girls' club was underway.

That same year in Virginia, Superintendent Eggleston took the program one step further and arranged to hire the first women's state demonstration agent. On February 1, 1910, Ella G. Agnew arrived to organize cooking classes and garden clubs in rural Virginia schools. Before the year was out, Agnew was charged with the responsibility of establishing the state's first girls' tomato canning clubs. The USDA appointed her the country's first woman agent for farmers' cooperative demonstration work.

Meanwhile in South Carolina, the first tomato crop was ready for canning. Martin organized a three-day canning bee on the Aiken County Courthouse lawn. After several problems including the illness of the principal instructor, which left Martin to direct the work singlehandedly, the canning project got under way. Martin had arranged for a large tin can canner to be shipped to South Carolina from Illinois. For the rest of the summer he lugged the canner around the state for use at canning bees. The idea worked. Mothers watched and learned as their daughters canned. Their sons, often members of a corn club, gathered wood to keep the fires going while townspeople came thoughout the day to watch. At the end of the three days, a fourteen-year-old girl had won first prize for raising and canning 512 cans of tomatoes that sold for forty dollars. Later the state legislature recognized her achievement and awarded her a college scholarship.

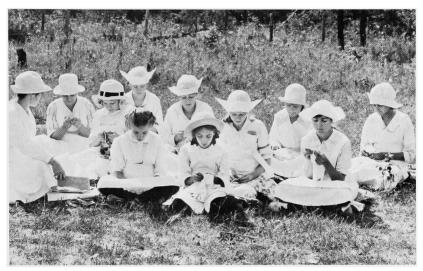
Martin returned to Washington during the summer and reported on the event. He emphasized how quickly the canning bee had become a community event. Aiken County had organized a fair specifically as a showplace for the work of the girls' canning clubs and boys' corn clubs. The events became family activities with parents and children working together for the advancement of their own interests and the cohesiveness of the community.

The USDA quickly moved to enlarge the successful canning clubs into other parts of the South. By the end of 1910, Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi had home demonstration agents organizing canning clubs among young women. Knapp arranged with the General Education Board to finance, in cooperation with counties, employment of additional home demonstration agents. By 1910, Knapp's Washington office was supervising demonstration work in the field and in the home. For that year's work Knapp secured enough funds and local appropriations to hire seventeen women as home demonstration agents.

By 1912, Knapp's agents had organized over 23,000 canning clubs throughout the South. Poultry clubs had been added to the list of girls' projects and also flourished. By 1913, Knapp's successor found it necessary to hire a full-time supervisor of girls' work for the Washington office. Mary E. Cresswell, former supervisor of home economics at Georgia State Normal School, was the first woman appointed to the Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work Office.

With the help of state canning club leaders, the program quickly broadened to include all aspects of the farm home. At Cresswell's suggestion, all of the state agents eventually were called home demonstration agents.

The effort guided by Knapp's office had a larger purpose than just starting corn and canning clubs. In the beginning the program was not aimed at educating boys and girls. Club work in the South was always seen as a means of breaking the one-crop cotton economy that many agricultural leaders felt was the inhibiting factor in southern life. Corn was the first break in the cycle. With a feed grain available, farmers could introduce livestock as well as garden vegetables and poultry to the southern farm. The boys' and girls' clubs simply had proved to be a successful means of reaching the larger goal. The development of boys and girls as an objective of club work came later.



Activities of girls' clubs moved from canning to other subjects with reluctant approval of federal officials. This Charles County, Maryland, group works on sewing projects outdoors during the summer. Girls' clubs had a full range of home economics activities by the mid-1920s.

With the success of the corn clubs in Mississippi, it was not surprising that the introduction of livestock began there as well. Under the leadership of W. H. Miller, superintendent of Oktibbeha County schools, and the land-grant college, pig clubs were started in 1909 and 1910. Young men under eighteen were invited to enter a pig growing contest using instructions from the land-grant college with prizes and cash awarded for the most successful effort. Miller's local program caught the attention of P. O. Garner, the state agent for boys' demonstration work. A federally sponsored regional program followed. The federal government also sponsored pig clubs throughout the South and sent a detailed plan to all states for their use.

One aspect of the Mississippi pig club effort was also revealing. While the economic system of the South was fair game for planners

and local enthusiasts who wanted changes, the southern social system was inviolable. When Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, advertised its pig growing contest, the organizers made it plain that the program was meant for White boys only. Demonstration work among Black farmers was not neglected, but as with other institutions in the first decades of the twentieth century, the programs were kept rigidly separate.

Demonstration Work Reaches Negroes

Aside from demonstration work directly involving control of the boll weevil, Knapp had to rely on Standard Oil's General Education Board for funds. The Rockefeller family had endowed the board for the specific purpose of improving education in the South. They enthusiastically supported Knapp's work, but their principal contact in the South was the Negro statesman Booker T. Washington, president of Tuskegee Institute. Washington and his brilliant employee George Washington Carver already had used private funds to try to bring the results of Carver's work to Negro farmers in Alabama. Tuskegee received substantial support from the General Education Board and was more than willing to cooperate with Knapp, but Knapp was not willing to hire Negro agents. He insisted that White agents would be more effective in teaching Negro farmers. He was also unwilling to jeopardize his other work by challenging southern social assumption.⁴

The General Education Board, however, insisted that demonstration work proceed among Negro farmers with the cooperation of Tuskegee Institute. Bending to the wishes of his major source of financial support, Knapp hired one of Carver's assistants, Thomas M. Campbell, on a two-year trial basis in 1906. The "trial" continued for the next fifty years and launched Campbell on one of the most distinguished careers in agriculture. Campbell organized a traveling wagon from which he demonstrated equipment and the latest techniques. Later, after the creation of the Federal Extension Service, Campbell became a field agent for Negro Extension in the lower southern states. In the next decades, Campbell gained considerable influence in regional and national circles, serving on numerous boards and committees devoted to improving Negro life. Although he retired in 1953, he remained active in 4-H until the time of his death in 1956. Campbell paved the way for the many Negro Extension agents who followed.⁵

Soon after Campbell's appointment, a similar agreement with Hampton Institute led to the appointment of John B. Pierce as the second Negro agent in the country. Later Pierce became a field agent for the upper southern states. By 1913, thirty-two Negro agents had enrolled over 3,500 farmers in demonstration work. At the heart of the work was the organization of youth clubs among Negro boys and girls. One of the most enduring efforts took place in Georgia where Negro agent Otis S. O'Neal began a series of "ham and egg" shows in 1914. As in other efforts in the South, corn production was O'Neal's entry for introducing new crops and techniques. He emphasized homes, gardens, the family cow, chickens and hogs. The "ham and egg" show was the year's major event in which the progress of club work was publicly displayed.⁶

With the work of Martin and southern school officials, a link between local, state and federal agencies was being permanently formed. Local canning clubs and pig clubs as well as the earlier corn clubs more and more received their initial impetus from the Office of Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work. Realizing in 1910 that the field work was getting beyond the capacity of one man, Knapp invited Benson, the educator from Wright County, Iowa, to join Martin as a field agent for demonstration work among young people. Benson almost immediately began traveling throughout the South organizing and encouraging more canning, corn and pig clubs. With Benson's and Martin's efforts, the canning and corn clubs formed a substantial network in the southern states.

With the growing interest in boys' and girls' clubs on the part of the federal government, the central office headed by Knapp gave a certain uniformity to the movement. Eventually, national workers sought a method of giving the movement some identification. This became more acute as the canning clubs began to market their products. Benson and Field in Iowa already had used the three- and four-leaved clover emblem as pins and pennants in their local efforts. It was only natural that Benson would take the successful emblem with him to Washington. Thus, by the end of 1911, the club movement had a national symbol. The details of the emblem would change over the years, but the symbolic clover with an "H" on each leaf representing "Head, Heart, Hands, and Health" became a permanent fixture.

The success of the program was manifested in other organizational changes as well. One of the early principles of club work was to devote efforts to those young people who were willing to contribute their time and enthusiasm. By 1912, club and demonstration work was enrolling nearly 73,000 boys and 23,000 girls. It was simply impossible to keep track of what each youngster was doing or learning. Local clubs had introduced written reports as a means

of judging results and awarding prizes. During a meeting of state leaders in 1912, Bradford Knapp, who had succeeded his father in the Washington office, urged the development of a uniform reporting form. The form soon had three parts: a report on planning and preparation, one on cultivation of the crop and a final report at the end of the harvest season. Uniform reporting provided a common base for club work throughout the country. That year as well, Benson moved to the Office of Farm Management where his new duties included the development of boys' and girls' club work for northern and western states. The national thrust that up to that time had been directed primarily to the South became continental.



The boys' and girls' clubs could not have grown so rapidly without the support of local business leaders. The relationship between private and public participation in promoting club work was a fundamental part of the movement from its earliest beginnings. Thousands of youth received bank loans to begin their first major projects.

Benson's work in the northern and western states attested to the formal character that youth club work already was taking. In most states, land-grant colleges supported the work of local educators in organizing corn, garden, sewing, pig and poultry clubs similar to the early effort that Benson had initiated in Iowa. New thrusts in Benson's work included formalizing programs in the states and introducing federal cooperation and financing. Over the next two years, Benson established federal—state—county programs through written agreements. In effect, he was using the

method that would become generalized with the creation of the Cooperative Extension Service in 1914.

Throughout the first decade of the new century, parallel developments involving local educators and state land-grant colleges evolved. Often the two lines of development met, as in Ohio when School Superintendent Graham became Ohio's first Extension director. Iowa State College's Holden worked directly with school officials, connecting the interests of the land-grant college with local wishes to upgrade rural schools. The involvement of the federal government in similar work through Seaman Knapp's office introduced the third element of a national cooperative venture. By 1912, nearly every land-grant college had some type of Extension program. Generally, state Extension work included both youth and adult education programs. Frequently, states simply moved the adult-oriented farmers' institutes to the authority of Extension offices and employed agents to meet with farmers in their environment rather than use the traditional institute method of inviting farmers to formal programs.

While the three elements in Extension work were more or less in place in 1912, only the agreements negotiated by Benson tied any of the parts together. Indeed, some land-grant college staff resented the invasion of a federal official into what they saw as their special responsibility. On the other hand, Knapp was not particularly enthused by the work of the land-grant colleges. He had not had a happy experience in his own employment at a land-grant college and generally found the college professors too remote from the farmers they were supposed to help. The suspicion between local college administrators and Knapp's federal office did not become a major controversy at that time, but probably acted to retard movement toward a formal working arrangement. After Knapp's death and his replacement by his son Bradford, most of the tension evaporated. The younger Knapp had maintained a close working relationship with the land-grant colleges and was more sensitive to their assumed prerogatives. Probably it was Bradford Knapp's more diplomatic posture that led to Benson's success in obtaining twenty-eight cooperative agreements between the Office of Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work and the land-grant colleges from 1912 to 1916 to promote youth club work.

Due in part to Knapp's diplomacy, the climate for gaining congressional support for a cooperative venture involving the USDA, land-grant colleges and county government was much better in 1914 than in previous years. The divisions between federal agencies and state land-grant colleges, however, were not incidental.

The effort to obtain federal support for Extension work including youth programs brought the problems into sharp focus.

Bills Compete in Congress

Three points of contention surfaced in the congressional debates over Extension. Each point of view had equally vocal advocates, both in and out of Congress. The success of local school superintendents in revitalizing their schools through agricultural clubs and contests led some to suggest that a regular vocational curriculum of agricultural subjects would be valuable in rural schools. In some cases, high schools devoted to vocational agriculture seemed warranted. In the competition for federal funds, the advocates of vocational education had an influential voice in Senators Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa and Carroll Page of Vermont. Dolliver sponsored two bills in the Senate, one to aid vocational education and one to finance an Extension Service. After Dolliver's death, vocational education remained in the forefront with Page's continuing efforts.

Dolliver's bills competed with an earlier proposal offered by Congressman J. C. McLaughlin of Michigan. The McLaughlin bill, first introduced in 1909, provided for federal financing with both grants and matching funds; the states were to administer an Extension Service under control of the land-grant college. The McLaughlin bill did not anticipate a significant role for the Department of Agriculture. Yet, many advocates of aid to agriculture pointed out that the most effective teaching method available was the system Seaman Knapp had developed and which many state Extension Services still resisted.

For five years, the various programs tended to compete with one another in the congressional debate. It was clear by 1913 that Congress was disposed to aid agriculture in a significant way, but the many advocates of agricultural aid could not come up with a single proposal that had enough support to become law. Added to the problem was a continuing lack of trust between the state agricultural colleges and the federal experiment stations. The idea whose time had come seemed in danger of dying from simple political competition. The election of a Democratic Congress with a Democratic President in 1914 finally softened the political bickering that had retarded progress. The debate continued, however, between advocates of vocational education and those who questioned how a federally financed state Extension Service ought to be controlled.

At that point one of agriculture's true statesmen took a hand in the debate. Secretary of Agriculture James Houston, a former land-grant college president, brought the competing parties together to hammer out a compromise. In essence, he assured his former colleagues from the Association of Land-Grant Colleges that the USDA would not encroach in areas that traditionally had been the responsibility of the state land-grant colleges. He was equally forceful, however, in pointing out that the system of demonstration farms and youth clubs sponsored by Knapp's office in the USDA had proved to be the most effective method for transferring knowledge from the laboratory to practicing farmers. Everyone agreed that the future of Extension required some federal financial assistance. With that basic understanding, Houston was able to convince the association to support a bill that proposed a cooperative system between the federal government and the states. The proposal used the county agent system from Knapp's experience, but retained principal control at the state level. Late in 1913, Congressman Asbury F. Lever of South Carolina introduced a bill modeled on the Houston agreement. At the same time, Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia introduced a similar bill in the Senate.

The Lever bill moved through the House legislative process rapidly with little dissent. Advocates of vocational agriculture also supported the bill after assurance that the question of vocational support would be treated separately. In January of 1914, the Lever bill passed the House with only seven dissenting votes. Smith quickly moved to have the Lever bill substituted for his proposal when the Senate took up the matter. Only one last snag proved a danger to the bill's chances.

In 1890, Congress had passed a second Morrill Act providing for Negro land-grant colleges in southern states. Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and Hampton Institute in Virginia were models for other Negro colleges in all southern states except Tennessee. Northern supporters of the Smith-Lever bill insisted that federal monies to states for Extension be equally divided between the 1890 schools and the older land-grant colleges. Southern representatives insisted that Negro farmers could be best instructed by White employees and that there were not enough trained Negro agriculturalists. They also pointed out that Negro farmers already had benefitted from Knapp's work and would continue to do so. As a last argument, southern Senators simply stated that they would vote against the bill if it provided for automatic division of federal funds between White and Negro schools. Facing that kind of opposition, northern supporters of aid to Extension acquiesced and the Smith-Lever bill passed the Senate with few dissenting votes.⁷

After several years of effort and intervention of interested parties to bring compromise out of conflict, Congress launched one of the most innovative and successful attempts at state-federal cooperation in public education. Although the Smith-Lever Act did not specifically mention youth work, it was understood that the work of rural school superintendents, concerned college agricultural scientists and federal employees in the Office of Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work had individually and collectively made youth work the foundation for successful Extension endeavors.

Notes on Chapter 1

- Unless otherwise cited, material for this chapter came from Franklin M. Reck, The 4-H Story, A History of 4-H Club Work (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1951).
- 2. Edward W. Aiton, "Background and Design for a Study of Vitality Factors in 4-H Club Programs," (Ed.D. Diss., University of Maryland, 1956), pp. 17-19.
- 3. Roy V. Scott, The Reluctant Farmer, The Rise of Agricultural Extension to 1914, (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 209-218.
- 4. Earl W. Crosby, "The Roots of Black Agricultural Extension Work," *The Historian* (February, 1977): 243-245.
- Allen W. Jones, "Thomas M. Campbell: Black Agricultural Leader of the New South," Agricultural History (January, 1979): 42-59.
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- 7. Scott, pp. 288-313.

2

Organizing 4-H

The Smith-Lever Act, passed in 1914, provided the financial support the new Cooperative Extension Service needed for a successful future. It also meant the educational movement that came to be called 4-H would have a permanent home. That 4-H and Extension grew and flourished during the dismal years after 1914 was a testament to firm roots.¹

Almost immediately after the act's passage, the conditions of stability and prosperity that had aided the advancement of 4-H began to change. That same year Europe went to war and within two years the United States entered the struggle. It was left to Extension and its fledgling youth program to survive their infancy during the challenging days of war and later during the depths of economic depression.

Membership in club work had expanded continuously in the prewar years, but grew enormously as America's entry into World War I stimulated the federal government to produce more food. Food and fiber production in the United States had increased steadily since the turn of the century, but in the two years prior to the country's entry into the war, production of some major crops such as wheat and potatoes had declined. Through its network of county agents, however, the federal government had a ready-made force by 1917 for organizing a national production effort. With additional financing from the Food Production Board, the number of Extension agents could be expanded and the production effort increased. Extension Service personnel quickly realized that the expansion of club work among rural youth was an equally sure way to increase production levels. The number of part-time paid club leaders and club members increased substantially in the next three years. In the year before American entry into World War I, club membership stood at 169,000; by 1918, club membership had passed 500,000. The number of paid part-time club leaders grew from 391 to 985. Clearly a major effort was underway.

World War I touched the lives of nearly all Americans. More intensely than ever before citizens mobilized their efforts toward the single goal of winning a war. The National Food Administration under the direction of Herbert Hoover encouraged higher levels of agricultural production and savings of such critical food supplies as wheat, red meat and sugar. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), through its Extension Service, communicated the urgency of wartime needs to the countryside. Young people in club work quickly took up the challenge to increase food production and demonstrate ways to conserve food through home gardens, canning demonstrations and methods of substituting less critical foods like syrup and sorghums for sugar. Such slogans as "Why use butter in cooking?" and "Bake, boil, stew—don't fry" symbolized the work of young boys and girls in their demonstration projects.

4-H Growth Stimulated

Wartime demands for basic foodstuffs caused a rapid increase in the number of calf, pig and dairy clubs. The expansion was stimulated in part by increased support from private donors to 4-H efforts. In some states, such as Arkansas where the state banking association had long sponsored a purebred hog program, the war simply encouraged further support. In other states the war brought about similar programs to upgrade livestock and encourage new crop varieties. In Mississippi, the Illinois Central Railroad purchased purebred bulls for distribution to club members in counties along its rail line. In Iowa, E. T. Meredith, the influential publisher of Successful Farming, established a fund to help finance purebred stock for dairy, beef and pig clubs. Eventually, every county in the state established a livestock club with the assistance of the Meredith fund.

Wartime shortages also stimulated a number of clubs to create projects for developing substitutes for critical items. Club members learned to can fish and game animals and to raise rabbits. Northern youngsters established sugar beet clubs to ease the pressure on cane sugar supplies. Clubs in every section of the country participated in a drive to collect fruit pits and nut shells used in the manufacture of carbon for gas masks. Wartime incentives probably introduced club work to more youths and adults than any other consideration up to that time.

The heightened wartime activity also created two other antecedents of later activity. The Minnesota State Livestock Breeders' Association began to offer cash prizes to help counties hold calf

and colt shows. In 1917, T. A. Erickson, the state club leader, and W. A. McKerrow, an Extension livestock specialist, joined the livestock breeders' association to establish the state's first junior livestock show. The event was independent of county and state fairs and was limited to the three best calves in each county. Erickson noted that some of the entries were of less than championship caliber, but he was more interested in participation than expertise that first year. In later years, lambs, pigs, and geese were added to the show which became one of the best-known livestock events in the nation.

As part of the total community involvement in the war effort, club work for the first time was actively pursued in large urban areas. Traditionally club work had been conducted in smaller communities and suburban areas of New England, but World War I initiated the process in the larger cities. The Oregon state club leader introduced canning and gardening clubs through the schools of Portland. A similar effort began in Detroit, organized by the Wayne County Extension Service. Although the Portland and Detroit programs maintained a continuous history, their beginnings were tentative and they received little emphasis. Forty years later these few urban groups would be part of a new wave of 4-H expansion.

Increased club work in the war years undoubtedly added significantly to improved farming practices in the United States. One prime example of such long-term results occurred in Connecticut. A. J. Bundage, the state club leader, encouraged a club in Goshen to clear \$1,000 on a flock of 400 laying hens in one year. The challenge stimulated the interest of club members and resulted in a profit of over \$1,700 a year later. The success of the Goshen club directly contributed to the growth of the poultry industry in the state. Four of the young men of the Goshen club took their expertise to college where, with rented space from the college and cooperation of the poultry department, they raised and sold hens and eggs in order to earn their way through school. Raising hens and marketing the eggs became a regular feature of the college for the next eighteen years.

The stimulation of the war on club work provided an opportunity to assess the strength of the movement. Before the war, club work had become a national movement without a national character. Assistance from national and state leaders had not penetrated the form or structure of club work at the local level. Consequently, clubs organized in a variety of ways and some had little organization at all. The emphasis on individual project achievement was

valued, but some felt that a more organized club structure in which members worked together at formal meetings could enhance individual achievement. In addition, federal officials like A. C. True, head of state relations for the Cooperative Extension Service, found it difficult to work with state and local clubs that had little formal organization. While organization might inhibit local initiative, True felt it was more likely that a formal structure would influence loyalties and stimulate club members to higher levels of individual achievement.

Club Structure Proposed

The first opportunity to explore the future of club work came in 1919 at a meeting of northern and western 4-H leaders in Kansas City. True and others realized that appropriations would decrease after wartime and the fervor of patriotism would no longer serve as a stimulus to club work. Some other means of attracting young men and women was essential. One way was to create an institutional framework that focused membership loyalties beyond the individual's pigs, corn or canning project.

A meeting of northern and western club leaders in 1918 had already proposed a general structure for clubs. As subsequently revised, the definition of a local club was a group of at least five members working on a similar project. A club had to have a local leader during the club year. Each club had to elect appropriate officers and to devise a program covering the period of demonstration activities. After the four requirements were met, the local club received a charter signed by the secretary of agriculture, the state Extension director, and the state club leader. The requirements for receiving a charter were minimal, but did provide a formal basis for future continuity of a club. Later, clubs could qualify for a seal of achievement by conducting at least six regular meetings during the year, having an annual exhibit, performing at least one public demonstration program, attaining a 60 percent project completion rate with final reports and holding an annual achievement day program. Establishing some commonality between clubs gave the movement continuity nationally but still allowed local initiative.

The Kansas City meeting in 1919 was intended to build on the beginnings of a uniform club movement as proposed the year before. Despite an anticipated decline in membership, state and federal officials were determined to take advantage of the enormous growth of the previous two years. Already it had become apparent that future club work would not be based entirely on the models that had given the movement its birth. Club work had been born in

the rural schools with county superintendents and teachers acting as midwives. As the movement grew, more and more clubs were organized outside the school environment. Although club work and schools were closely associated in some parts of the country, the county superintendent no longer provided the major source of local leadership.

With the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, the youth club model gave rise to an adult version, probably a natural occurrence because one agent was often responsible for working with both youth and adults. County agents found the club an ideal structure for bringing farmers together to discuss their mutual problems and to plan programs to aid agriculture. The adult clubs quickly adopted the name of farm bureaus and selected youth club work as one of their principal activities. That was particularly true where club work had not already become firmly established in rural schools. Therefore, club work tended to remain rooted in the schools in southern states, but in northern and western states, clubs were organized in communities and retained only a loose relationship with school districts.

One immediate consequence of the growth of club work outside the schools was the employment of adult leaders from the general farm population. In 1918, Idaho employed twelve adult leaders through its county farm bureaus. Michigan and Ohio noted a similar trend in the development of club work. As a result, projects of the youth clubs were often tied more closely to the work of the farm bureaus than to the Cooperative Extension Service. Club work outside the schools had the advantage of organizing year-round programs that made clubs more a community project.

Those who met in Kansas City were not entirely sure that the trend away from the rural schools was desirable. Of equal concern was the development of vocational agricultural curricula in the schools financed by the Smith-Hughes Act. It was altogether possible that club work and vocational agriculture could become destructively competitive for the same people. That was particularly true if club work remained in the schools as some officials hoped.

Competition between youth club work under the Smith-Lever Act and vocational agriculture and home economics instruction in the schools had been evident in 1914. With passage of the Smith-Hughes Act, some resolution of the apparent conflict was essential. Central to the debate was a question that arose early in club work. Most persons who had been instrumental in the origins of club work based their programs on the need to make rural schools relevant to rural students. Club work in effect was secondary to re-

vitalizing rural schools. Some officials such as G. I. Christie, assistant secretary of agriculture, continued to see club work principally in that light. Christie's position was reiterated at the 1919 Kansas City meeting by A. E. Winship, a noted Boston educator. If club work moved outside the schools, some wondered, was it any longer meeting its original objective?



Along with the organization of clubs for boys and girls, the system of volunteer leadership evolved and became well established by 1920. This Marshall County, Iowa, sewing club meeting at the home of their volunteer leader was a typical occurrence in the 1920s.

True put the question in a broader perspective and insisted that the competition between club work and school curricula was more illusory than real. In True's opinion, there was plenty of opportunity for both club work leaders and vocational teachers in the schools. True believed that it was not a question of one or the other, but of how to make both contribute to furthering agricultural education and youth development. While vocational education in the classroom and laboratory was useful, it remained directed from "above." It did not have the flexibility that club work enjoyed, nor did vocational courses reach the numbers of young people that club work potentially could. True concluded that the two programs complemented each other rather than competed.

True's view prevailed and the group meeting in Kansas City moved on to discussing improvements in club work. With club work becoming independent of the schools and relying on volunteer leaders, some attention was necessary to ensure that local volunteers were properly trained. The group also sought to formalize the means by which club projects were recorded and reported. Most agreed that contests were valuable tools in encouraging young people, but thought the prizes should not be disproportionate to the effort. The group agreed that rather than cash prizes, educational prizes such as trips to the state land-grant college were more in keeping with the spirit of the club movement.

The delegates to the Kansas City meeting also saw that clubs formed outside the schools could more easily be returned to the local community. During the war years, most club work had been directed from the USDA as part of the mobilization effort. Locally initiated programs were shelved until the war emergency was over. Some officials were concerned that the centralization of club work during the war would continue and that 4-H could lose one of its major attractions, local control.

Some county agents saw the development of farm bureaus as the best vehicle for organizing club work. They were locally financed, locally controlled and had the best contact with local farmers, county agents and land-grant colleges. They also fit into the general organizational approach the Extension Service developed to deal with the problems of adult farmers. By 1919, nearly 700 farm bureaus functioned in the United States, primarily in northern and western states. If the Extension Service was to remain the principal organizing source for future clubs, then at least for the North and West, conducting club work in the schools would be of secondary importance.

One program receiving special attention during the war years was the expansion of canning demonstrations and promotion of food conservation. Gertrude Warren, a home economics teacher at Teachers' College of Columbia University, was brought to the USDA in 1917 to organize the program. Warren had been raised on a New York farm and in her youth belonged to one of the nature study groups sponsored by Cornell University. She became acquainted with youth club work in 1915 while teaching at Columbia and working toward an advanced degree.

Given the task of developing a summer course on canning for teachers, Warren sought information. Laura Comstock, the state demonstration agent in Massachusetts, told her of O. H. Benson's program at the USDA. Benson responded to Warren's letter not only with literature on a new cold-pack canning technique, but he also sent George E. Farrell, his assistant, to give a series of demonstrations. Farrell's demonstrations introduced Warren to the new canning process and to the work of the Extension Service. A year later, Benson invited her to Washington, D.C., as his assistant in charge of organizing a canning program for the war effort.



Gardening was important in early 4-H clubs, which were used to disseminate successful gardening techniques. The results are well illustrated in this 1925 photograph comparing a club member's potato patch, *right*, with his father's patch.

Project Outlines Developed

By the time of the 1919 meeting in Kansas City, Warren had decided that American young people had canned enough and it was time to move on to other projects. At the meeting, Warren suggested club projects in clothing and garment making, along with cooking and baking. In the process, Warren developed a method of promoting club projects that would come to characterize later project development.

Committees were assigned the task of developing outlines, following a simple set of criteria, for the various projects. The projects, designed to last two or three years, were to contain a unit of work for each year. The outline emphasized that projects should allow the young person to achieve practical results. The object of the projects was not to provide a complete course in sewing, baking, or cooking, but rather a means for the young person to produce a useful product in a relatively short time period. The outline made suggestions for rather than directed project development.

Such committees of state leaders characterized later project planning. The Washington office acted as a clearinghouse and facilitator, but refused to direct local programs. The system proved workable. For example, Warren's office noted in 1919 that Connecticut was developing a project in which young girls were encouraged to rearrange and decorate their rooms. Soon an outline, "Own Your Own Room," was available for any state that wished to develop a similar project. That same year, Oregon developed a home beautification project for its clubs and Warren's office soon issued a series of suggestions for other states to use in project development.

A year later, her office issued a program outline for a project that illustrated both the method and the new directions of club work in the United States. Before and during the war several states introduced school hot lunch programs, some of which had been initiated by youth clubs. In 1918, the Michigan Extension Service issued a bulletin outlining that state's program. Warren sent questionnaires to all states soliciting ideas about such a program. Then a committee of state leaders, with Warren's help organized the material. By 1920, an outline guide for hot lunch programs was available for any state considering such a project. With the suggestions in the outline, a state could benefit from the experience of other states that had initiated the program. It also encouraged states to initiate projects that had aesthetic or economic value, while adding to the well being of the young people's communities.

The 1919 meeting in Kansas City was one of the most important in the history of the 4-H movement. The general structure of local clubs was firmly established, an expansion of projects was encouraged, relations between club work and vocational education in the schools were defined, and the general principle of local initiative was ratified. While every participant agreed that such meetings on an annual basis were worthwhile, it was eight years before another national meeting took place. In June of 1919, emergency war appropriations came to an end. The general scope of all government-financed programs was considerably reduced. 4-H looked to private support to take up the slack resulting from the decrease in public funding.



Garden clubs provided an opportunity for young boys and girls to join the 4-H movement, while older boys grew corn or raised animals. The results of 4-H instruction can be seen in this 1926 photograph of one year's project effort.

Private support for club work was not new. Banks in Arkansas, railroads in Mississippi and Texas, and livestock associations and other business interests in a number of states had lent money and support to the movement. In each case, however, private support had been local, specific and inconsistent. If club work was to continue with a series of projects, contests, and appropriate reporting, as proposed at the Kansas City meeting, some coordination of the arrangement with private supporters was necessary. Extension representatives in Kansas City, however, did not have in mind any specific way of achieving that end. As had often happened in the club work movement, interested parties devised a system that ultimately met the needs of club members, private supporters and the Extension Service.

National Committee Formed

In September 1921, the first meeting of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work took place in Chicago. Attending the meeting were Guy L. Noble, an employee of Armour Packing Company, E. T. Meredith, publisher of *Successful Farming*, E. N. Hop-

kins, editor for Meredith Publishing Co., Barney H. Heide, secretary of the International Live Stock Exposition, John W. Coverdale, secretary of the American Farm Bureau Federation, and A. B. Drummond, a representative of the Wilson Packing Company. The meeting was the beginning of a major organizational change in club work and the culmination of a series of events that were independent of the concerns of the 1919 Kansas City gathering.

All participants in the Chicago meeting had become interested in club work in the previous few years. Hopkins had been exposed to club work while a farm magazine editor in Arkansas. During a campaign to ween Arkansas away from a single-crop agriculture and raise more foodstuffs, he found, as had others before him, that one of the best means of educating the agricultural community was through boys' and girls' clubs. Later he was instrumental in interesting Meredith in club work and served as manager of Meredith's loan fund to finance club projects in Iowa.

Noble first encountered club work through his employment with Armour Packing Company. A former college roommate informed Noble of his association with pig clubs in Nebraska. Noble proposed to his employers that the Armour Company offer trips to the Chicago International Live Stock Exposition as prizes to state club winners. In 1919, forty young men and women went to Chicago as guests of the Armour Company and Noble worked to arrange tours and entertainment. By the time of the exposition, he discovered that over 100 other young men and women were in Chicago as guests of private sponsors. The Armour employee decided to include his new-found charges in the tours and entertainment he had organized. The next year, he organized tours for over 475 young men and women in Chicago as contest winners from several states.

The success of the 1919 Chicago program suggested the need for some kind of permanent organization for the yearly event. At an Iowa Swine Show in Des Moines in early 1920, Noble, Hopkins, Farrell and Milton Danziger from the USDA discussed the relationship between club work and private business. Farrell proposed that a national committee be organized. Shortly after the second invasion of Chicago by club winners in 1920, Noble and Hopkins seriously took up the suggestion to create a national committee. In May 1921, Noble took a leave of absence from Armour Company to organize the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. He quickly enlisted the aid of Meredith and Thomas E. Wilson of Wilson Packing Company.

At their first meeting, organizers of the National Committee dealt with the practical concerns of office space and stenographic help. The Farm Bureau Federation offered to donate space for an office. In a later meeting with Farrell of the Extension Service, they agreed on four objectives: to promote club demonstrations before state associations, to publicize club work, to encourage bank loans to young people in club work, and to coordinate all donations and efforts of private sponsors then contributing to club work. Later the group agreed to raise \$30,000 to help meet their objectives. That day, Hopkins announced before a group of young people visiting the McCormick works as part of a club tour that the National Committee had been formed and that Noble would be its first executive secretary.

Organizing the work of the National Committee was formidable. Noble had a small office and part-time secretarial help, but he had no budget; except for a few state leaders and interested business people, the organization was virtually unknown. To complicate matters, the Committee's founding coincided with a drastic downturn in the economy that resulted from inflated business activity during the war years. Almost overnight government purchases ended and government stimulus to the agricultural economy halted. By mid-1921, industrial prices had fallen nearly 50 percent, not to recover until 1924. Agricultural prices fell by 50 percent as well, but most did not recover for the next twenty years.

Noble's goal in the first year of the Committee had been to raise \$30,000. He collected less than \$3,500. The timely aid of \$750 from Meredith and the Chicago Board of Trade probably kept the Committee alive. In the meantime, Noble worked to publicize the Committee's activities, to both the business community and Extension agents. A newsletter along with booklets and pamphlets went out to 2,000 agents in the states. At the end of the first year, the Committee had a financial balance of \$6.10.

Although the financial goals of the Committee had not been met, the annual club tours to Chicago continued to be great successes. Through the efforts of Bernice Carter Davis, educational director of the Hazel-Atlas Glass Company, the Committee arranged earlier that year for a series of regional canning contests; ten finalists were to compete in a national contest at the 1922 Chicago meeting. Two teams winning the national contests would tour France under sponsorship of the American Committee for Devastated Europe, one of a series of philanthropic efforts to help Europe recover from the ruin of the war. During June and July, winning teams from Iowa and Colorado and their state leaders toured

France giving demonstrations and learning about French cuisine.

Another widely publicized event took place at the national gathering in Chicago. Earlier in 1922, the Iowa State Fair had chosen the state's healthiest boy and girl as a publicity stunt. Noble witnessed the selection and decided to hold a national contest. State leaders recommended the healthiest boy and girl from their delegation. Amid a great deal of fanfare, doctors probed the young people, and the nation's healthiest boy and girl were declared. Names and pictures of the winners made the pages of newspapers throughout the country. The idea of selecting the healthiest boy and girl was undoubtedly a bit of a sham, but it did publicize the work of the Committee and the serious intent of club projects to encourage health programs in rural America.

Although the Committee's financial success in 1923 was only marginally better than the year before, there were hopeful signs. That year the Committee began publishing *The National Boys' and* Girls' Club News and gained the endorsement of several important businesses. Montgomery Ward, for example, donated a muchneeded \$5,000 to club work, beginning a continuous association with the 4-H movement that still exists. Equally important was bringing the work of the Committee to the attention of major business associations. In the spring of 1923, Noble took a canning team and a dairy cattle demonstration team to the annual meeting of the American Bankers' Association in Rve, New York. There on the grounds of the Rve-Biltmore Country Club, some 300 bankers witnessed chicken canning and demonstrations of techniques of judging superior dairy cows. Two young men explained how their project had resulted in dairy herd improvement and more profit. Noble presented the group with a profit statement illustrating the financial value of club work. Before the meeting ended, the bankers endorsed club work as their top agricultural project.

Club Tours Become Club Congress

The same year, a state club leader from Tennessee suggested that the "tour" in Chicago should take on a more consequential name and proposed calling the meeting a club congress. The success of the previous two years indicated that there would be hundreds of young people in Chicago, but space available for conducting the event was already limited. In September, Noble asked A. G. Leonard, president of the Union Stock Yard and Transit Company, about providing more space for displaying club exhibits. Leonard responded beyond Noble's hope. The Union Stock Yards had just renovated part of a building and Leonard turned it over to the club

congress. The extra space came just soon enough. More than 1,600 young men and women arrived in Chicago in December. Noble enlisted the aid of Iowa Assistant Extension Director Paul Taff in organizing the congress; Taff's association with the Congress continued until the late 1950s.



A major boost to 4-H came with the establishment of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work and the annual National 4-H Club Congress in Chicago. This building in the Union Stock Yards area served as the headquarters for 4-H Congress exhibits and activities at the International Live Stock Exposition and a background for photographs of state contest winners, such as these girls sponsored by Montgomery Ward & Co. in 1929.

The number of young men and women attending the 1923 congress overwhelmed the organization. Local affairs were under the direction of a committee of state club leaders, along with Warren and Farrell from the Washington office. Even with the help of state and federal officials, the committee was swamped. Reviewing the endless lines of young people, some of whom were unsuccessful in gaining entry to the final banquet, the organizers decided to limit the number of participants. After 1923 each state was allowed to send no more than 50 participants and had to notify the committee of the exact size of its delegation. The next year's attendance was a more manageable group of just over 1,000.

The success of the first years of the tours moved the National Committee to formally incorporate the organization, select a board of directors and prepare a statement of purpose. Meredith, who had been chairman of the National Committee, agreed to serve as a director, but recommended that Wilson serve as the first chairman of the incorporated committee. In addition to Meredith and Wilson, the first Board of Directors of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work included Coverdale of the American Farm Bureau Federation, Heide from the International Live Stock Exposition, and Burton M. Smith, a banker from North Lake, Wisconsin.

As stated in the original charter, the Committee was dedicated to giving "rural boys and girls an opportunity to develop themselves educationally, economically, morally and socially, through clubs demonstrating all phases of agriculture and home economics; to publish bulletins and magazines, to furnish news service to the press; to conduct public demonstrations; to organize Junior Club Work Departments at fairs and expositions; to solicit prizes, such as educational trips, medals, and scholarships; and to provide funds for appropriations for leadership in clubs throughout the country."

The formal creation of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work was a milestone. For the first time a private organization of national consequence was dedicated to the task of supporting a public educational effort. Further, its progress was entirely voluntary. The combination of federal, state, county and private support aimed at the single objective of elevating country life was a unique occurrence that became a model for organizations throughout the world.

While private support for club work increased dramatically at local, state, and national levels in the 1920s, public support through the Extension Service stagnated. The 1920s was a period of retrenchment and general retreat by the federal government from its activist days since 1900. While the new Extension Service did not decline, neither did it grow beyond the built-in increases in funding established in the original Smith-Lever Act. Nevertheless, club work continued and became more institutionalized, despite the loss of membership and employed agents to organize the club effort.

A further demoralization to club work in the 1920s was the agricultural depression. In response to wartime stimulus, numerous clubs concentrated on raising more cattle. Frequently, local club members found that the prices they could obtain in the market for fattened beeves were considerably less than what they had paid for the feeder stock. In Iowa alone it was estimated that club members lost \$35,000 on their beef projects. It was not surprising that mem-

bers who had joined clubs because of wartime patriotism left, but the disappointment of losing money on projects also must have contributed to the sharp decline in membership in the years immediately after the war. In 1918, membership had surpassed 500,000. By 1920, club membership had dipped below 250,000.



Showing a prize animal was the highlight of a year of 4-H work for many youth. This boy from Arkansas readies his heifer for a county fair in 1931.

Nevertheless, there were some bright spots that ultimately influenced the general resurgence of club work in the United States. In Arkansas where club work had already developed an enviable history, State Club Leader W. J. Jernigan experimented with a system of local planning and financing that profoundly influenced the national movement. Traditionally, once a state leader determined the need for a project and had solicited private funding to support it, rules for a contest were written and handed to potential members who had participated very little in planning the project. Jernigan decided to let one of the more active clubs design its own program, including financing the year's activities. That club's method soon spread. The next year the county clubs collectively planned a county program that included contest rules and a budget. Private donations continued to finance some of the activities, but local control engendered a sense of responsibility for raising funds. Local initiative helped to strengthen loyalties to the club and gave status to its officers. Local club presidents and secretaries acted as a county executive committee and had virtually total responsibility for club activities. In 1920, the Arkansas Cooperative Extension Service developed a publication describing the process. The method quickly spread and became a model for club organization throughout the country.

Need for Volunteers Grows

With the loss of hundreds of paid club leaders after World War I, the need for local volunteer leadership became even more crucial. Some states already relied on local farm parents to conduct club affairs, but after 1919, it was imperative to find local people willing to accept the responsibility. To state and federal officials it seemed obvious that a greater reliance on volunteer leadership could be made an integral part of the club movement. Warren particularly emphasized the need for training volunteers. Common sense and enthusiasm probably were the best leadership qualities, but the experiences of others would be helpful in channeling a leader's energy into the development of successful club programs.

Some formal leadership training had been conducted at county and state levels for some years. Particularly in those states that initially had developed club work around volunteers, leadership training through the land-grant schools was common. The benefits of such training, however, were limited to only a few states. There was no regional or national coordination of leadership training or even a national concensus about its need. It also became apparent as the club movement matured that the active membership was a natural source of future leaders. Consequently, some states began to experiment with junior leadership training for older club members.

Once again the interest of a local private donor gave impetus to formal leadership training. Horace A. Moses, president of the Strathmore Paper Company, for some years had expressed an interest in youth work generally and in rural club work particularly. By 1923 he was assisting Junior Achievement projects in Boston. Moses contacted Danziger, who had recently left the Cooperative Extension Service to direct the Eastern States Exposition. Danziger suggested that the best aid Moses could give to the club movement would be to finance a leadership training school for the eastern states. Danziger developed a plan to invite one outstanding member from each of the ten eastern states for a week-long training session. The club members would then remain to supervise club activities at the Exposition.

The group arriving in September 1923 became the first class of the International 4-H Leadership Training School. In future years, Moses provided the expenses for two invited delegates from twelve states. Eventually the school provided leadership training for delegates from thirty-eight states and five Canadian provinces. It was structured to take advantage of the organization of the Cooperative Extension Service. State leaders, as well as USDA staff, such as Warren, helped develop the curriculum. Only the onset of the Great Depression in 1930 ended the school, which, along with state adult and junior leadership programs, created a pool of experienced and motivated club leaders for the future.

Despite the focus on local club work during the 1920s, 4-H remained a national movement with national cohesion. That was true partly because a communication network existed among state leaders through the Land-Grant College Association and the Cooperative Extension Service, and partly because communication and identification among the members themselves. Two developments in the 1920s gave individual club members a sense of identity with their counterparts in other regions. The annual congress already was playing a role in this regard, but it was limited to the contest winners at the state level. More important forces were the increasing use of the name 4-H and development of club camping.

Name 4-H Recognized Nationally

The familiar clover symbol of the club movement had a long history by the 1920s. The term 4-H, however, was more a shorthand name than the identification of a particular national movement. Probably more than anyone else, Warren was responsible for giving the name 4-H to Extension's youth program in a formal manner. Throughout the early 1920s she used the name in brochures and releases from the Washington, D.C., office. Indeed, Warren deliberately had used the name in a 1918 publication. At a conference held in Washington shortly after the end of the war, Warren had the opportunity to promote the term 4-H as the official name of club work. Some preferred the name Junior Extension Work, but Warren's perseverence and the fact that the term 4-H had become a part of common usage for club work prevailed. By 1924, 4-H was recognized universally as the name of club work in the United States.

The use of the name 4-H and the clover symbol gave individual members a sense of belonging to an organization that reached beyond their immediate area. This sense of belonging did not in itself, however, provide a means for individual members to make specific contacts outside of their community. That was accomplished through the advent of club camping.

Camping is a prime example of how the initiative of local groups working independently throughout the country influenced the national program. Camps had not been contemplated in any of the early formal discussions of club work, but camping activities took place as early as 1907. For example, S.M. Jordan of Columbia, Missouri, entertained young men on his farm while providing instruction in agricultural methods. Several states established "camps" in conjunction with young people's visits to college campuses and state fairs. County agents quickly found that a camping experience added a certain informality and companionship to club work that influenced the level of enthusiasm for more formal programs.

West Virginia led the states in formalizing camping as a part of the 4-H movement. By 1919, some twenty-five West Virginia counties included camping in their activities. The next year West Virginia, Virginia, and Maryland club leaders combined their efforts in a tri-state camping program. By 1921, West Virginia 4-H had decided to establish a permanent campsite and to offer the premises to other groups within the state. That year the Monongahela West Penn Public Service Company donated to 4-H five acres on the site of Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's boyhood home, on the condition that the state legislature appropriate funds to build camp facilities. With public funds available, the camp soon boasted a swimming pool, cottages for housing 350 persons and a dining hall modeled after Mount Vernon.

Other states moved as quickly as West Virginia to establish camping activities and some created permanent campsites. Louisiana, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio and Virginia had permanent camping sites by the end of the decade. Camping did prove an ideal means for bringing club members together to exchange ideas and stimulate each other to greater achievements, but it was soon clear that a similar need for interchange among club leaders existed as well.

In the first years of the 4-H club movement, regional fairs and expositions offered opportunities for leaders to meet and exchange ideas. While the Eastern States Exposition was one of the earliest examples, regional fairs at Sioux City, Iowa; Denver, Colorado; Fort Worth, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia; and Portland, Oregon; also

became annual meeting grounds where 4-H club members gave the public a view of 4-H work and where club leaders had the opportunity to talk with other leaders.

Request USDA Sponsor National Camp

Although regional camps, fairs and expositions partially answered the problem of communication between leaders and club members, most agreed that some type of national meeting similar to the 1919 Kansas City meeting was essential. With 4-H's substantial growth from its postwar low and the popularity of camping, serious discussion of a national camp soon got underway. In 1925, state directors of Extension formally requested that USDA leaders sponsor a national camp in Washington, D.C. The Department agreed and the camp was founded in 1927 to reward and develop junior leaders in club work, to acquaint club members with their government and to provide a meeting of all state leaders.

The 1927 national camp was the first time that state leaders from northern and southern states had met formally. Two distinct organizational structures had developed in club work through the years. In the South club work continued to be organized principally through the schools; clubs in the North had become more community organizations. Both organizational structures had merit, and state leaders determined that so long as there were general agreement and cooperation on the main objectives of club work, structural differences were insignificant.

Young people from across the country converged on Washington for seven days in June to attend the first camp. They were housed in long rows of tents on the Mall in front of the USDA building. Two rows of tents nearly a block long housed two girls from each state, while the boys were housed in another two rows of similar length that paralleled the girls' tents. Strategically located between the boys' and girls' tents were two short rows of tents for leaders. While the camp was intended for club members to meet, the state leaders made sure that such meetings were on formal grounds.

As well as general meetings in the USDA auditorium, young people met with government leaders and exchanged ideas among themselves. At that first camp, state leaders adopted for the whole country the 4-H pledge that has been used with only minimal changes to the present day. Songs especially written for 4-H were introduced at the camp; additions were incorporated in later years. Also, some problems of retaining members were addressed. Club leaders decided to introduce more programs for older youth which

could hold their interest in club work. In all, the 1927 national camp proved useful in creating a sense of uniform purpose within the movement. It also coincided with important congressional action and undoubtedly influenced the course of that action.

Club work always had been a principal vehicle for bringing advanced agricultural techniques to the farm community. The more elaborate organizations of the 1920s included many nonagricultural activities, but the original 4-H purpose remained. It had become clear to many interested in Extension that further development of demonstration work and 4-H clubs would require additional funding by the federal government. The original Smith-Lever Act had increased federal funding each year until 1923, when appropriations became fixed at \$4.58 million a year. Additional funds from annual appropriations supplemented the formula funding, but remained constant throughout most of the 1920s. State and county funds added additional amounts for Extension's total funding of about \$20 million. At that level, Extension officials estimated only about half of the necessary work could be done and only about one in twenty young people could be reached through 4-H clubs. Many officials and interested club volunteers thought 1927 was a ripe year to convince Congress of the need for more funds.

Preliminary work to that end had begun some years before. As early as 1924, Extension leaders approached Noble about lending his assistance with Congress. Extension was well aware that every executive agency felt a need for more funding. Extension, however, had the advantage of a state and county organization to influence votes of local congressional representatives. In the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work, they had a private group dedicated to the same objectives as the Extension Service. It seemed a good strategy to make use of the private association for the good of both.

Noble was reluctant to take a leading position in the congressional lobbying effort without the approval of the Land-Grant College Association. But when R. A. Pearson, association president, implied that he would not object, Noble began to organize private groups in support of increased funding for Extension. In 1926, with the help of eager officials in the national Extension office, he approached Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas. Capper readily agreed to sponsor a bill, which was introduced in 1927, to increase federal funding of Extension by \$6 million.

The bill received immediate congressional committee support at least partly because Noble had mustered the backing of bank associations, farm organizations and breeder associations that testified in its behalf. The gathering of hundreds of young people at the 1927 camp helped, too. Three young people from Maryland testified before the Senate Agricultural Committee. One young woman noted how 4-H work had taught her to make her own clothing at considerable savings; a young man explained his pig project to the committee. Eventually, the bill received unanimous support from the congressional committees and overwhelming approval from the House. The bill was delayed in the Senate when Senator William H. King of Utah refused to accept a unanimous consent vote and a Senate filibuster on another matter prevented the bill from reaching the floor for a regular vote. In the 1928 session of Congress, a substantially reduced version of the bill passed the Senate. After compromise with the House version, Congress passed the Capper-Ketcham Act providing for an increase of \$1.38 million a year for Extension. While the act was not all 4-H leaders had hoped for, it did mention explicitly boys' and girls' club work for the first time.

Agreement With Vocational Agriculture Rewritten

The year the Capper-Ketcham Act passed Congress also saw renewed concern about the relationship between 4-H club work and vocational agriculture in the schools under the Smith-Hughes Act. The possibility of competition and duplication between the two had concerned club leaders as early as 1918. At that time a memorandum of agreement defining the responsibilities of each organization was written. The problem was particularly vexing in the southern states where both efforts took place within the schools.

By 1928 it was clear that the earlier memorandum no longer sufficed. The growth in both Extension work and vocational agriculture had created points of friction. In some instances, local Extension agents prevented young people from joining vocational education programs; in other cases, teachers in the schools kept youth from joining 4-H clubs. Undoubtedly, some of the jurisdictional disputes arose from personality conflicts, but it seemed necessary to formally work out the relationship between the two. In 1928, the secretary of agriculture and the director of the Federal Board for Vocational Education agreed to establish a joint committee to rewrite the memorandum of agreement.

Basically, the joint committee distinguished 4-H work as a problem-oriented project and vocational education as a systematic course or courses of instruction in basic agriculture. Every effort was made to demonstrate that the two programs complemented

each other and were not in general competition. Neither group wished the potential conflict to move beyond their control. Moreover, neither wished to risk a public controversy that could end in a decision by the government to support one program to the detriment of the other. Recognizing the trouble spots, the joint committee recommended the creation of joint committees within each state to deal with local problems and promote a cooperative spirit. Nevertheless, conflict arose and continued at varying levels. The new memorandum of understanding was written in 1938, formally endorsed again in 1954, and discussed at length as late as 1961. While friction at the local level never completely abated, state and national joint committees of Extension officials and vocational education officials kept the problem from becoming too serious.



Control of animal disease was a constant fight for Extension in the 1920s and 1930s. This 1935 demonstration of vaccination techniques for hog cholera typifies the way in which 4-H clubs helped bring serious animal diseases under control.

By 1930, Extension Service and 4-H club work had grown significantly. That year over 800,000 young men and women belonged to 4-H. Successful completion of 4-H projects also had increased. While less than half the members completed projects in 1923, some 67 percent completed them in 1930. The growth of 4-H led some land-grant college leaders to decide it was time to review

thoroughly the work of Extension and to determine general guidelines for the future. Some action seemed particularly imperative after 1930, because agriculture was in the midst of one of the severest economic declines it had ever experienced. The general economic depression in the 1930s brought the greatest demands for help that the Cooperation Extension Service had ever faced. At the same time, Extension work was in danger of being crippled by the lack of state and county funding. The economic depression affected local tax revenues most severely. One of the first items to go in county and state budgets was Extension appropriations. That also meant a loss of federal dollars since federal appropriations, in part, were tied to state and county funds.

Faced with the possibility of severe retrenchment, land-grant colleges moved to examine all areas they supported including Extension. Specifically, the colleges wished to know more about the objectives of 4-H, its relationship with other youth groups including vocational education, its organizational system, the nature of 4-H contests and awards, and how 4-H work was evaluated. It was remarkable that the study of 4-H took place during the early 1930s. Although decreased budgets and the loss of agents were partially offset by increased volunteers and emergency federal financing, the economic depression and a drought in much of the country taxed Extension to the limit. Nevertheless, 4-H membership continued to climb. By 1933 membership had reached nearly a million and exceeded that number by 1936.

With the arrival of the New Deal, the Cooperative Extension Service acquired new responsibilities. Numerous New Deal farm programs such as the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and emergency conservation programs pressed Extension to lend aid and assistance to more farmers than ever before. Some officials were not anxious to use Extension to administer the new farm programs. However, influential leaders such as M. L. Wilson, who had written the original bill creating the AAA, along with Extension officials in USDA, and private supporters like the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work, insisted that Extension was the proper means of bringing new programs to farmers. To do that, Extension needed much more money. In 1935 Congress passed another Extension finance bill that added \$8 million to the budget in the first year and increased the amount to \$12 million over the next four years. Undoubtedly, congressional approval of the Bankhead-Jones Act was influenced considerably by the testimony of farm leaders on the importance of expanded programs

through 4-H clubs. Noble estimated that Extension needed 2,000 agents devoted to 4-H work to reach all rural youth. At the time Extension employed only 198 agents. With enough support, he predicted that 4-H could quickly gain a membership of over 2 million.

Notes to Chapter 2

- Unless otherwise cited, material for this chapter came from Franklin M. Reck, The 4-H Story, A History of 4-H Club Work (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1951).
- 2. Interview with Paul Taff, September 1980.

3

Reaching Maturity

Organizations—like young people—grow steadily, almost imperceptibly, and then seem to take off in reaching maturity. Such was the experience of the 4-H movement in the years after 1920. Through the 1920s and 1930s the Federal Extension Service and the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work expanded their activities. In the following decade 4-H work reached more and more young people. The National Committee widened its range of projects and aggressively sought private support for 4-H. At the same time, 4-H leaders in the Extension Service moved to broaden the interests of 4-H'ers. Through efforts of the Extension Service, 4-H eventually devised a program to send young people to foreign countries and bring foreign counterparts to the United States. A training center, long desired by many, became a reality, as did a 4-H club foundation that funneled private funds into expanded areas of 4-H work. By 1952, the federal government recognized its commitment to 4-H work by establishing a USDA Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs that would function on an equal basis with other Extension divisions.

In its combining of public and private support, 4-H was unique from the beginning. The administrative structures that developed the private and public sides of 4-H at the national level, however, had no formal connection. The rapid growth of 4-H in both its private and public areas occurred independently. In the early years the lines of communication between the public side of 4-H in the Extension Service and the private side through the National Committee were unclear. The work of the two organizations tended to touch only at the local level. The Extension Service was particularly sensitive to a perception among some individuals that 4-H work was the exclusive domain of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. At the same time, the National Committee, which depended on private donations, worked aggressively to enhance its public image and encourage additional private support.

The independent development of the two organizations was bound to lead to some controversy.

As early as 1925, just a few years after the founding of the National Committee, Clyde W. Warburton, the national director of Extension, voiced his concern about the aggressive activity of the National Committee. In correspondence with Guy Noble, Warburton complained that the Committee was creating the impression that 4-H work was its special preserve and ignoring the Extension Service. Polling Extension directors, Warburton received a number of complaints that the National Committee was acting too independently. Replying with some anger, Noble expressed his desire to cooperate with the Extension Service in every way possible. The exchange of letters cleared the air temporarily, but relations between the two organizations remained strained.¹

In part, the contention between the National Committee and the Extension Service reflected the lack of experience with a federal-state-county arrangement. As the national director of Extension, Warburton wanted to see policy questions housed in the Washington, D.C., office. On the other hand, some state directors, 4-H leaders and Noble preferred to work directly with state officials and simply inform the national office of their decisions. At some point a formal relationship between the two organizations had to become institutionalized with "rules" of conduct clearly understood. Efforts to create that relationship began in earnest in the late 1930s.

Tension between the two organizations surfaced again in 1935 when Noble changed the character of the *National 4-H Club News*. For several years he had used the magazine as a vehicle to communicate information about awards programs and contests to 4-H leaders in the states. After 1935, however, the *National 4-H Club News* also became an outlet for paid commercial advertising by companies contributing to 4-H awards and contests. In itself, the advertising was probably not of concern. But, the National Committee also had created a type of contract between itself and donors which gave the impression that the Extension Service would act as an advertising arm of the private companies.²

Review Extension, Committee Controversy

As part of a general review of Extension work, the growing concern among Extension staff over the relationship between the Extension Service and the National Committee arose again in early 1937. Warburton had appointed several committees to review Extension work. One group, meeting in St. Louis in September of 1937, prepared a report on 4-H that went to the heart of the controversy.

The committee, chaired by William J. Jernigan, Arkansas state 4-H leader, addressed six areas of concern.

- a. The committee noted that projects in 4-H should continue to emphasize agriculture and home economics with "extra curricular activities determined in the light of the needs and interests of rural boys and girls."
- b. The committee was concerned particularly about the place of contests and awards in 4-H work. While recognizing that contests had played an important role in the past, there was a danger of overemphasis. They recommended that "only such contests as grow out of a well-developed program and which lead to the constructive development of a rural girl or boy should be conducted. Contests should not determine programs, but rather serve as a vitalizing factor in programs already established."
- c. The committee felt that the central national activity of 4-H, the National 4-H Club Congress, had played a vital role in raising standards of activity, but the congress gave the impression that the "4-H club program is administered by the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work with headquarters in Chicago." In addition, there was undue advantage taken at the congress "to use the 4-H club organization as a means for undesirable commercial advertising." There was "Undue prominence given to representatives of commercial concerns at the so-called 'Club Members Own Banquet'." The Committee went on to say that "Extension agents charged with the responsibility of supervising the 4-H club program in Extension work are of the opinion that since they are responsible to their Extension directors for the constructive development of the 4-H club program, the supervision of the plans and programs for these interstate and National 4-H Club events should rest with them."
- d. The committee recognized that relations between private donors and club work had been long and friendly, but felt that state 4-H leaders and club leaders were in the best position to determine the use of contests and awards. Consequently, they recommended that contest offers "be accepted only on condition that all publicity and announcements in connection with contests, national as well as state, be handled through the Cooperative Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture and State Agriculture Colleges." In addition, the committee recommended that "No names of local leaders or 4-H club members be given by any Extension agent, to any commercial organization or representative thereof for advertising or promotion purposes"

- e. The committee noted the increased activity of vocational education in the schools and recommended that conferences and exchanges with administrators of vocational education be maintained to work out any agreements necessary to avoid duplication of effort.
- f. Finally, the committee urged the passage of proposed legislation to protect the 4-H name and symbol in order to prevent their abuse in commercial ventures. The committee also recommended that the Cooperative Extension Service develop and distribute its own publication to meet the needs of local volunteers, 4-H club leaders and Extension agents.³

At least one member of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work agreed with the recommendations of the Jernigan committee. E. N. Hopkins, director of public relations for the Meredith Publishing Company, wrote to Warburton in December 1937, urging a joint meeting to get the problems resolved. Hopkins had been involved in the original establishment of the National Committee and informed Warburton that he and his employer had not been happy with the conduct of the National Committee's chairman and secretary for some years. Hopkins pledged to help bring the National Committee's activities into line with Extension's desires.

By that time, the growing controversy between the National Committee and the Extension Service was gaining public notice. The December 19, 1937, issue of the *Des Moines Sunday Register* contained a story titled "Four-H Flurry." The article noted that "exploitation of the club youngsters while they are in Chicago and a great amount of free advertising in publicity put out by the National Committee on 4-H Club Work are said to . . . have stirred up things. Certain packers, mail order houses and manufacturers of equipment for sale to farmers are among those accused of trying to capitalize on their help for club work." The article also stated, "Many of the persons concerned in club work both in the Extension Service and the National Committee believe that the situation can be ironed out satisfactorily to all concerned." Probably the public airing of the debate hastened that result.

Even before the news article appeared, Noble and Thomas E. Wilson committee secretary and chairman, respectively, had called for a meeting with the Extension Service in November. Noble denied any wrongdoing and presented pamphlets and news releases that he insisted demonstrated that the criticism contained in the Jernigan committee recommendations were "unwarranted and

manifestly unjust." Nevertheless, Noble and the Board agreed that a meeting to iron out difficulties was necessary. In the next months both sides agreed to meet.⁶

An April 1938, meeting clarified the positions of the two organizations, but did not lead to agreement on fundamental issues. The two groups agreed that new proposals and prize offers would be reviewed by the Extension Service and that testimonials from 4-H club leaders and volunteers would no longer be used in advertisements appearing in National 4-H Club News. In addition, the National Committee agreed to change the magazine's masthead to better reflect the Committee's relationship to Extension and the 4-H program. The National Committee refused to change its name to something that altered the impression that it was the principal 4-H organization. Nor would the Committee change the name of the National 4-H Club News. More importantly, the National Committee did not agree to eliminate from its contracts with donors the clause providing credit to them in publicity, nor did it agree to clear its publicity through state Extension Service editors. The inability of the two groups to reach agreement on the issues of advertising and control of press releases was crucial. It was on those two issues that Extension felt most strongly.⁷

Both organizations were attempting to retain as much leadership as possible in the growth of 4-H. The National Committee with its centralized organization could, and often did, move faster than Extension was prepared to handle matters affecting 4-H. At the same time, Extension—with the primary responsibility for 4-H club work—necessarily was sensitive to being a party to commitments made by the National Committee in which it had not been consulted. Neither side in the controversy was overly sensitive to the other's position. The businessmen of goodwill making up the National Committee did not understand the responsibilities of a public agency like Extension. Nor did Extension have a good grasp of the operating methods of private business. Although communication between the two groups improved, they found little common ground.

At a meeting of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges in January 1939, both sides once again made an effort to resolve their differences. Although the discussion continued for most of one day, little was accomplished. The National Committee preferred making individual agreements with state Extension offices in regard to news releases and gave little ground on the question of advertising donor products in 4-H contests. That same day, the National Committee met separately to hear Noble propose that the group con-

sider expanding its work to urban areas as a general support to youth organizations. He noted that "such a step would have a helpful effect on present relationships with Extension forces." Fred Bohen from Meredith Publishing spoke against the idea and the Committee's board of directors agreed that Noble could cooperate unofficially in such efforts, but they would not change the Committee's principal function.

Warburton was disappointed in the 1939 meeting. He wrote to Hopkins that he really did not know where to go from there. Nevertheless, he felt more meetings would be useful to keep lines of communication intact although "at the moment we may not be able to see anything very tangible coming from them." Later that month Warburton reported to the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP), which expressed a general concern over the commercial character of 4-H contests and moved to correct the problem. ECOP members were particularly disturbed by the nature of the agreements the National Committee signed with private donors. 9

In February of 1939, H. H. Williamson, Texas director of Extension and ECOP chairman, along with President Charles E. Friley of Iowa State College, became determined to change the methods used in 4-H contests. Friley had seen a copy of the agreements between the National Committee and private donors. After a meeting with Warburton, he notified Noble to remove the name of the agricultural colleges and Extension representatives from the National 4-H Club News and other literature and took steps that automatically cancelled all of the contracts. According to Hopkins, Noble was "given to understand that any further support to the work in Chicago and elsewhere would be refused if it carried any advertising agreement or understanding, or promotion returns to the donors." 10

By early spring of 1939, leaders within the Extension Service and the Association of Land-Grant Colleges clearly were bent on resolving their differences with the National Committee. Friley and Williamson were impatient. They felt the USDA could have kept the controversy under more control. Nevertheless, they were not anxious for an irrevocable break with the Chicago organization. Working through Hopkins, Friley and Williamson reiterated their position, but welcomed an opportunity to meet with the Committee once again to work out an agreement. Both men recognized the major contributions the Committee had made to 4-H work over the past twenty years, but they also recognized that existing conditions could not continue.

Committee Concedes to Changes

Finally, the two groups met again in Chicago on April 28, 1939. By that time Noble and Committee Chairman Wilson realized how serious the Extension leaders had become. Wilson proposed that some members of each committee gather the night before the formal meeting to discuss as frankly as possible the differences between the two groups. Williamson immediately agreed to the meeting, but called his own meeting of ECOP members earlier in the day in order to develop concrete proposals for change before the formal meeting.

No record was made of the evening meeting of the Extension leaders, Noble and Wilson. However, Williamson apparently presented Wilson with the Extension Service's demands that night. Consequently, the meeting between the two groups the next day took place in an atmosphere of cordiality with Wilson conceding on nearly every point. If the National Committee wished to continue its work with 4-H, it ultimately had little choice. Williamson readily agreed that the Committee had done important work with 4-H and shared responsibility for the movement's success in previous years, but he made it clear that the Extension Service was prepared to carry out 4-H work by itself unless substantial changes were made in the Committee's manner of conducting business. 11

At its meeting on April 27, ECOP passed four resolutions and wrote a statement of principles as a guide for 4-H activities. The resolutions presented to the National Committee detailed the conditions Extension demanded for future cooperation. ECOP insisted that all national and interstate 4-H club events (the congress) conform to policies determined by federal and state Extension Services. Extension leaders directed that the principal focus of the National 4-H Congress in the future would be on club members and the Extension Service. They also demanded that all news releases, other than spot interviews for the press publicizing contests and awards, were to be released through the Extension Service. The National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work would no longer be allowed to release news items directly or make individual arrangements with state Extension editors. A third resolution reiterated Extension's ban on any agreement that included advertising a specific company or product as a condition for sponsorship of 4-H awards or contests. The resolution went on to say that the Extension Service did not recognize any publication as the official voice of 4-H work and considered it unethical for any agency other than Extension to assert itself as authorized to announce or determine rules and regulations governing any activity carried on by federal or state Extension Services. Finally, ECOP prohibited Extension representatives from furnishing the names of 4-H leaders and members to any person. That was a particular blow to the *National 4-H Club News* which depended on the lists for its circulation. ¹²

In the following months, Noble moved to consolidate the Committee's position and save the *4-H News*. The magazine had proved a popular, if not financial, success and was the best vehicle the Committee had to communicate with 4-H clubs throughout the country. Beginning in January 1940, the *National 4-H Club News* became a subscription magazine that continued to carry commercial advertising. The immediate result was a decline in circulation from over 80,000 to 16,000 copies. In future years, however, the subscription lists grew and the magazine continued to be identified nationally as the voice of 4-H.¹³

Williamson expressed his complete satisfaction with the outcome of the April meeting and informed Noble that Texas would more than welcome 4-H programs and contests from the National Committee that year. Hopkins wrote to several friends that he felt vindicated after many years of concern. After attending the 1939 national congress, he wrote: "For the first time in many years, myself and others have been able to enjoy this congress free from discord and the feeling that our Committee was commercializing 4-H club work. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Noble and the Committee staff have been fine, and so our Committee program is finally on the right road." While a crisis had been avoided, tension between the National Committee and Extension was not completely dissipated. "

It was clear that much of the controversy stemmed from poor communication between Chicago and Washington, D.C. Noble frequently had asked for a formal system of communication with Extension officials responsible for 4-H development. Although Gertrude Warren and George E. Farrell often represented the USDA in discussions with the Committee, some means of communicating with state and federal officials seemed desirable.

ECOP authorized in 1939 establishment of a subcommittee devoted exclusively to 4-H. The 4-H subcommittee representing both state and national 4-H officials became the principal coordinating body for future 4-H development. With the creation of the 4-H subcommittee, both state and private parties had a formal means of communicating recommendations for 4-H programs to Extension's policy committee.

Relieved of the draining influence of internal dispute, however, everyone seemed willing in the next few years to direct energy once again to the task of building the 4-H program. War had broken out in Europe, and concerned 4-H leaders throughout the country feared for the future of youth work and, perhaps, the survival of democracy. Noble was concerned particularly about the future of general youth work. He noted that in Nazi Germany the *Hitler Jungend* was a powerful tool of indoctrination. He urged that the United States pay more attention to youth movements like 4-H to ensure that American youth remained true to a democratic spirit.

At a September 1940 meeting in Wisconsin, he proposed a specific plan suggesting a congressional appropriation of several million dollars to expand 4-H and rural youth work generally. By the spring of 1941, he had a plan of operation designed to get congressional approval of his appropriations measure. First, he asked Congressman Hampton P. Fulmer of South Carolina, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, to sponsor the bill. Next, he mounted a campaign to gather support from private groups and rural editors. By April the move to secure additional funds from Congress for 4-H work was moving swiftly. That month, Fulmer introduced H.R. 4530, the "4-H Club and Rural Youth Act" for congressional consideration. 15

In the meantime, the National Committee's managing director contacted every member of the House Committee on Agriculture and dozens of private corporations and farm editors, most of whom wrote in support of the bill. He published a pursuasive pamphlet, A Need of Rural Youth and How to Meet It. Noble lined up a number of 4-H club members and farm organization leaders to testify in the bill's behalf. Eventually he obtained the endorsement of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges for the bill. Conspicuously absent among the endorsers of the bill were ECOP and the Federal Extension Service. ¹⁶

ECOP refused to endorse the Fulmer bill because of two basic concerns. ECOP did not necessarily oppose an increase in 4-H work, but it had appointed one of its members to the President's National Defense Commission. Since the Fulmer bill was premised on the need to "promote the national defense and preparedness," Extension officials considered the bill redundant. Probably of more importance to Extension was the earmarking of specific appropriations for one aspect of Extension work. State Extension directors jealously guarded their prerogative to decide the best use of Extension funds. They did not like their discretion circumvented by legislation mandating specific amounts to be expended for a given activity. The basic principle of Extension had always been that de-

cisions relating to Extension funds were a preserve of the states. The Fulmer bill would have dictated the use of funds from Washington, D.C. Extension found itself in the ironic position of not wanting a bill that would increase its appropriations. Rather than openly opposing the bill, it simply said nothing.¹⁷

Hearings on the H.R. 4530 took place in November of 1941. Noble and the National Committee paraded an array of former 4-H club members before a sympathetic committee. After two days of hearings, the House Committee on Agriculture unanimously favored the bill. The bill quickly gained approval from the House Rules Committee. Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn wrote to Noble on December 3, 1941, that the bill was on the Union Calendar and would soon come to debate and vote in the House. Four days later, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and Congress turned its attention to questions of war. H.R. 4530 received no further consideration. After the massive campaign Noble had mounted in the bill's behalf, including an endorsement from Eleanor Roosevelt, he must have been frustrated indeed. 18

4-H'ers Contribute to War Effort

America's entry into World War II halted any consideration of expanding domestic programs. Every federal agency, including Extension and 4-H, turned attention to supporting the war effort. World War II in some respects tested the validity of Extension and 4-H. American farmers, using the skills and techniques 4-H had fostered among young people for two decades, produced food and fiber in greater abundance than ever before. Production levels, which rose in every commodity, were sufficient to feed the Allied armies as well as civilian populations with a minimum of disruption. The specific contribution of Extension and 4-H education to increased productivity can never be calculated accurately, but there was no question that when the emergency came, American farmers were ready to respond.

Although the war absorbed millions of young men and women, 4-H membership nevertheless increased. At the end of 1942, 4-H had enrolled over 650,000 new members for a total of 1.5 million. Although county agents could provide only minimal assistance to 4-H clubs during the war, members, through victory gardens and production-oriented projects, contributed significantly to the increased harvest of food and fiber. Throughout the country, 4-H clubs followed the slogan "Food for Freedom." With the military and defense industries draining older youth from the farm, younger 4-H members took on added responsibility. In nearly every

project category, 4-H'ers recorded impressive increases in levels of agricultural production from the previous year. In 1942, 4-H'ers were directly responsible for over 77,000 head of dairy cattle, 246,000 swine, and 210,000 head of other livestock. Field crops also increased. 4-H contributed over 40,000 tons of forage crops and 109,000 bushels of root crops. In Texas alone, it was estimated that 4-H members produced enough to keep 17,000 fighting men in food and fiber. ¹⁹



World War II touched the lives of nearly every American. This exhibit of the 1940s indicates that 4-H was ready to play its role in producing food and fiber in the half decade of war to come.

4-H also joined numerous campaigns to collect scrap iron and aluminum and to conserve the use of scarce items essential to the war effort. 4-H clubs in some states organized specific projects. For example, 85 percent of the Arkansas 4-H members set a goal to "feed a fighter." In Texas and other states 4-H engaged in a massive program to decrease livestock losses resulting from disease and improper care. Using radio and billboard signs, 4-H mobilized young people to work actively for the successful conclusion of the war. Many 4-H'ers used earnings from their projects to purchase war bonds. One young man, just before he entered the Army, purchased bonds worth \$1,000 from the income he had earned with a beef project. In addition to producing food for the war, 4-H

members also engaged in a series of public forums to discuss the reasons why the United States was fighting on such distant shores. Young people from the countryside and towns gathered to listen and talk about the meaning of their own lives in a time when life everywhere seemed in peril.

At the beginning of the war, 4-H established seven national war goals. Three of the goals dealt directly with the need to produce more food and other products for the prosecution of the war. The other goals, however, were aimed at helping young people define their responsibilities in the community. They committed 4-H'ers to help interpret the "nation's war aims to the community," to practice democratic procedures, to learn to have a deeper appreciation of democratic society, and to become informed about the economic and social forces "now at work and steps to take in developing the Good Neighbor spirit at home and abroad." Such themes of personal growth and awareness continued to receive the attention of 4-H leaders in the postwar years.²¹

Although 4-H turned its attention to programs intended to support the war effort, the National Committee and others did not refrain from renewed efforts to gain additional funding for 4-H work. In 1943, Fulmer, acting at Noble's urging, introduced House Joint Resolution 75, which authorized Congress to appropriate \$2.5 million for 4-H club work under a bill intended to create a pool of farm labor to replace young people who had left the farm for military service. Although the resolution passed the House unanimously, it failed to receive consideration in the Senate, after the Bureau of the Budget refused to endorse the idea.

Fulmer once again introduced legislation in 1944 that would have provided funding for expanded 4-H work at the same level proposed in the 1941 effort. That year, Fulmer's bill did not get out of committee. The Bureau of the Budget again refused to approve bills for increased funds for Extension. Again, the bill received only qualified endorsement of the USDA because it earmarked funds for 4-H. In a letter to Fulmer, Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard remarked: "it seems to us. . . that when consideration can be given to the matter of additional funds for Extension work, any funds so provided ought to be for the system as a whole. Extension work, with rural youth, is a part of the whole Cooperative Extension program in agriculture and home economics and must have the full participation of all Extension workers. The emphasis of Extension work should be changed from time to time, as national needs require, but we believe that the situation would be complicated if funds were earmarked by legislation specifically for

only certain phases of the work." For the war years, the position of the secretary prevailed, but with a level of funding established in 1935^{22}

4-H lost a valued supporter in October 1944, when Fulmer died unexpectedly. Congressman John W. Flannagan of Virginia became the new chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture and proved to be an ally as useful as Fulmer. Early in 1945, hearings were held on another bill intended to increase funding for the Extension Service. Unlike earlier efforts, the bill did not provide funding exclusively for 4-H, but it did contain language that for the first time identified 4-H work as a principal responsibility of the Extension Service. The language of the bill was in keeping with the Extension Service's policy of retaining budgetary discretion over specific uses of its funds. In such a stateoriented system, it was almost imperative that the greatest range of flexibility remain. To those whose entire attention was devoted to Extension's 4-H work, however, language that earmarked a specified portion of the funding for club work was more desirable. Certainly most 4-H leaders in the country preferred something like the earlier proposals that had nearly been enacted.

Noble and others devoted to 4-H felt that the popularity of 4-H with influential congressmen had been instrumental in gaining increased appropriations for Extension in the past. When Extension divided the appropriation, however, less was spent on 4-H club work than they felt was warranted. The effort in the early 1940s had been to force more Extension money into 4-H work. Certainly Noble was correct in his analysis of congressional response to 4-H. During hearings on Extension authorization bills and in the debates on the floor of the House and Senate, 4-H received extensive recognition and nearly every representative who spoke indicated his support for increased 4-H work.

While the House Committee on Agriculture considered an authorization bill in April 1945, Noble pleaded with ECOP to support an amendment earmarking funds for 4-H work. While some ECOP members agreed, he could not muster a majority to his view. Subsequently, Noble wrote directly to Flannagan urging the House Committee on Agriculture to amend the bill. Noting that the Extension spokesmen in testimony before the Agricultural Committee had stated they intended to increase the effort in 4-H work, Noble wrote, "If that is what they want, why not put it in the bill?"²³

In part, Noble's reasoning was not only to increase funding for 4-H work immediately, but to develop a professional 4-H career track within the Extension Service. Most Extension agents engaged in some 4-H work in their careers, but few found 4-H the route for advancement. Directly earmarking funds for hiring agents specifically assigned to 4-H work was a necessary first step toward the career development that many Extension agents desired.

Bankhead-Flannagan Act Increases Funds

Ultimately, 4-H supporters gained only half-a-loaf. While the Bankhead-Flannagan Act of 1945 substantially increased funding of Extension work, 4-H was listed as only one of nine areas enumerated in the law. Concerned that 4-H might once again get lost in the competition for funds within Extension, Noble collected statements from hearings and comments during congressional debates that he sent to state 4-H leaders and Extension directors. The *National 4-H Club News* featured stories indicating that the intent of Congress in the Bankhead-Flannagan Act was to support 4-H work. Undoubtedly, the effort had an effect on state Extension directors. Certainly 4-H work expanded dramatically following the end of World War II.²⁴

After 1945, the United States entered a new world. The war that had disrupted so many countries left the American economy vigorous and intact. American agriculture had escaped the depths of the farm depression but many in federal government feared that a new depression might engulf agriculture as it had following World War I. Most observers conceded that the agricultural depression of the early 1920s had been a major cause of the general economic failing in the 1930s. Through legislation like the Bankhead-Flannagan Act, the federal government was committed to preventing a recurrence.

At the same time, most Americans realized that the problems of the world were also the problems of the United States. Few expected that the United States could return to the isolation from world events that characterized the nation after World War I. The specter of the Soviet Union in Western Europe created a tense atmosphere that conditioned American responses to world events after 1945. The immediate problem of reconstructing Western Europe occupied policymakers who conceded that America's powerful agriculture would play a vital role in that reconstruction. USDA Extension officials were already planning for the postwar years.

Postwar "Guideposts" Developed

The Extension Service established the National Advisory Group on 4-H Postwar Programs in December 1944. State 4-H leaders and members of the Federal Extension Service including Warren, Kenneth W. Ingwalson and Edward W. Aiton worked to develop "guideposts" for 4-H in the postwar years. The advisory group was aware that 4-H would have to adjust to a world dramatically changed by war. It is significant that only one of the ten guideposts developed by the group specifically referred to "producing food and fiber."



Following World War II, 4-H took the idea and spirit of 4-H to the rest of the world. This group of International Farm Youth Exchange (IFYE) delegates met at the U.S. Department of Agriculture before traveling overseas in 1949. In the front row are, far left, E. W. Aiton, one of the prime movers of the IFYE program; center, Milburn Lincoln (M. L.) Wilson, director of Extension; and far right, Gertrude Warren, who already had devoted over thirty years to 4-H work.

"Fifty percent of rural youth leave the rural areas for urban employment," the group noted. Consequently, the ten guideposts reflected the group's concern with helping young people prepare for leaving the farm as well as staying in production agriculture. The guideposts stimulated 4-H clubs to help young people develop talents and attitudes for cooperation in work and play, choosing a career, creating better living environments, developing a sensitivity toward conserving natural resources, building a

healthier America, sharing responsibilities for community development and "serving as citizens in maintaining world peace." Generally, the advisory group looked to 4-H as a means of contributing to the development of young people wherever they lived for whatever they chose to make of their lives. Years later, Aiton recalled that the ten guideposts were the principal inspiration for 4-H work after 1945.²⁵

Another member of the advisory group was Albert Hoefer of New York, who, along with Aiton, soon had a unique opportunity to put the international guidepost into action. Hoefer had served a assignment with the United Nations Relief Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in Germany. At the insistence of 4-H members in his state, he suggested that the Washington, D.C., office initiate a program of international farm youth exchanges. In Washington, Aiton was assigned to look into the possibility. At nearly the same time, O. T. Norris of the Young Farmer's Clubs of Great Britain was visiting in Washington, Prior to the war, the United States and Great Britain had exchanged dairy judging teams and Norris was interested in seeing the exchange renewed. Very quickly the two ideas coalesced into a general exchange of farm youth. Until more plans could be made, the two men agreed that a visit of several young English farmers to the National 4-H Congress would be a good interim idea.

In the fall of 1946, seven English farmers traveled to Chicago. They were much impressed with the congress and discussed the idea of a general international exchange. At the Stevens Hotel, Aiton invited the gathered state 4-H winners to donate funds in order to send seven American farmers to Great Britain the next year. From the balcony surrounding the auditorium 4-H'ers from across the country dropped dollar bills to support the effort. The generosity of the 4-H delegates provided the initial contribution for sending the Americans to Great Britain in 1947. ²⁶

The first exchange had worked so well that Aiton and others in both Europe and the United States saw an opportunity for international goodwill that they did not want to miss. Funding such an exchange, however, could not depend on dollars dropping from a balcony nor could public funds be used for such a purpose. It seemed to be a program suited to the special connections that the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work had with private donors. After consultation with Federal Extension Service Director M. L. Wilson, Aiton traveled to Chicago in early 1948 to interest the Committee in an international exchange of farm youth.

Aiton's reception in Chicago was disappointing. Noble and Thomas Wilson had discussed an expansion of the National Committee's functions for several years. One of Wilson's ideas incorporated some aspects of an international exchange that Aiton proposed. Wilson was particularly interested in promoting exchanges with Latin America. He wanted to help Latin American countries establish committees of businessmen similar to the one he chaired. His idea was to coordinate the exchanges through the private support groups in each country. Aiton, on the other hand, wanted a stronger role for Extension and preferred to work through the youth organizations and governments of the countries participating in the exchange. Aiton recalled that when he discussed his proposal with Noble, the committee director responded, "No, we do not want to do it that way." In part, the impasse reflected the disagreement between Extension and the National Committee that had led to confrontation ten years earlier.27

Disappointed in Chicago, Director Wilson and Aiton set about raising funds for the farm youth exchange from corporations and individuals who had expressed interest in farm youth in the past. To his chagrin, Aiton recalled, he discovered that after giving an enthusiastic initial reception, some business leaders tended to retreat from support for the idea. He discovered that the managing director of the National Committee was counseling his contacts in the business world not to support the program. Aiton immediately went to Noble; after a short conversation. Noble promised to support fund-raising activities for international exchanges in conjunction with his own efforts for the Committee. After their informal agreement, Aiton and Noble approached potential contributors together. Although the immediate problem of finance for the coming year was worked out. Aiton knew that some permanent method of collecting funds had to be found. He saw the vehicle for such an agency in discussions already underway in ECOP's 4-H subcommittee.²⁸

Following World War II, Extension leaders in 4-H revived the National 4-H Camp in Washington, D.C., that had begun in 1927. For several years state and federal 4-H officials had noted the need for a permanent site for the 4-H camp. At a June 1947, meeting of the ECOP Subcommittee on 4-H, serious discussion of the need for a permanent 4-H camp began. Unlike previous discussions, however, that meeting initiated a series of actions. By the subcommittee's November meeting, the idea of a permanent camp

had received the endorsement of the secretary of agriculture, and proposals for the type of camp needed were ready for review.

That same year, the National Committee and the Extension Service responded to a long-standing request from state 4-H leaders for a visible display of 4-H work. Ultimately the idea of authorizing the sale of a 4-H calendar gained wide support. In December 1947, a contract with the Brown and Bigelow Publishing Company transformed the idea into a continuing program. The success of the calendar was reflected in the first year's royalties of over \$25,000. Because the Extension Service could not receive such payments directly, the National Committee held the funds. It became clear that the Extension Service and 4-H needed a mechanism for handling such funds and a policy for their use. 29

In the meantime, a committee established by ECOP polled the states to determine their interest in and support for a permanent camp. This "core" committee, chaired by W. A. Sutton of Georgia, reported to the 4-H subcommittee. By June 1948, the core committee was prepared to begin planning a permanent 4-H camp. Wilson, in a letter to state Extension directors, proposed that royalties from the sale of the calendar be used to support the construction and maintenance of a permanent 4-H camp near Washington, D.C. With a specific proposal for use of funds at hand, it became imperative to establish a mechanism to receive and account for contributions. 4-H leaders also needed a method by which they could solicit money for the new international program, which later came to be known as the International Farm Youth Exchange (IFYE). One obvious answer was for Extension to establish its own foundation. 30

Establish National 4-H Foundation

At ECOP's meeting in September 1948, the 4-H subcommittee formally requested approval for plans to establish a 4-H foundation. ECOP agreed to the request and established a committee to prepare a constitution, bylaws, and other necessary procedures to create a foundation. At the next meeting in November, ECOP approved a proposed constitution and agreed that a 4-H foundation should be incorporated under the laws of Delaware to receive funds and operate programs not otherwise possible under existing restraints on Extension.³¹

With the approval of ECOP, the Foundation quickly became a reality. On November 19, 1948, the Extension Service formally announced the establishment of the National 4-H Club Foundation

of America. The incorporating officers were Wilson, federal Extension director, J. O. Knapp, West Virginia Extension director and ECOP chairman, and Walter S. Brown, Georgia Extension director and chairman of the 4-H subcommittee. Now that the Foundation existed, the next step was to decide the location of the 4-H camp.³²

Several sites seemed appropriate. One that received most attention in early discussions was the agricultural experiment station at Beltsville near the University of Maryland campus. Distance and the lack of permanent buildings on the site eventually ruled it out. When the Sutton committee discovered that a private estate near Rock Creek Park in the District of Columbia was for sale, enthusiasm for that site developed. Negotiations to acquire the Roper estate proceeded to the point of a contract for purchase. The contract, however, was conditioned on the ability of the 4-H Foundation to secure property tax exemptions from the District of Columbia. Fortunately, in retrospect, the effort failed and the Roper estate was no longer considered. The search continued and more than a hundred sites considered.³³

Meanwhile, the 4-H Club Foundation and the National Committee worked out a statement of the relations that would govern their operations. From the beginning of discussions about the 4-H Foundation, Extension leaders had voiced concern about their sensitive relations with the Committee. While not hesitating to express the need for a foundation, they were not anxious to reopen the controversy that had engulfed the National Committee and the Cooperative Extension Service earlier in the decade.

A joint statement on relationships between the two organizations issued formally in November 1950, listed four principal areas of responsibility for the National 4-H Club Foundation. First was the need to acquire and develop a national 4-H training center in or near Washington, D.C. The major emphasis of the Foundation would be clearly educational. Two of the listed responsibilities noted the need for training individuals from both the United States and abroad and for conducting programs of international education designed to encourage and spread 4-H principles to other lands. The Foundation also had the responsibility of providing fellowships and scholarships to Extension workers for professional improvement.³⁴

The search for a site for the 4-H center continued through 1949 and 1950. Then word came of the availability of the Chevy Chase

Junior College property just north of the Washington, D.C., boundary on upper Connecticut Avenue. Originally established in 1893 as the Chevy Chase Inn for travelers on an electric railway connecting Maryland to the nation's capital, the property proved a popular summer resort, but became a white elephant in winter. Consequently, Francis G. Newlands, the original developer who later was a senator from Nevada, sold the site in 1903 to the Chevy Chase College for Young Ladies, which later became Chevy Chase Junior College. The property in 1950 encompassed 12½ acres and buildings complete with dormitory space and kitchen facilities. While the property was an ideal location, its purchase price was considerably more than Extension officials had anticipated spending. Another complication arose when it was discovered that the Department of the Army was considering the campus for a project. The two problems were attacked at the same time.

Certainly money was the paramount problem for Extension personnel. A first mortgage for \$200,000 was obtainable from the Equitable Life Assurance Society, but that left the Sutton committee short of the purchase price. Aiton recalled asking a wide range of institutions how they could raise the money. Then, one day he went to the Riggs National Bank in Washington, D.C., to seek a loan. Aiton recalled that he received a friendly reception at the bank, but their officers explained that they did not usually make such loans, particularly unsecured loans. Aiton returned to his office, feeling that he had not lost anything by trying. Later in the day, a bank official called Aiton and asked him to come to the bank to discuss the loan further.³⁵

Apparently, the banker had telephoned fellow bankers in Frederick, Maryland, and Des Moines, Iowa, to ask them about 4-H work. All of the local bankers said that they knew of 4-H clubs in their areas and that it was one of the best youth organizations they had seen. A Des Moines banker told the Riggs official that if 4-H came to him, he would not hesitate to accommodate them the best he could. Similar responses came from bankers in Maryland. Aiton later noted that when he related this incident in speeches around the country, he would mention that the Riggs officials called a third state, but he did not know which one. "Maybe it was your hometown," he would tell his audience. As the story circulated in 4-H circles in the next few years, nearly every state in the country claimed to be the third state. Shortly after his first visit, the Riggs Bank loaned \$40,000 to the National 4-H Club Foundation on a note signed by Aiton and A. G. Kettunen of Michigan. The loan

was originally for sixteen months, but donations from 4-H club members from around the nation made it possible to repay the money in less than eight months. 36



The National 4-H Foundation purchased the Chevy Chase Junior College to use as a training center but leased the property from 1951 to 1958 to the U.S. Army. Foundation Director Norman Mindrum, right, receives the keys to the property from Colonel Thomas Moore in 1958. Looking on are General Flory and W. W. Eure, center manager.

While Aiton was securing loans to finance the purchase of the property, Extension Director Wilson negotiated with the military. Wilson convinced the Department of the Army not to condemn the property for government purchase, but instead to allow the 4-H Foundation to buy the school on the condition that it would lease the property to the Army until 1955. Since the Department of the Army was looking for a temporary site to conduct an operations research program, it was an equitable arrangement. The Army agreed to lease the property from the National 4-H Club Foundation for \$43,000 a year until 1955. The lease receipts constituted a major portion of the mortgage payments.³⁷

Less than three years following the incorporation of the National 4-H Club Foundation, members of the Extension Service held a Founders' Day ceremony on the steps of the newly acquired National 4-H Center in Chevy Chase, Maryland. Aiton took leave from the USDA in January 1951, to become the first executive di-

rector of the National 4-H Club Foundation. Aiton's work to establish the Foundation and to acquire the Chevy Chase property along with his initiative in furthering the International Farm Youth Exchange made him a natural choice to lead the Foundation in its formative years.

At the dedication ceremony on February 14, 1951, Undersecretary of Agriculture Clarence J. McCormick gave the principal talk. He noted that the nation was again facing grave international problems. The war in Korea was already more than six months old. But his remarks looked to a future beyond world tension and strife and the expanding responsibility of 4-H work. "If the contribution of 4-H training," McCormick stated, "was only that farm boys and girls are learning to do well what will pay them well tomorrow, it would be serving a useful and constructive purpose. But 4-H does more than lay a solid foundation for efficient farming and efficient farm family life. The emphasis falls on what the well-trained farm boy or girl may contribute to the future well-being of the community and nation, rather than on just what he or she may get from that community or nation." 38

McCormick's remarks could well have served as a preamble for the activities of the National 4-H Club Foundation in its first year of program activity. In the months following dedication of the 4-H center, Aiton and his colleagues outlined fund-raising and program plans for the coming years. In a June letter to the Board of Trustees of the Foundation, Aiton outlined a four-part program and method of financing. The first item of business he suggested was the creation of the National 4-H Club Builders' Council. Perhaps the most ambitious proposal was a plan to raise \$10 million by 1955. The council was composed of members of the state Extension staffs, the federal Extension office, and a number of private business executives from around the country.

The most interesting part of the fund-raising plan was the "Share and Care" effort among Extension agents, volunteers and 4-H'ers. "Share and Care" anticipated raising \$200,000 from 4-H club members based on a contribution of ten cents per member. Extension agents were asked to contribute one dollar to the cause and contributions from interested private parties were encouraged. It was an ambitious plan, but ultimately proved to be well within the 4-H Foundation's ability to stimulate interest in promoting new directions in 4-H work.³⁹

Years after the event, Aiton referred to the period following World War II as a renaissance for Extension and 4-H. He noted the establishment of IFYE that took 4-H youth to other countries and



Probably no one symbolized dedication to youth work more than Gertrude Warren. Here she receives a lei from a Hawaii 4-H'er shortly before her 1952 retirement from the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

brought their counterparts to the United States. Fundamental to that renaissance had been the creation of the National 4-H Club Foundation and the establishment of the National 4-H Center. Still, 4-H remained an active part of Extension without a recognized youth identity within the federal office. Although Extension had promoted 4-H work, it had never created a federal division exclusively devoted to coordinating 4-H work. In 1952, as one of his last acts as director of the Federal Extension Service, Wilson accepted an ECOP proposal to put 4-H work in the federal office of Extension on the same basis as Extension's other activities.

Wilson had become director of Extension work in 1940 after a distinguished career in Montana, where he had been the first county agent. Later he was head of the Department of Economics at Montana State University while conducting unique experiments in dry land agriculture. Wilson ultimately wrote the first Agricultural Adjustment Act and came to Washington, D.C., to head the wheat section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). Throughout his career he displayed an unshakable faith in the goodwill and fundamental value of rural America. He saw the 4-H movement as a bright spot in an otherwise gloomy trend of declining farm numbers and movement of rural people to the cities.

Extension Creates 4-H Division

Wilson created the Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs in December 1952. It was not surprising that he asked Aiton to return to the USDA as its first director. Aiton and a newly created division staff were now in a position to assist 4-H through direct contact with 4-H leaders nationwide. Aiton's return to the USDA initiated a series of administrative changes that characterized 4-H's national leadership for the next three decades. 40

Aiton and others had worked through the 4-H Foundation to move 4-H development along new lines and he was anxious for the trend to continue. One early participant in a 1952 summer workshop held at the University of Maryland was Norman C. Mindrum, the assistant 4-H leader from Minnesota. Aiton urged Mindrum to apply for the recently vacated position of director of the National 4-H Club Foundation. Shortly after, the Foundation's Board of Directors offered Mindrum the position. With the offices of the National 4-H Club Foundation located in the USDA building, Aiton was able to "break in the new executive director and continue to exercise considerable influence over the operation of the 4-H Foundation."

As Mindrum recalled later, that inadvertently created problems. Although the Foundation was chartered to serve all of 4-H, the location of its staff in the USDA building gave the impression that it was really an arm of Extension's Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs. Both Mindrum and officials in the USDA wished to see an appropriate distance established between the two offices. Soon after accepting the position, Mindrum found new quarters for the Foundation Staff in Silver Spring, Maryland, a nearby suburb of Washington, D.C.⁴¹

Mindrum inherited the task of developing the National 4-H Club Foundation and the National 4-H Center as a major force in training and research for youth development needs. As with all educational institutions, financing programs, development and physical facilities were constant preoccupations. To seek funds for the Foundation, Mindrum worked through a "builders' council" made up of Extension and private business representatives. Harold Sponberg from Michigan arrived to serve as the council's executive secretary. When Sponberg resigned to return to Michigan two years later, the Foundation hired Grant A. Shrum of Missouri as its principal fund raiser. Shrum had graduated from the University of Missouri and combined extensive 4-H work at the county and state level with experience in private business. Shrum had the formidable task of raising funds to finance present and future pro-

grams and to begin renovating the 4-H center which the Foundation expected to occupy in 1957. One of Mindrum's last acts as executive director was to help secure funds from the Danforth and Ford Foundations for remodeling the Chevy Chase property. 42



President Dwight D. Eisenhower cuts the ribbon to officially open the National 4-H Center on June 16, 1959. Accompanying the president are 4-H'ers Larry Dilda from North Carolina and Anita Hollmer of New York. The opening of the Center brought to fruition a long-held dream of having a place in the nation's capital for 4-H'ers to work and learn.

By 1958, the renovation of the physical plant in Chevy Chase was well under way. That year also marked the end of an era. On April 30, 1958, Noble retired as director of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. Later in the year, Thomas E. Wilson, chairman of the National Committee's board of directors died. Noble and Wilson had devoted nearly forty years to supporting 4-H. Probably it was inevitable that someone who had spent so much of his energy in a single project would find it difficult to step aside. Noble had been a vigorous director of the National Committee and remained its head longer than warranted by his health. It was a difficult time for those who admired his devotion to the cause of 4-H and yet realized he was no longer able to continue.

Kenneth H. Anderson, associate director of the National Committee, remembered the period as one of the most disheartening of

his career. Anderson had joined the Committee staff in 1938 after three years as a state and county 4-H leader. He had spent a year in Washington, D.C., on a 4-H fellowship and arrived just as the Extension Service and National Committee were agonizing over their differences. Anderson, the National Committee's first staff member with Extension and 4-H experience, hoped to bring a moderating perspective to the job. For the next several years, he and Ray Turner, USDA field agent for the north central states, informally acted as the liaison between the two organizations and managed to keep differences from growing into new confrontations. Anderson had great admiration for Noble, but even greater commitment to 4-H. When Noble's illness prevented the making of important decisions, Anderson decided that he would have to act. Anderson submitted his resignation to the Committee's Board of Directors and insisted that Noble would have to be retired. The Board never acted on Anderson's resignation, but agreed to retire the Committee's director. Anderson and others associated with the Committee realized that his action probably precluded his succession to the director's position.⁴³

Noble would have been a difficult man to replace under any circumstances, but in 1958, the problem seemed even greater. Committee board members searched for a replacement from outside the organization in the hope that someone disassociated with Noble's retirement could heal any wounds left from the process. Federal Extension leaders were just as concerned that the National Committee remain a strong support element in 4-H. Consequently. when some members of the board asked Federal Extension Director C. M. Ferguson to find out Mindrum's interest in the position, he agreed to act in their behalf. Home area ties and the challenge of directing the National Committee's programs convinced Mindrum to take the job. When the National 4-H Club Foundation Board of Trustees appointed Shrum to take Mindrum's vacant position, there appeared a solution to the underlying tension that remained between the two support organizations. Shrum and Mindrum had worked together on the 4-H Foundation. Both men had experience in the Extension Service and had gained a good deal of experience working with private support groups. Mindrum's and Shrum's appointments suggested the possibility of a closer and more cordial relationship between the two organizations. Mindrum recalled that while competition between the National Committee and the 4-H Foundation was probably inevitable, the relationship allowed both groups to act with sensitivity, which kept competition from being

destructive. When discussion of merging the two organizations began in later years, the ability of Shrum and Mindrum to work together undoubtedly eased the transition.⁴⁴

In the meantime, despite some misgivings about the encroachment of federal authority in the USDA, the Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs developed rapidly. About the time of Aiton's return to the USDA in 1952, Gertrude Warren, one of the pioneers of 4-H work, ended a long and fruitful career. Warren remained active in 4-H during her retirement years; as late as 1958 she worked with another 4-H pioneer, Paul Taff of Iowa, to prepare a documentary history of 4-H. Like Noble, Warren had given years of devotion to 4-H and retirement did not come easily.

Aiton inherited a 4-H office with little continuity from the past. His experience in the field and his proclivity to push 4-H work along new lines were evident in building his staff. He sought assistance from state 4-H leaders who shared his view that the horizons of 4-H needed expanding. He also was anxious to find those people who saw the national office as a service organization that supported local 4-H leaders and nudged them into a new decade that already had seen profound changes in the organization's rural clientele. He tried to make the division broadly representative of the 4-H effort and chose his staff with some eye to regional representation. Generally each staff member had responsibility for one of the four national Extension regions, in addition to assignments dealing with specific program development. All of the staff worked on general training programs for 4-H agents.⁴⁵

With few exceptions, the staff of Extension's 4-H Division, the National Committee and the 4-H Foundation remained remarkably stable in the three decades after World War II. Aiton continued as director until 1960 when he accepted a position as assistant administrator of the Federal Extension Service. Mylo Downey, who had joined the division in 1954, replaced Aiton as director. Upon Downey's retirement in 1967, E. Dean Vaughan became administrator of the Division of 4-H-Youth and served until 1979. Hope Daugherty then served in an acting capacity until Eugene "Pete" Williams arrived from Oklahoma to head the division in October 1980.

The National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work in 1960, changed its name to the National 4-H Service Committee. Name changes, however, did not affect stability of leadership at the Chicago-based committee. Mindrum remained director of the Committee, and Shrum continued to head the 4-H Foundation until the

two organizations merged. Anderson, associate director of the National Committee, retired in 1978.⁴⁶

Personnel stability at the national level was in stark contrast to the turnover of county and state level professionals and volunteers. Probably because of that circumstance, national-level personnel remained preoccupied with the need for advanced training and professionalizing of 4-H work. The national staffs also provided a thread of continuity and focal point for exchanging ideas with those who entered 4-H work later. If length of tenure was a measure of dedication, the national staffs represented a good role model for the system.

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4

Learning by Doing

"Learning by doing" had been the fundamental principle of 4-H club work from the beginning. In the earliest years of the movement, agents and leaders emphasized the educational value that young people derived from applying new methods to farming and home economics. Classroom instruction was never neglected, but it was understood that at some point the young man or woman would have to do the work and be responsible for the results. Encouraging young people to strive for the best results led to organizing contests. With cash awards providing incentive to achieve, contests appealed to the competitive nature of young people. Later, educational trips to the state land-grant college and expense-paid trips to state, regional and national meetings were typical awards for winners. In the 1920s when organization of general 4-H clubs was well under way, a variety of contests attracted young people to participate. Corn growing, animal husbandry, and canning projects dominated the early years, but as the 4-H movement grew and more clubs organized, the list of projects grew as well.

Projects Serve as Drawing Card

During the years of World War II, 4-H membership and project completions fluctuated considerably. Such fluctuations probably were an inevitable result of the rapid turnover of agents and general preoccupation with war-related activities. Nevertheless, the number of young men and women participating in 4-H projects was well over 1 million per year, reaching a peak of 1.6 million in 1943. The completion rate for 4-H projects continued to rise. By 1945 the number of young people successfully completing a project was over 76 percent. That year, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) calculated that over 11.6 million young people had participated in some 4-H activity during the previous two decades. 1

The 1945 statistics also indicated some internal problems. Retention rates in 4-H were relatively low. That is, few young people stayed in 4-H work for very long periods; the average length of 4-H

membership was only 2.4 years. 4-H projects seemed to appeal primarily to the young. In 1945, fully 30 percent of the membership were young people who had participated for less than one year. An additional 25 percent were second-year members. After the second year, enrollment dropped rapidly. Members with four years of experience in 4-H numbered less than 10 percent and those with six years of membership less than 3 percent. The age distribution and tenure of 4-H members led the Extension Service to consider methods that would hold first- and second-year members in the organization and also programs that would appeal to older youth. In 1955 Lloyd Rutledge from Arkansas joined the Extension Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs to work on ideas specifically related to teenagers. Later, John Banning of Indiana joined the staff and assumed that work.²

Even with the disappointing retention rate, it was clear that 4-H had a strong attraction for the rural young. Membership increased nearly every year from 1945 to 1960. At the same time, the number of projects completed also rose. A study in 1951 indicated that the retention rate was related directly to the ability of a young person to complete a project. Members with successfully completed projects in the first year accounted for 72 percent of those who reenrolled in 4-H while the reenrollment rate for those who failed to complete a first year project was only 28 percent. By the end of the 1950s reenrollment rates had only marginally improved. In 1960 the average length of membership was still less than three years.³

Some officials thought the retention problem stemmed partly from having youngsters of widely varying ages engaged in the same project. Very young boys and girls found it hard to compete with older youth while older youth found it difficult to relate to vounger members. In essence, some clubs found themselves in the same situation as the one-room school. Members of widely different ages never quite received the individual attention they needed. In 1962, an ad hoc group of the Subcommittee on 4-H of the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP) investigated the problem and recommended two major changes. The ad hoc committee, chaired by Rhonwyn Lowry, Georgia assistant state 4-H leader, recommended first that the age limits for 4-H membership be changed from ten to twenty-one years to nine to eighteen years. Secondly, the committee recommended grading 4-H clubs and projects into three groupings: nine to eleven years, twelve to fourteen years and fifteen to seventeen years. The committee noted that the eighteen to twenty-one age group needed an entirely different program but made no specific proposal. The key to the idea was to "design programs to progress in accordance with the development of young people as they mature." While age-grading did not solve all of the problems of retention, it probably resulted in more effective programs for the young people participating in 4-H.⁴

Those young people who entered 4-H and particularly those who remained could choose from an imposing array of projects and activities. A 1945 USDA report listed over thirty projects associated with national awards programs. Project areas included traditional programs in animals and crops as well as poultry raising, soil conservation, agricultural engineering, food preservation, home nursing, clothing, home management, arts, crafts and junior leadership. Generally, club members enrolled in two projects at a time. Those who remained active in 4-H for several years often took ten or more projects.

In addition, every state conducted projects that were not associated with national awards programs. With help from their local leader and county Extension agent, 4-H club members with sufficient interest in an area could design a project. Over the years state and county projects numbered in the hundreds including fly tying, horsemanship, embryology, a variety of electrical projects and various wildlife programs. Often when a local project gained wide support and participation, it would become associated with national awards programs.⁵

In addition to projects conducted at home, which tended to be highly individual or consisted of two-member teams for demonstration, 4-H clubs and individuals engaged in a series of activities. Club activities usually brought members together to work on a community service project in the area of health, safety, conservation, music, drama or recreation. These activities were designed to bring members in closer touch with their communities. Club activities provided a useful and entertaining method of instilling a sense of cooperation in members and providing the local community with a source of help.

In a typical club activity in Michigan in 1953, members provided a banquet for Upper Penninsula lumbermen. In return, the lumbermen donated \$25 to the club, which then donated the money to the local polio fund. In addition, the club members spent some evenings cleaning up a camp for crippled children and some of their time in the summer landscaping the grounds of the 4-H buildings at the local fairgrounds. That same year, a club in Puerto Rico organized a toy drive at Christmas for deprived children and several members organized neighborhood cleanup campaigns. In addi-

tion, one enterprising member organized a community health program that brought twenty-two 4-H club members to the Public Health Office for X-ray examinations. 6

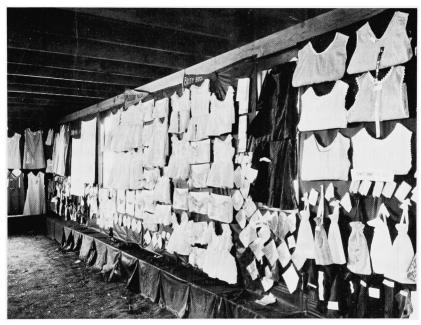
Activities also provided a vehicle for club members to improve public speaking and organizational skills. Health activities, for example, benefitted not only the individual club members who learned good health habits, but also trained them to spread that knowledge to the general community. One Colorado club gave a series of talks and demonstrations on good health care in order to demonstrate basic food and nutrition, proper personal habits and the cleaning of milking machines among the area's dairy farmers. In 1953, more than 770,000 young people received some training in health care and over 325,000 had physical examinations.

Club safety activities had similar results. In 1953, more than 600,000 4-H members reported they had received safety training. In turn, these members organized safety campaigns in their regions. One club in Minnesota organized a series of window displays for downtown merchants, performed skits, gave talks and developed programs for the local radio station. The club entered a safety float in a parade during National Safety Week. Some members of the club surveyed surrounding farms to isolate safety hazards and urge their correction. Ohio club members enrolled in public speaking projects, used safety as the theme for their presentations for two consecutive years. The impact of such activities on local communities and individual participants can probably never be calculated accurately, but it undoubtedly was considerable.⁷

Population Shifts Reflected in Membership

By 1958, 4-H club enrollment had reached 2.25 million young men and women. The shift in the United States population from farms to small towns and cities was reflected in the demographics of 4-H club membership. Earlier 4-H membership was overwhelmingly rural farm, but by that time more and more young people from rural nonfarm areas were enrolling. In 1958, only 57 percent of the enrollment came from farm families, a 9 percent decrease in just four years. That year over one-fourth of the membership came from rural nonfarm areas and a significant 17 percent came from urban centers. The reenrollment rate of about 68 percent remained steady during the decade. The decade of the 1950s also witnessed a shift in project emphasis. In earlier years the vast majority of 4-H mem-

bers enrolled in crop or livestock projects. In the late 1950s projects in home economics, particularly clothing, and in agricultural engineering, such as tractor maintenance, enjoyed the greatest enrollment increases.⁸



Clothing was the most consistently popular 4-H project. Until the 1950s young women in clothing projects often constructed every garment. Displays similar to this one could be found at hundreds of county fairs throughout the country.

By 1958, over 32 percent of 4-H members were enrolled in clothing projects and over 31 percent took food preparation projects. The next highest enrollment was in health with over 12 percent; vegetable growing followed with over 11 percent. The statistics suggested that young women participated in more projects than young men. Young women also enrolled and reenrolled at a higher rate. By 1958, 57 percent of the total membership were young women. While young women were a majority of the membership since at least 1950, the enrollment rates for the 1950s seemed to indicate a trend toward increasing participation by girls and decreasing participation by boys. The trend established in the 1950s continued into the 1960s. Early in 1969, Banning of the Extension Division of 4-H Youth and Robert Davis of California tried to determine why the boy/girl ratio persisted.

After some study, Extension officials concluded that a combination of factors probably was at the heart of the problem. The study speculated that projects designed primarily, for boys were more complicated and took longer to complete than those for girls and that the literature used in boys' projects was inadequate. Some suggested that expertise for many boys' projects was not as readily available from the land-grant colleges. In an attempt to provide some solid answers to a vexing problem, states were sent a questionnaire listing twenty-two possible reasons categorized as problems with curriculum, basic differences between boys and girls, leadership, and general attitudes and awareness. Based on information from the study. Ohio conducted a somewhat successful pilot project in 1971 specifically designed to increase the number of young men participating in 4-H. While 4-H officials conceded that they had found no panacea, the study and questionnaire had made agents more aware of the problem and encouraged them to bring the membership to a more desirable ratio.9

At the end of the 1950s the completion rate for 4-H projects was nearing 80 percent. Completing a project in a 4-H club was not an easy matter. A young person engaged in a 4-H project was in for a year of work and training. Some projects were divided into phases where completion in one year led to a second phase of increased difficulty. In at least one project, completion of the entire range of training took four years. The complexity of projects also demanded a high level of training for the volunteer leader and the availability of considerable expertise from the county agent and the specialists at the state land-grant college. In most of the projects, the availability of private expertise was essential.

Members Take Projects Seriously

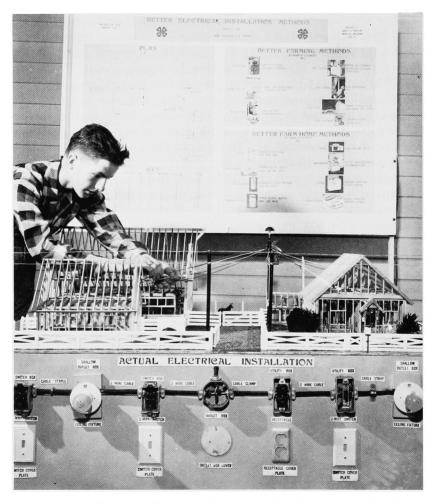
As the high completion rate indicated, youngsters undoubtedly took their projects seriously. Sometimes disappointment was not accepted and young people looked to a higher authority to get their project results into competition. When informed she could not show her cow at the county fair, one twelve-year-old from Indiana wrote to President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966: "I have been greatly disappointed in my 4-H work. Would you please help me?" The White House sent the letter to Lloyd Davis, administrator of the Federal Extension Service, for reply. Davis tried to be diplomatic. He explained that there were many reasons why the county agent might have refused her permission to enter her cow in competition and that she should ask her agent. He hoped in the next year all would be in order for her to continue in her 4-H work. 10

The ultimate value of 4-H projects and activities was the impact they had on the lives of participants. Surveys and questionnaires indicated that young people took to the projects in large numbers, and at least for some, the experience touched their lives in a personal way. One participant in automotive repair and safety attributed his decision to remain in high school to his 4-H project. A 1954 state winner in tractor maintenance, Dale Nelson from Iowa, noted how the projects involved the whole community. "The implement dealers along with the 4-H leaders set aside nights when each club was to meet with them in their place of business," he stated in describing a typical program in which the volunteer leader, the Extension agent and local businessmen combined efforts to provide a place and training for young people. ¹¹

While most 4-H members carried one or two projects, some members took a prodigious number. H.J. Dahmer of Illinois reported in 1951 that in his nine years of membership he had carried 29 projects, mostly in poultry. He had raised over 8,000 birds and kept production records on 770 hens. In the same nine years, Nelson planted over 10,000 trees in a forestry project and found time to begin a project in dairy cattle. 4-H member John P. Short in Hawaii was equally as active. Short raised poultry, chickens and ducks every year from 1946 to 1951. Each year his poultry skills increased and his awards in shows and demonstrations grew larger, until he was selected as the first place winner in the 1951 territorial poultry contest. Short had persevered six years to achieve his goal. While only a few could win, the experiences of Dahmer and Short were repeated by thousands of others. 12

As well as learning a particular skill, many of the 4-H project participants expressed a sense of simple joy and contentment with their accomplishments. While successfully mastering the intricate relationship between flour, yeast, water and force may not seem a major step, it was enough to enthuse Judith Blake of Indiana: "My first attempt with yeast dough was during the fourth year baking project. I enjoyed it from the start even though I was often a sticky mess. But I soon learned the knack of handling the dough and had some very nice rolls. In fact, my rolls were selected in the county exhibit to be entered in the state fair where they were given a blue ribbon. Pies were new this year. I had made only a few before and I still do not enjoy making pies." ¹³

Floydia May Colbert of Oklahoma that same year reported on her outstanding accomplishment in bread making. During her 4-H years, Colbert served 362 breakfasts using hot breads, 271 dinners, 82 suppers and 10 company dinners. "The crowning joy of my work, though, was the trip to the State Round-Up, the honor of placing first in bread making, and the priviledge of meeting and mingling with other 4-H club members and their leaders from all over the state," she said. Colbert's comments on meeting other 4-H members were typical of the reaction of members to county and state meetings, belying the complaint that 4-H emphasized individuals too much.¹⁴



After World War II more and more projects involved modern technologies. James Sutherland's model farm showing proper electrical installation was one of the more elaborate displays in 1948. The Windsor, Missouri youth's diligence and skills earned him a trip to the National 4-H Congress in Chicago.

Although individual achievement was important, 4-H also emphasized that club work was a family affair. That was probably no better illustrated than in the remarks of Margaret Richter from South Carolina, who wrote in 1956: "I chose the Home Improvement Project because my parents were having the house painted and many other home improvements were planned. I felt that I could be of more help and share more in the family planning and work if I started on my own bedroom which needed remodeling badly, anyway. I have seen to it that I took part in all jobs, even if it amounted to no more than helping to plan and select materials. This has helped me to learn about many different types of home improvement."

That same feeling of anticipation, accomplishment, and family enterprise was expressed in 1967 by Kenneth Shields of Kansas: "I tried to choose my projects from those I thought would interest me. I have taken tractor and machinery care, crops, conservation, automotive, electric, and junior leadership. Tractor work was something I looked forward to when I was very young. I was really thrilled the day my father said, 'I think you are ready to run this tractor for me.' So I enrolled in the 4-H tractor project to learn how to operate and care for my tractor more efficiently. I also tried to tell others in the nine demonstrations I gave on the tractor project." ¹⁶

4-H could also launch a career. Roger Adams of Georgia began a dairy project in 1966 when he purchased a registered Jersey heifer. After several years of project work, demonstrations, team judging contests and showing at county and state fairs, Adams had built his herd to forty-one registered animals by 1974. That year was his last one in 4-H as a project participant, but like numerous other 4-H'ers, he was well on his way to success in the dairy business as an adult.¹⁷

A 1974 national winner in the automotive project, Phyllis McNeal of Georgia, had emphasized the safety aspects of automotive work and noted that one of her experiences had been a chance to attend the National Safety Congress in Chicago. The trip afforded her the opportunity to ride in a commercial jet airplane for the first time and "it helped prepare me for my adult life. With the help of my family and my 4-H leaders, I have learned that you have to work for what you want, and that you have to give and take and that you have to learn to get along with people." ¹⁸

Generally, 4-H awards programs evolved from needs of a local leader or club. The interests of young people determined the type of projects that 4-H leaders helped develop. If enough Extension

workers asked for a particular type of project, the chairman of the Committee on National 4-H Contests and Awards presented the idea to the state 4-H leaders attending the National 4-H Conference in Washington, D.C. After state leader approval, the committee then consulted subject matter specialists in the Extension Service and prepared an outline plan for the project. The plan was then submitted to the ECOP Subcommittee on 4-H Club Work for approval. The subcommittee generally concerned itself with determining if the project fit into the scheme of 4-H club work and represented an appropriate educational opportunity for members. If the project plan received approval from the subcommittee, the next step was gaining approval from ECOP. Approval from the parent policy committee of Extension led to a joint planning process between the chairman of the Committee on National Contests and Awards and representatives of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. After the details of the project were determined, the Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work arranged for a donor, contributor or subscriber who provided the major prizes for an awards program. Once a donor was found, and ECOP informed. the project was offered to state Extension services by the Federal Extension Service. Projects and contests were never mandatory; any state could decline or accept any national awards program. 19

When a state accepted an awards program, it received rules for the contest and frequently literature for training club leaders and members. In many cases states already had developed suitable literature for their own use. Literature developed in one state often was used for a national project. A young person selecting a project was expected to maintain detailed records indicating progress in the project and results obtained. The standard report form became the basis for determining local winners in county contests, then state contests, some regional programs, and eventually national contest winners. The demanding detail required by the report undoubtedly discouraged some members from completing a project, but it did provide judges and the member with an accurate account of the progress gained and a foundation for improving individual performance.

It was through projects and associated contests that private support made its impression on the 4-H movement. Even before the Smith-Lever Act, most contests had private sponsors. The organization of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work resulted in the institutionalization of private support which helped to expand project areas that attracted young people to 4-H clubs. Although the Extension Service welcomed private support of 4-H,

many Extension workers were concerned about commercialization and exploitation of 4-H members. In addition, questions, about the nature of contests and the awards system arose among both private supporters of 4-H and members of the Extension Service. Some feared that emphasizing the competitive nature of contests tended to bury the educational objective of learning by doing. Since a declining number could be winners in competition at state and national levels, some felt that most 4-H club members were being neglected. Some contests required the participant to buy expensive livestock or other materials. Many expressed concern that only children of relatively wealthy families could hope to participate.

Because there were no easy answers to these questions, they remained a nagging concern throughout the postwar period. ECOP appointed a special committee in July 1945, to review 4-H club work and especially contests. The special committee noted that from the beginning, contests had been a prominent part of club work. "In a sense, contests represent the superstructure of club work," the committee reported, "but without a sound foundation based on the fundamental purposes of club work, this superstructure has very little meaning and little value." The committee went on to note that there was general agreement among Extension directors that contests had provided 4-H clubs with a "great deal of favorable publicity" and that "young people like contest promotion and recognition that comes with high achievement. It is part of the American tradition and wisely used can enhance rather than harm our educational efforts."20 In general, the special committee recommended that the Extension Service exercise greater responsibility over 4-H contests. "If there is criticism of these contests," the committee noted, "the authority for the necessary corrective measures rests with ourselves." The special committee recommended, and ECOP adopted, the procedure for developing contests and announcing them to the states that would govern the process for the next decade.21

The special committee asserted that contests in themselves were a beneficial and stimulating method of carrying out the basic educational programs of 4-H. The committee recognized that contests became potentially harmful only when abused. The ultimate responsibility for using the contests to further 4-H educational work was in the hands of the state and county 4-H leaders. To that end the annual announcements of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work included an explanation of how contests received Extension approval. The announcements also contained a summary of a study on the nature of contests by Paul J.

Kruse of Cornell University. State Club Agent T. T. Martin of Missouri outlined the conditions for a successful contest based on Kruse's work and suggested abuses to be avoided.

Martin listed three basic conditions of a "true educational contest." He noted that it must provide a possibility of success for all by having categories for contestants in different stages of development. The contest had to have fair rules that were understandable, defensible and applied by good judges. Finally, the contest had to provide a real challenge with standards high enough to ensure "an earnest struggle on the part of every contestant." Martin also noted that abuse of contests came from merely selecting a superior result without reference to the effort required. Contests that concentrated on winning rather than the educational benefit of participation were diminished in value. Martin recommended rewarding progress and effort in terms of educational rather than by absolute position. Another abuse listed was emphasizing competition to the detriment of creating a cooperative spirit among contestants. He noted than contests could be abused by local leaders "whose ambitions for the community, county or state build up a winner." Immodest parades of winners could put too much emphasis on winning rather than on participation. Martin was concerned that the contest have a clear, permanent beneficial result. He suggested a series of actions that involved the contest winners in the continuing objectives of 4-H. After winning a contest the young man or woman should shift his or her emphasis from winning to gaining satisfaction in the activity itself. Members who had been on winning demonstration teams, for example, should be encouraged to train other teams. He suggested having the contest winner compete with himself by encouraging members to achieve even better results than their winning achievements. Finally, Martin reemphasized the need to instill in club members that learning by doing was the important result. "Learning to lay bricks," Martin wrote, "was more important than the number of bricks laid." Although not always easily applied nor sustained, Martin's critique established the ideals that directed the development of 4-H contests after World War II.²²

Contests remained an important part of 4-H, but interest in their ultimate effect on winners and losers continued as well. Several studies were commissioned by the Extension Service in the postwar era to analyze the effects of contests and the attitudes of Extension personnel about contests. As late as 1979, Extension leaders were still examining 4-H contests. There also was some doubt whether all the effort to establish a finite conclusion about the effects of awards and contests had been worth the investment.

Norman Mindrum, who directed the National 4-H Service Committee (successor to the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work in 1960), probably expressed the feelings of many when he noted that "at this time, 4-H could best be served by accepting the fact that awards, rewards, encouragement, stimulation, motivation, incentives, recognition and whatever other descriptive words we can use are here to stay in 4-H and in education generally."²³

Competition Popular at Local Level

Whatever national leaders might think, there was not much question that local leaders, volunteers, and participants were enthusiastic, if somewhat confused, about the contests. A 1961 study directed by Laurel Sabrosky, Extension research specialist, expressed some of the contradictions about the place of contests in 4-H work. Significantly, volunteer leaders, most of whom were parents of 4-H participants, placed much greater emphasis on the value of contests than did their offspring. Most Extension agents stated that they would not consider members for 4-H camp experience unless they had completed their projects for the year. Perhaps a more significant finding was that fully one-fourth of the Extension directors thought that excellence of 4-H projects was the most important item in judging an Extension agent's annual work record. Under those circumstances, it might prove difficult for a county agent to place participation and educational value above winning.²⁴ The study noted that participating in club projects did not necessarily mean competing. Consequently, the study asked agents, volunteers, and older members about their attitude toward the competitive character of contests and pyramiding awards for the successful. Nearly half of the Extension agents and a larger number of volunteers and young people asserted that "trying to win over someone else is a typical American way of life."

Ultimately, the study indicated that many people working in 4-H emphasized the organization, the event, the project, and the contest more than the education of young people. An interesting and perhaps disturbing finding to Extension leaders was that this attitude seemed to increase with the increase in time spent in 4-H work by the agent or volunteer. If many 4-H agents felt their record of producing completed projects and contest winners was the measure of their professional advancement, the results of the study were not surprising. Although awards, contests and projects were in 4-H to stay, many continued to be uneasy about their implica-

tions. As 4-H increased emphasis on urban and low-income families in the 1960s, some of the ambiguities expressed in the 1961 study proved vexing indeed.²⁵

The details of developing a project and contest rules rested with a development committee composed of state and national Extension staff, along with appropriate subject matter specialists. As the number of contests increased, the number of development committees proliferated. After a project was begun, the development committee often continued its work including revising materials or monitoring the outcome of new projects. Frequently, the time required of state 4-H staff for such committee work was so great that the work simply was not completed. By the end of the 1950s, the number of development committees had become a burden. Sometimes the committee members could not agree, sometimes they could not find time to meet, but more often they did not have time released from their regular duties to prepare project manuals, edit materials and generally keep things moving. 26

In project areas receiving national private support, consultants from the National 4-H Service Committee or the National 4-H Foundation and the donor firm often worked with the committees to provide technical assistance for preparing new literature. However, as demand increased for more projects, especially those with an urban flavor, the lines of communications and authority became hopelessly muddled. In some cases, the development committees became bottlenecks.

In June 1961, ECOP acted to rein its far-flung operations including the 4-H subcommittee. Subcommittee minutes for November 24, 1961, recorded ECOP's new directive: "The Subcommittee on 4-H Club Work will be modified in accordance with ECOP's general policy that all standing subcommittees consist of not more than seven members and their work be confined to matters of organization and policy unless otherwise specified by ECOP." At the time of the directive the 4-H subcommittee had eleven members and there were twenty development committees. Aware that their powers were being reduced substantially, subcommittee members conducted a lengthy correspondence with ECOP leaders asking for clarification. The clarification came in January 1962, when ECOP ordered a number of operational matters be shifted to the staff of the Federal Extension Service, including developing of specific projects, preparing national 4-H literature in consultation with state staff members, developing operational procedures and program details affecting states, conducting national 4-H events, and carrying out program details related to the administration of national awards and relations with the two private support entities—the National 4-H Service Committee and the National 4-H Club Foundation.²⁷

The directive prompted the dismissal of program development committees in agronomy, citizenship, dairy and livestock, dog husbandry and entomology. The size of the foods and nutrition committee was reduced. Retained were development committees on automotive, clothing, conservation, electricity, health, home management, horticulture, leadership, natural resources, photography, poultry, recreation, safety and tractor. ECOP also directed that all development committees serve on an ad hoc basis, in an effort to curb the problem of appointed committees existing for several years without completing their work of developing projects.²⁸

After 1961, the responsibility of the 4-H subcommittee was substantially changed from operations to policy. At the same time, much more responsibility was centralized in the 4-H division of the Federal Extension Service in USDA. ECOP again diminished the 4-H subcommittee's independence in 1965 by taking away its direct program development responsibility. In its minutes, ECOP stated its position directly, "Extension Subcommittee on 4-H should confine its deliberations to policy as it relates to 4-H and young people." Three years later ECOP concurred with E. Dean Vaughan, head of the 4-H division, who requested that his office be responsible for recommending the appointment of developmental committees. ²⁹

No doubt some objected to the shift in power from the loose committee structure to the more centralized responsibility in the 4-H division, but state Extension directors were pleased to see their 4-H staff members relieved of the onerous task of long-term committee assignments. Many also believed the power shift would allow the subcommittee to concentrate on policies and budgets and put 4-H in a better position to direct its efforts toward program expansion, especially into urban areas.

Tractor Program an Example of Impact

Few projects better demonstrated the combination of private and public support, high-level training and long-term impact on members than the tractor maintenance program begun in the mid-1940s. Some local clubs had been involved with machine maintenance programs for several years. In Athens, Georgia, automobile operation and maintenance began as early as 1922. That year the Clarke County Board of Supervisors provided an automobile to P. H. Stone, a Negro agricultural agent. Stone had lost his motor-

cycle during a particularly heavy rain on the mud roads of the county. As well as allowing him to serve his clientele, the automobile, one of the first government cars in the area, became the center of attention each Sunday. Young men from throughout the county came to Stone's home to learn to drive and maintain the car. If not the first power machine maintenance program in 4-H, it was surely one of the earliest.



The tractor maintenance program, one of the most elaborate 4-H training programs, combined the expertise of professionals from land-grant universities and private business. Doris Clifford, *center*, won the Kentucky tractor maintenance contest in 1949.

In 1935, the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) explored ways to enhance its image among rural people. The company did business in fourteen midwestern states and saw farm customers as a major part of its clientele. The company already had established tractor clinics for its salesmen and agents in order to serve its rural customers. Because Standard Oil had representatives in most rural towns and counties, it seemed natural for the company to participate in 4-H club work. The company's general office conducted a survey in 1939 to determine what specific service it could render to 4-H. A number of proposals came from Extension agents, and Guy Noble of the National Committee asked the company to participate

in farm safety projects already under way. The company decided to sponsor a project based on two criteria: the project had to be an activity that was natural to the Standard Oil Company and it had to include activities that allowed the company's agents and salesmen to participate and meet a real need of rural youth. In the spring of 1941, Standard Oil sent a letter to each state Extension director soliciting ideas. Most proposed sponsorship of scholarships and fellowships, but one state 4-H leader, A. G. Kettunen of Michigan, simply suggested that representatives of the company and Extension get together and "talk it over." 30

The coming of World War II delayed further progress on the idea for a few years, but because of the company's participation in such government-sponsored programs as Keep 'em Rolling and Food for Freedom, officials saw a positive opportunity to develop a program in farm machinery maintenance. The outlines of such a program were already in place. As early as 1942, the Standard Oil Company had made its literature on farm machinery available through county agents. It also had awarded war bonds to 4-H'ers and agricultural leaders in its cooperative program for the war effort.³¹

H. L. Porter of the company's sales promotion and training division, discussed the idea of a general tractor maintenance program with the National Committee in 1944. Committee leaders acknowledged there was a great need for programs in agricultural engineering, but up to that time a successful program had not been developed. During the spring Porter talked to a number of Extension directors, state 4-H leaders and Extension agricultural engineers. The idea of a tractor maintenance project was received enthusiastically, but many directors were cautious about implementation. They pointed out that few 4-H agents were trained in engineering. Porter then suggested a series of volunteer training clinics to provide leadership for the project. 32

Porter's work resulted in a general conference on the subject attended by thirteen state Extension directors and nine agricultural engineers from midwestern land-grant colleges. While a number of specifics were discussed, everyone agreed that training leaders for tractor maintenance club work was the first step. Before the summer of 1944 ended, the first clinic to train leaders was held at Hutchinson, Kansas. After word of the Kansas clinic spread, other states soon asked for clinics and a tractor maintenance project. By 1951 every state but Pennsylvania had a tractor maintenance program in progress.³³

Within a year, three other oil companies—Standard of Ohio,

American, and Standard of Kentucky—had joined as sponsors of tractor leadership clinics. Tractor maintenance clinics were held throughout the country, usually in cooperation with personnel from land-grant colleges and local farm implement dealers. The number of trained leaders grew dramatically. More than 5,700 4-H club volunteer leaders had attended one of the three-day training clinics by 1947. In 1945, the first full year of the program, nearly 11,500 young people enrolled in tractor maintenance projects. That year, 491 youngsters earned blue ribbons and 14 club members were declared state winners. Just one year later over 1,000 young men won county contests and thirty-three states declared a state winner.³⁴

Tractor maintenance quickly expanded into a two-year program. In 1954, the program became a three-year project and a fourth year was added in the 1960s. The goal was to provide an opportunity for young people to gain practical experience in operating and maintaining an important piece of farm equipment. At the same time, the program was organized to provide instruction in leadership and simply to be fun. Through the cooperation of the sponsoring oil companies, the National Committee and experts from the land-grant colleges and the Extension Service, booklets for volunteer leaders and club members were distributed nationwide.

The literature used in the tractor maintenance projects was of high quality. The leaders' manual provided outlines for ten separate lessons and demonstrations covering nearly every aspect of tractor maintenance. Club members received work sheets that detailed the operations for each maintenance task. To be eligible for awards, 4-H'ers had to complete the worksheets. Quizzes at the end of each demonstration tested the members' knowledge and provided a means for members and clubs to compete with each other. The completion of ten worksheets along with pictures, newspaper clippings and a 300-word essay on "What a Well-Running Tractor Has Meant on Our Farm" constituted the members' record books. which were judged first in the county. County winners' record books were forwarded to district and state Extension offices for review. State winners usually got an expense-paid trip to the National 4-H Congress in Chicago. Preceding the congress, a team of judges determined national winners who could expect to receive a substantial college scholarship.35

In addition to classroom demonstrations, another part of the tractor maintenance program became a popular public event throughout the country. The Extension Service, the National Com-

mittee and private donors sponsored two regional field competitions that included tractor maintenance, safety and operation. In September 1968, for example, young people from many eastern states met in Richmond, Virginia, to test their skills and knowledge. It was the eighteenth year for such contests. Each participant competed in a written examination, a demonstration of safety techniques, and skill in driving tractors through an intricate set of maneuvers. Judges lined the course and deducted points for infractions of safety rules and lack of control over the machine. 4-H training in tractor maintenance and operation was impressive enough for the United States Department of Labor to exempt 4-H'ers who had completed the program from the regulations of the Hazardous Occupations Act that governed operation of tractors by teenagers. 36 And the 4-H tractor maintenance materials also were used to certify training of thousands of 14- and 15-year-old tractor drivers annually.

Participation in the tractor maintenance projects reached a peak in 1958, when more than 77,000 boys and girls took part. The program fit the mold developed by 4-H to bring public and private support to practical education. The tractor maintenance program involved Extension personnel at federal and state levels, cooperative funding and literature from private oil companies and farm equipment manufacturers. At the local level, the county agent, volunteer leaders, and representatives of oil companies and farm equipment dealers gave their time and expertise to the program. The ultimate success of the program reflected considerable preparation, a well-mapped plan of instruction and the participation of officials and volunteers at every level. Not the least important ingredient was the enthusiastic response from young people.

Demographic changes in rural America affected 4-H and many other institutions. There were fewer farm youth to maintain tractors and enrollment in the project dropped continuously in the 1960s, reaching a low of just over 48,000 in 1966. That number was still a formidable audience, but further decline was expected.³⁷ Extension officials, National Committee representatives and private donors pondered the future of the project in the early 1960s. No one could deny the enormous benefit derived by the young people who had participated in the program, nor its value to the donors in creating goodwill among their principal customers, yet something clearly had to change.

The answer came in the form of a general response to the changing audience for 4-H work. Those interested in 4-H had urged expansion of opportunities to audiences in urban areas as early as the late 1930s. Some special programs were already in the cities and the National 4-H Club Agents' Association had created a committee on urban work in 1951. But it was the reality of declining numbers that hastened the 4-H move to devise programs with broader appeal. 38



As fewer young men and women lived on farms, the tractor maintenance program expanded to include snowmobiles, garden tractors, and go-carts. These young 4-H'ers are learning to care for their go-carts and to handle them safely.

The tractor maintenance program was a good example. In 1967, representatives from the National Committee, Extension and the sponsoring companies broadened the program to include small engines. The program was offered to the states again in 1968 as the National 4-H Petroleum Power Program. In addition to tractor maintenance, young people in nonfarm areas could engage in projects involving motor bikes, lawn mowers, golf carts, outboard motors, and snowmobiles. Participation in the program exceeded 90,000 again by 1969. That year over 60,000 young people participated in the tractor program and an additional 30,000 in other small engine projects.³⁹

The tractor maintenance program in its original form and in the expanded version involved enormous numbers. During the life of the program, over 1.2 million young men and women participated. In addition, 65,000 volunteer leaders received intensive training at state maintenance clinics. Few questioned that the tractor maintenance program was one of the most successful projects 4-H leaders had developed. For all its success, however, one class of 4-H projects stood out as even more successful. No program involved more young people in learning by doing than the 4-H home economics projects.

Home economics projects always had been as much a part of 4-H as raising better corn and cattle. Like projects in agricultural production, home economics also changed over time, but persisted in popularity. In the clothing projects many found a life-long activity and, frequently, the beginnings of a career. Clothing projects incorporated not only technical construction skills, but also the aesthetics of fashion. By the 1970s, some young men were finding clothing projects attractive, too.

Clothing Projects an Example of Change

Until well into the 1940s, the clothing projects emphasized sewing skills almost exclusively. Young members began their projects by making simple cotton garments. Older members were expected to construct entire wardrobes including underwear. As Fern (Shipley) Kelley, who for many years was home economics program leader for the Extension 4-H division, recalled, "It came to the point where you could buy them [undergarments] cheaper than you could make them." The introduction of synthetic materials also changed the nature of clothing projects: participants needed to make many more judgments about the type and purpose of their clothing selections. Participants began to construct only those items that were visible. Kelley noted that clothing projects broadened from a narrow sewing concept to include buymanship, later called consumerism. Even the early clothing projects included an element of economics, but in later years, the need to understand textiles and make buying decisions introduced clothing project participants to budget management and consumer education. Although clothing projects became more technical and broader in scope throughout the years, they did not lose their appeal as simply being fun to do. Advanced project participants constructed elaborate tailored coats or intricate evening gowns. Those who had designed and constructed their own outfits could also take part in a dress revue. 40

In 1947, nearly 400,000 young women enrolled in clothing projects and nearly 300,000 completed their work. That same year, nearly 157,000 young women participated in local or county dress revues. By 1967, 4-H'ers participating in a clothing project numbered over 696,000. That total was remarkable since in the twenty

intervening years, the number of rural young women declined drastically. The clothing projects clearly needed little help in making the transition from a predominately rural audience to a mixed rural and urban one.⁴¹

To become a national winner in the clothing projects required a formidable effort. Some national winners reported that they had constructed over 100 garments in the years they had taken clothing projects. Many noted that as their skills increased, clothing projects became financially rewarding. Many who reached national finals in clothing projects and dress revue already had turned their project experience into a profitable sideline either as a seamstress or salesperson. Several national winners in the years after World War II developed career interests from their clothing projects and indicated their desire to study design, fashion merchandising, or home economics in college.

Besides helping national contestants to enjoy themselves, make money, or develop a career interest, the clothing projects seemed to have universally affected their lives. Most felt more selfconfident in public meetings, in dealing with people and in efforts to instruct others. A 1962 national winner from Arizona stated, "To a young member, one of the best things about 4-H is the opportunity to win ribbons and recognition. No doubt, the awards program is wise because it keeps boys and girls interested in 4-H until they reach the point of understanding the far greater things it offers, at which time the ribbons and such become insignificant by comparison." Another young woman noted that her work in clothing helped her learn to accept herself after realizing that she would never be a fashion model. 42 The clothing projects and dress revue also attracted significant support from private sponsors. Coats & Clark Inc. sponsored clothing awards for many years and Simplicity Pattern Company sponsored the National Dress Revue nearly as long.

If recognition of achievement was an integral part of the 4-H experience, then certainly the pinnacle of recognition was winning a trip to the National 4-H Congress. By 1980, the congress had met annually without interruption for fifty-eight years. One 4-H leader, Paul Taff of Iowa, attended every congress between 1922 and 1972. Taff served as superintendent of congress activities through its first decade and a half. While the congress provided a good deal of hard work for members of the National Committee and 4-H state leaders, it was a once-in-a-lifetime experience for club members. 4-H rules generally precluded an individual from attending more than one national congress. If a state winner in a project attended the congress, he or she could return only after also winning in the

national achievement, citizenship, or leadership programs. Congress was reserved for a relatively small number of 4-H'ers, and few club members making the trip forgot the experience. 43

As the nation changed so did National 4-H Congress. In its earliest years, the congress had attracted young farm residents almost exclusively. Over the years more young people from small towns earned trips to the congress. As early as the 1940s, some urban-based 4-H clubs sent delegations to the congress; by the mid-1950s encountering a young man or woman from an urban center was no longer rare. No one recognized the changing nature of 4-H more than the staff of the National 4-H Service Committee. Early in 1963, the Committee proposed the establishment of a congress advisory committee to provide the assistance that earlier had come from ECOP's 4-H subcommittee. Each year, individuals and the head of the organizing committee provided reviews for specific congress tasks, but a general advisory group had never been formed. After receiving approval from the 4-H subcommittee, the administrator of the Federal Extension Service appointed a committee composed of six state Extension staff members, two private donor representatives, two staff members of the Federal Extension Service, and Mindrum, director of the National 4-H Service Committee.44

The advisory committee met twice in two-day sessions and reviewed the entire range of 4-H congress activities. The committee established a series of recommendations in four major areas. Most recognized that the 4-H congress was one of the most important public presentations of 4-H. As one committee member noted, many people took their entire image of 4-H from reading or viewing news coverage of the National 4-H Congress. The committee recommended more human interest coverage of the event with less emphasis on winners. The committee particularly wished information officers could relate the national meeting to activities in their states. ⁴⁵

The advisory committee also wanted the young 4-H delegates to become more involved in congress activities. The committee suggested a series of meetings at congress to allow donors and award winners to discuss the projects and awards programs. Private donor representatives on the committee were especially interested in a mechanism that allowed them closer contact with delegates. The National Committee director, who served on the advisory group, emphasized the educational nature of the congress and hoped to see that aspect of the program strengthened. Particularly in the area of career exploration, the congress advisory committee

hoped for more involvement of young people in discussion and planning groups for future activities. The congress also was seen as the opportunity for delegates to gain a better appreciation for the scope of 4-H work.

Finally, all advisory committee members agreed that some of the traditional character of the congress should be preserved. In part, the purpose of the congress was to entertain those who had been active and established records of achievement. The committee recommended that adult participation be kept to a minimum and that the young people have some choice of events to attend and greater direct participation in the programs. The congress had been scheduled for late November, the time of the International Live Stock Show which had been part of the congress for decades. The committee recommended that those traditions remain. ⁴⁶ Certainly after 1964 the recommendations of the advisory committee were evident at the National 4-H Congress.

Although the delegations continued to represent farm youth more than any other group, by the 1970s the delegates to the 4-H congress represented a reasonable cross section of American young people. Until the 1960s the most conspicuous absence was minority club members. The vast majority of Black young people who belonged to 4-H clubs lived in the southern states. Few officials before 1960 made an effort to challenge southern social customs. Although the National Committee and the Extension Service worked to provide projects and contests for Black youth similar to those available to other 4-H members, none of the projects included a national award. In every case only county and state awards were available. Black awards programs at all levels were administered separately from the rest of the 4-H program. In the 1960s the acceleration of civil rights consciousness that engulfed all federal programs broke the color barrier in 4-H as well.

Congress Programs Emphasize Education

Programs of the National 4-H Congress changed along with the representation of 4-H club members. In the early years, most congress activities featured parades, amusements and tours of cultural and historical places in the Chicago area. Plant tours arranged by donor companies with facilities in the area occupied most of the delegates' time. Although simply having fun was never absent from the congress, more serious attention to the educational value of the national gathering predominated in later years. During the years of World War II, the smaller number of delegates attending the annual congress pondered the meaning of the war and the part they

could play in its successful conclusion. Out of those discussions a number of 4-H activities ensued. 4-H clubs organized programs to "feed a fighting man" and to fill one supply ship with food. Although the efforts in the early 1940s were dominated by the war, the direct involvement of delegates in formulating programs and contributing to 4-H development did not end with the war.⁴⁷



Thousands of 4-H'ers have had their efforts recognized at the National 4-H Congress, which often attracts major public officials. President Richard M. Nixon speaks to the congress during its fiftieth anniversary in 1971.

After 1963, the congress provided more opportunities for young people to engage in workshops on national topics and to help plan 4-H activities and future congresses. National experts on politics, race relations, personal development, poverty, and a host of other subjects lent their time to help young people understand their environment and the society which they would lead in the future.

Public officials often used the National 4-H Congress as a forum for public announcements. Since Calvin Coolidge, American presidents had accepted the position of honorary chairman of the National Committee. Over the years, presidents, senators, and cabinet members addressed the assembled delegations. Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin used the opening session of the 1969 National 4-H Congress to announce a \$7.5 million nutritional program directed at the inner cities. Hardin's comments reflected

the change in 4-H from a predominately rural organization to an organization with programs and expertise applicable to nonfarm and even urban centers. He noted that the purpose of the appropriation was an effort to make all of America a decent place to live. A healthy life was the heart of a quality life. He asserted that 4-H-type clubs had proved their worth as one of the most efficient methods of transferring knowledge to the general population. He sought a role for 4-H work in the cities through a subject that 4-H workers knew well, the value of health and proper diet.⁴⁸

The National 4-H Service Committee, the successor to the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1971. Former Iowa State 4-H Leader Paul Taff was given special recognition as the only 4-H'er who had attended every national congress. The fiftieth National 4-H Congress—devoted to "4-H Bridges the Gap"—was highlighted by a speech from President Richard M. Nixon. With a nation preoccupied with an apparent generation gap, 4-H stood out as one organization that had brought close relations within families and between young people and adults. It was a fitting theme to celebrate fifty years of service to the nation's young people.⁴⁹

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5

Training for Tomorrow

The vast array of projects and activities available to young people in 4-H would have been an empty promise without the help and guidance of an army of professional Extension agents and volunteer leaders. 4-H had always depended on the interest and goodwill of local people to help organize clubs, supervise projects and chaperon events. At the same time Extension workers and volunteers tried to make 4-H a family venture. For thirty years that rare combination of interested adults, professional expertise, and enthusiastic young people maintained one of the most successful educational efforts the nation had experienced.

In the early years of 4-H, the majority of projects involved agricultural production and home economics. The Smith-Lever Act singled out those two areas as the special preserve of the Extension Service. In response, the land-grant colleges' agricultural and home economics departments turned out a steady stream of agents to foster Extension programs including 4-H. As long as 4-H projects and activities mirrored Extension work among adults, the expertise of Extension agents was sufficient for working with both youth and adults. In the postwar years, however, more sophisticated projects involving highly technical areas of machine maintenance and advanced household equipment required additional skills that agents frequently lacked. It was also recognized that agents had little real training in working with youth. That skill was often acquired "on the job." The problems were more severe among the cadre of volunteers who remained the essential part of a healthy 4-H program.

Some program sponsors had recognized the need for in-service training for both Extension agents and 4-H volunteer leaders in the 1940s. The tractor maintenance program begun in 1944 initiated a series of clinics designed to provide expertise first to agents and volunteer leaders and then to the 4-H'ers. In general,

the tractor maintenance clinics served as a model for developing other training efforts to equip agents and volunteers for the modern 4-H of the postwar years.

There also was an increasing movement among Extension 4-H personnel to seek greater professional recognition for youth work within the Extension Service. In that effort, 4-H agents had a willing ally in Guy Noble of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. Noble and many others had felt for some years that Extension leaders had not devoted enough of the federal appropriation to 4-H work. He insisted that beginning with the Smith-Lever Act in 1914 the intent of Congress clearly was to increase 4-H activity rather than adult programs. He was particularly concerned that 4-H funding had not expanded as greatly as he had anticipated from appropriations under the Bankhead-Flannagan Act of 1946. Noble had participated actively in the effort to get the bill through Congress and unsuccessfully tried to have 4-H funds earmarked in the legislation. His fear that 4-H would not receive additional funding seemed to have come true by 1947.

Seek Recognition and Funds for 4-H

At a meeting with the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP) in September 1947, Noble bluntly presented his case for more money for 4-H programs. He focused especially on the professional standing of 4-H work among Extension agents. After preliminary remarks detailing the effect of 4-H in the past thirty years, Noble noted that Extension had never allocated more than 28 percent of its budget to 4-H. The lack of funding was especially noticeable in salary levels. He pointed out that on a national average, 4-H agents—usually those assigned exclusively to club work—received from one-half to two-thirds the salary of county agents assigned to adult work. Many 4-H clubs were under the jurisdiction of assistant county agents who generally were newly hired. Even these agents, Noble pointed out, received higher salaries than agents assigned exclusively to youth work. The salary study indicated that Negro agents were paid even less. Noble emphasized his point, "Except in the states where there are county club agents, the 4-H Club program is assigned largely to the assistant agents and is incidental or secondary to the balance of the Extension program. The assistant agent's job is a stepping stone—not to a position of 4-H leadership in the county—but to a position where work with adults is the requirement."1

Noble insisted that in most states 4-H programs conducted by assistant agents were not as effective as in those states that employed full-time county 4-H club agents. In states that employed 4-H club agents, an agent generally was able to reach one out of nine potential 4-H participants. In states where assistant agents received the task of organizing 4-H work, the agent reached only one out of twelve. 4-H, he stated, was simply the training ground for new agents and the best were pulled out of youth work for use in the adult programs. "The one all-consuming desire of these Extension agents who work with youth is that they be given the same professional status enjoyed by other members of the Extension family. They want to be removed from the step child class." Noble said. In the future, he pleaded, every state should adopt the use of county 4-H agents with the same salary and status as agents assigned to adult work. "This is an age of specialization in education as well as in other fields, and it seems to us that the time has come for Extension to employ 4-H club agents who have the special knowledge and skills required effectively to serve youth and also the ability to recruit and train local leaders and secure the cooperation of parents," he added. Noble had picked his audience carefully and Extension leadership soon replied.²

Although Extension leaders did not respond directly to Noble's charges, the next year Extension authors, writing in the *Joint Committee Report on Extension Programs, Policies and Goals*, noted that "an examination of expenditures classified as 'for county 4-H Club work,' did not accurately reflect the proportion of total Extension time directed to work with youth." The report claimed that time devoted to youth work had increased from 28.5 percent in 1940 to over 34 percent in 1946. The report also noted, however, that the proportion of Extension funds devoted to 4-H club work had remained constant for several years.³

Regardless of whether Noble had exaggerated, it was clear that he expressed the attitude of many in 4-H club work. The lack of professional recognition led some 4-H club agents to consider forming their own professional association. County agricultural agents had formed a professional association in 1916. In 1933 home demonstration agents had formed an association, the name of which was changed in 1965 to the National Association of Extension Home Economists. Most agents engaged in 4-H work belonged to one and sometimes both of the existing agents' associations. Although agricultural agents and home economics agents often devoted long hours to 4-H and included youth training in their de-

velopment programs, the men and women assigned specifically to do 4-H work wanted their own association.⁴

4-H Agents Form Association

Apparently, an association for 4-H agents had existed in New York State since 1922. In 1938, Minnesota and New Hampshire formed state associations; Michigan formed such an organization in 1944 and Kansas followed in 1945. In 1947, 4-H club agents gathered to form a national association. The National Association of 4-H Club Agents, with less than 100 members, elected Don Stiles of Massachusetts as its first president. Objectives of the newly created association were to advance the professional status of Extension youth personnel, to increase interest in Extension 4-H youth work as a career, to provide for exchange of ideas, methods and techniques, to strengthen communication with Extension administration, and to promote cooperation among all Extension personnel. Over thirty years later, the Association was still working to achieve those goals.⁵

Although as late as 1980 over half of the nation's counties did not employ 4-H agents, but assigned the work to agricultural agents or home economics agents, the National Association of Extension 4-H Agents grew in numbers and influence. The organization increased to nearly 250 members by 1950, reached nearly 700 members in 1967, and topped the 1,000 mark in 1971. Usually the association held its annual meeting in conjunction with the National 4-H Congress in Chicago. With members feeling that the larger gathering overwhelmed their own meeting, the association moved in 1961 to the National 4-H Center in Washington, D.C. After 1963, the association held its meetings in various parts of the country.⁶

Early meetings of the association tended to be social gatherings with some discussion of mutual concerns and a few speeches from national 4-H officials. By 1955, however, the meetings concentrated on specific problem areas and pioneered discussions on 4-H in urban areas. Later the association devoted most of its annual meeting to seminars and table talk sessions that allowed members to attend those discussions most relevant to their local work. A series of research reports highlighting the 1970 meeting brought the latest research in youth work to the agents' attention.

In the 1960s the 4-H agents' association matured and exercised more influence on programs by helping to initiate urban staff institutes at the National 4-H Center, organizing summer and winter schools for agents pursuing graduate degrees, and sponsoring interstate exchanges among 4-H members. Its relations with the other Extension associations, however, grew strained. As early as 1948, officers of the three Extension associations and representatives of the Federal Extension Service acting as a Council of Extension Organizations met to discuss mutual concerns. Later each association presented its annual report to ECOP. In 1958, the reporting officers of the associations jointly met with ECOP. After redefining subcommittee roles, ECOP replaced the Council of Extension Organizations in 1965 with a Subcommittee for Agents' Associations, made up of representatives from the three organizations and the Federal Extension Service and two state Extension directors.

The subcommittee acted as a coordinating group for the three organizations and reported directly to ECOP. Nevertheless, relations between the 4-H agents' association, renamed the National Association of Extension 4-H Agents (NAE4-HA) in 1966, and the National Association of County Agricultural Agents (NACAA) were not entirely smooth. As late as 1978, Don Juchartz, NACAA president-elect, wrote an article in the County Agent that suggested the NAE4-HA was getting too much credit for 4-H work from the Extension 4-H division of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). Former NAE4-HA president James C. Kemp of Minnesota responded. Kemp pointed out that NAE4-HA was the only association of professional staff devoting its entire energies to 4-H. He noted that the association had grown to 2,700 members in 1978 and included women and minorities in its membership from the beginning. Kemp listed a number of reasons why the USDA 4-H office should look to the association for leadership in 4-H policy matters. He ended his letter by suggesting that the NACAA president-elect owed the association an apology.8

In his response to Kemp's letter, Juchartz acknowledged the work of the NAE4-HA, but reiterated his concern that NACCA members engaged in 4-H work were bypassed in the "information stream." He stated that he was committed to a "strong, multidimensional Extension Service" and resented efforts to dilute Extension's role. Juchartz noted that while he was not interested in building fences, he thought the only way to face problems was to meet them head on. E. Dean Vaughan, head of the 4-H division, watched the exchange with some consternation. While he did not reply directly to the NACCA charges, he wrote Kemp explaining that he thought the article was basically correct. The 4-H division did look to NAE4-HA for leadership and it should. He noted, however. "These are times when the effectiveness of not just 4-H but

all CES programs are being severely questioned by people and organizations of influence. This is where the several Agents' Associations become of crucial importance for the future—and they damned well better be working together!" Juchartz's article and exchange of letters probably helped clear the air, but it also underlined the continued tension that existed between Extension organizations as they faced the last two decades of the century.

Part of the effort to bring more professional status to 4-H work included an early recognition that the traditional background of most Extension agents including those in 4-H might not be appropriate in the postwar years. The 1948 joint committee report reflected a growing idea that Extension agents, particularly in 4-H, required some of the training and skills associated with the social sciences in addition to, or perhaps instead of, training in production agriculture and home economics. The report noted that despite stated objectives, there was a tendency to concentrate on programs devoted to production. "Unconsciously, perhaps, such programs are directed to educating people as agents of production rather than as individuals," noted the report. Particularly in regard to 4-H, the report stated, "the attention is focused on the development of the steer, or the quality of the garment, rather than the boy or girl." "10 the steer in the steer

At the second annual meeting of the 4-H club agents' association in Chicago that same year 4-H Subcommittee Chairman A. G. Kettunen of Michigan reiterated the concerns of both the association and the joint committee. In a series of rhetorical questions, Kettunen asked: "Are we still saving that the primary prerequisites for an Extension worker with youth is a degree in Agriculture or Home Economics, when actually the training of how to work with youth is most important? Are we still using the position of workers in the field of youth as stepping stones to something else, without giving these workers an opportunity to advance professionally in 4-H club work? Shouldn't we dignify the profession of work with youth in Extension nationally, as is done in some states by giving those workers a title bearing 4-H, instead of affixing the word Assistant to their title? Are we still penalizing the person who wants to work with youth in giving him a lower salary than is paid workers in other branches of the Extension Service?"¹¹

Recognition of 4-H work as a separate profession equal to other Extension efforts did not come quickly or evenly. The establishment of an Extension 4-H division in the USDA helped put 4-H work—at least at the national level—on the same footing with other divisions of Extension. But most states continued to assign 4-H assistant agents, and salary differentials remained dispropor-

tionately lower in 4-H and home demonstration work. While these conditions vexed state and national 4-H leaders, it did not prevent them from directing attention toward training 4-H agents in new skills associated with human development and advanced educational techniques. The search for a mechanism to provide new kinds of training undoubtedly gave impetus to the creation of the National 4-H Club Foundation in 1948 and the acquisition of the 4-H training center soon after.



The heart of 4-H training always has been found at the local level. These girls learn about organization and responsibility as they direct their group.

Heightened interest in serving the needs of young people beyond the traditional 4-H age reinforced the idea that 4-H agents working with young adults had a special mission that deserved recognition. For some years Extension workers had noted that their programs seemed to bracket a significant age group. Traditional project-oriented 4-H programs succeeded with younger people in the ten to eighteen age group and adult programs seemed to reach farmers and homemakers in the over-thirty age group, but little attention was given to the special needs of those in between. Extension personnel devoted some attention to that forgotten group early as 1933, when Gertrude Warren distributed a plan prepared by

Margaret Latimer designed to involve young women over age eighteen in programs.

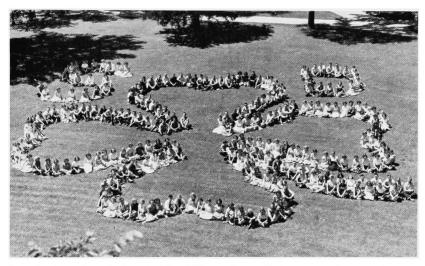
Although the program sponsors recognized that young adults needed to be more directly involved in planning their programs, the emphasis remained on projects of a more "challenging" nature, rather than on programs significantly different from traditional 4-H. Extension continued to design programs for young men and women throughout the 1930s, and published a general study in 1938 of older youth needs in Arkansas. The study reached two general conclusions: Extension education programs reached very few young people between eighteen and thirty years of age, and most people in that age group did not respond positively to the traditional project orientation. For the most part, young adults indicated an interest in vocational questions, human development needs, "choosing a life partner" and the simple need to overcome the isolation of rural life. 12

Attention to this and many other Extension concerns was diverted by the immediate need of feeding an army after the country's entry into World War II. By 1944, however, Extension once again turned its attention to peacetime needs in anticipation of the war's end. It occurred to many that most returning veterans were in the eighteen to thirty age group. In a speech delivered to the annual Federal Extension Conference in 1944, Field Agent E. W. Aiton noted that psychological characteristics of that age group were different. Unless Extension leaders understood and appreciated that difference, little progress could be made. Aiton suggested a three-part program to meet the needs of young adults. Certainly, economic considerations for returning veterans were on the minds of those to whom Aiton spoke. He introduced his remarks with a letter he had received from a young married woman. She complained that since her marriage, she and her husband had lived with the husband's family on the farm. She longed for a house of their own and clearly despaired of her future. Aiton pointed out that this young woman needed then and, more importantly, had needed help before she married. He insisted that many young couples had the same problem and their numbers undoubtedly would increase with the end of the war.¹³

In 1949, a manual, Extension Work with Young Men and Women, written by Aiton was used widely by Extension in work with young adults. Aiton urged Extension personnel to begin telling young people and older farm owners about the possibilities of farm partnerships. If young people were to remain on the farm during their younger years, their opportunities to own farms were

most promising if arrangements could be made with families already established. Farm partnerships afforded young couples a measure of independence while not forcing the parents into difficult family situations or early retirement.

Aiton also suggested short courses and institutes designed to provide technical training in agriculture and skills that would allow young men and women to seek part-time employment off the farm. Perhaps most important, in Aiton's opinion, were Extension programs in personal development and vocational counseling and guidance. Finally, Aiton cautioned the assembly to "remember that they will develop best through actual experience and practice. We must give them plenty of rope, and no domination, but they will need counsel. We must encourage them as groups to tackle sizable jobs and attempt to solve basic needs." 14



Camping is an important part of the 4-H experience. Early camps often were held on campuses of state land-grant universities. This 1951 state club camp at South Dakota State College provided an opportunity for 4-H'ers to learn and to meet others.

The Extension Service devoted a good deal of time to a retrospective study of its programs. While most attention went to formulating a general plan for postwar 4-H work in the traditional age group, older youth were not forgotten. In a 1949 meeting at Jackson's Mill, West Virginia, Extension directors, supervisors, subject matter specialists and county agents from thirty-one states gathered to plan for older youth work. Shortly afterwards, the USDA provided Extension personnel with a pamphlet outlining the

results of the conference. The conference report focused on three basic decisions for young adults: choosing a vocation, choosing a mate, and choosing a personal philosophy. The pamphlet did not prescribe any answers, but county agents were urged to know the young adults in their community, provide a means for them to know one another, help them with aptitude tests and vocational guidance and, most of all, create an atmosphere where young people could learn to know themselves.¹⁵

Major Effort Directed to Young Adults

As the 1950s approached, the Extension Service prepared for a major effort directed to the needs of young adults. The National 4-H Club Foundation obtained a grant in 1951 from The Sears-Roebuck Foundation to conduct a two-year pilot project for young adults in Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The New England project became the basis for future Extension work in the area. It was the first concerted effort to gain information and test ideas about the needs of young adults and to find out the best methods of bringing the lessons of Extension education to them.

Investigators discovered that grouping young adults by age was a mistake. Young adults constituted at least three or four distinct groups, each with their own interests and needs. The only real common denominator was the universally expressed need for social opportunities with people of their own age.

The pilot project also revealed that there was considerable lack of understanding between young adults and older adults. There was no evidence of what was called the generation gap in later years, but clearly young people thought older adults held them back. Older adults, on the other hand, thought many young people wanted everything done for them and were unwilling to work on their own. At the same time, the study noted that many Extension agents were uncomfortable working with the coeducational groups that young adults deliberately sought.¹⁶

Meanwhile, the National 4-H Club Foundation also conducted a series of experimental programs for young adults which used materials already available. Beginning in 1952 with a grant from the Fund for Adult Education, W. W. (Andy) Eure, who was on leave from the USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, conducted a three-year program of public affairs discussions. The basic idea was to test the materials developed by the Fund for Adult Education and to evaluate their use in public affairs forums as a method of Extension education.

Probably unintentionally, the project also tested communications between the National 4-H Club Foundation and state Extension directors. Eure reported that test groups initially were selected through solicitation of state directors, but that method proved "relatively ineffective in getting groups established." The most effective method, Eure found, was direct contact from the National 4-H Club Foundation or the Federal Extension Service, in which Eure's staff demonstrated the material and discussed their purpose. Nevertheless, Eure noted that letters to state directors were the most desirable method from the policy and public relations point of view. Particularly in the early years, National 4-H Club Foundation personnel were extremely sensitive to the unique federal, state, and county arrangements of the Extension Service. The Foundation could work through Extension to seek state cooperation; they could not order it.

In the first year of the experiment, Eure helped establish seventeen test groups in seven states. That year 365 individuals in the eighteen to thirty age group participated in 151 discussions on world affairs and great men. The next year Eure was able to establish thirty-nine groups in fifteen states with over 1,000 participants. One of the most interesting experiments was conducted in Iowa, where the 4-H Foundation cooperated with Extension in using television facilities at Iowa State University. Twenty-six discussion groups involving nearly 300 participants viewed films and listened to speakers in their homes and attended 121 discussion sessions. The Iowa experiment suggested the advantages that television could bring to Extension, a method that received increasing attention in the future.

Eventually, Eure organized groups to discuss seven topics including Jefferson and Our Times, Ways of Mankind, Your Money and Your Life, and You and Your Community. The three-year study concluded that introducing the elements of a liberal education was an appropriate activity for the Extension Service, but that some specific methods for young adults were necessary. The study indicated that few young adults participated without the encouragement of an older adult. Eure concluded the club approach that characterized 4-H was not successful for young adult education. He suggested that ad hoc programs geared specifically to the discussion purpose at hand were better adapted to adult education.

Significantly, Eure recommended that public affairs programs should begin with younger participants in order to encourage their later participation as adults. He concluded his report with a hint that the success of future programs would depend on more cooperation by Extension administrators and state specialists. Although training in human development and emphasis on broadening the approach of 4-H were well underway in 1950, it was clear that Extension leaders in Washington, D.C., had a great deal of work ahead of them.¹⁷

The Foundation's pilot project and Eure's program were useful beginnings that indicated Extension would have to pursue young adult programs with the same vigor it had applied to 4-H. Then, opposition to their efforts arose from an unexpected source. At a Washington, D.C., meeting of several agricultural organizations and government officials in January 1952, farm leaders bluntly informed the Extension Service that they were totally opposed to its work with young adults. The National Grange representative clearly stated the Grange's opinion.

We do not approve of the use of public funds...to organize older rural youth groups. It is not in the best interest of this country when government agencies interpret their educational function to mean a complete freedom to organize groups under government control, rather than offering their services and time to the betterment of existing groups.

Spokesmen for the American Farm Bureau Federation were even more direct in a 1951 resolution stating that "attempts by federal agencies to expand their operations into out-of-school adult education fields are not condoned by Farm Bureau. We urge state and county Farm Bureaus to look into this situation and take steps to correct it." Farm organizations apparently viewed an aggressive 4-H office as a competitor for an audience they saw as their own.¹⁸

Without doubt, the adverse reaction of major farm organizations tended to dampen Extension's ardor for a young adult program. Nevertheless, 4-H leaders in the federal office continued to work toward some means of reaching that age group. Efforts to come to grips with young adult programming, however, never went beyond the study stage. As late as 1960, 4-H officials complained they did not have an adequate program outline that met the needs of young adults. That year the Minnesota State Extension Service conducted a lengthy survey in an attempt to define the needs of its young adult clientele. The survey results did not differ from the major findings of the pilot project in New England a decade earlier. Young adults emphasized the recreational and social needs of their age group and indicated needs for help in career exploration and vocational guidance. ¹⁹

While 4-H leaders never abandoned the effort to find ways of serving the needs of young adults, neither did they actively seek means to support it. ECOP formally ended its commitment to young adults in 1955 and discontinued its subcommittee assigned to the work. Instead, ECOP urged the 4-H subcommittee to develop ways of retaining young people in club work for a longer period. Within the federal 4-H division, however, personnel continued to keep the idea of a young adult program alive. In 1960, John Banning proposed the reinstatement of the Subcommittee on Young Men and Women's Work. He noted that fifteen states had assigned work with that age group to a state 4-H staff member. With a decline in the traditional 4-H age group in the 1960s, however, 4-H officials turned more attention to revitalizing their most successful program, and interest in specific young adult programs waned. It was symbolic, perhaps, that in 1963, Extension's Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs was renamed the Division of 4-H and Youth Development. In later years, however, Extension provided staff advisors for collegiate clubs whose members on about fifty campuses provided service and a source of volunteer help to 4-H. ECOP officially approved a national 4-H collegiate organization in 1974.²⁰

Agents are Trained in Social Sciences

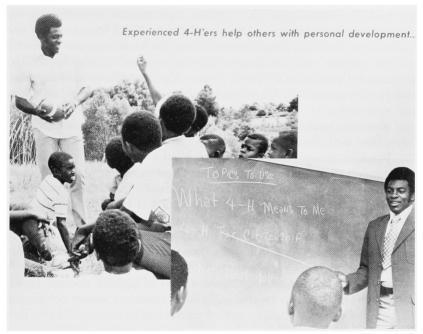
Although efforts to create a nationwide program for young adults never reached the level 4-H officials had hoped, the work was not without influence. The 4-H Foundation's pilot project reinforced the need for human development training among 4-H agents. Through a grant from The Sears-Roebuck Foundation, Extension offered fellowships to 4-H workers to attend an intensive workshop in human development at the University of Maryland in 1952. One of the first fellowship recipients was Edna Sommerfeld, a regional Extension agent who helped conduct the Foundation's pilot project. The Maryland Human Relations Workshop was one of the first Extension projects administered through the National 4-H Club Foundation. Aiton, who had a leave of absence from the USDA to serve as executive director of the Foundation, returned to the USDA earlier in the year to become director of the 4-H division. Aiton had worked hard to gain the Sears-Roebuck grant for human development training. Years later he recalled that he had been motivated by the same concerns that promoted 4-H agents to form state 4-H agents' associations. Aiton, a field agent for the northeastern states since 1944, was particularly close to the problems of 4-H agents in that part of the country. He agreed with the trend in the Northeast toward making adult work and youth work separate professional careers within the Extension Service.

After his return to the USDA, he hoped to see the NAE4-HA develop the same sense of professionalism that he had witnessed in the Northeast. Aiton also realized that for such an effort to succeed, 4-H agents would need training in the social sciences —a kind of training that was generally foreign to the education of most Extension workers. Aiton's own experience had been typical. "While we were all, I think, quite well trained in the basics of agriculture," Aiton rememberd, "we had very little sociology, and no anthropology, no human development aspects to our training." Earlier Extension 4-H efforts had been directed to "train kids to come back to the farm, or stay on the farm. Well, within the Department of Agriculture, some of us knew that there simply wasn't room for all the farm-raised kids or even the rural-raised kids on farms and so the training program, the emphasis, needed to be broadened. It just had to be."

Aiton was aware that pushing Extension 4-H training along new paths could encounter real resistance. "We deliberately didn't try to remove anything of the old. In other words, for those who felt that the straight line agriculture and the home economics was for them, they could continue and did. But there was a newer kind of thread of emphasis coming into it and that seemed to grow as you got better trained agents and better trained state personnel." At the higher levels of the land-grant colleges, agricultural deans were particularly put off by the new emphasis in 4-H training. Aiton recalled, "It was a bit threatening to them because we were going outside of the regular academic courses at the university, but eventually they came around and actually established courses." 22

There was some rebellion among Extension agents attending the first human development workshops. "Of all the confused, purposeless, time-wasting deals I ever got hooked on, this takes the boat," was the reaction of one participant in 1952. The training the agents received and particularly the methods employed were disturbingly different from previous classroom experiences. Many of the 4-H agents were getting their first taste of the social sciences at the workshop, which was conducted by Glenn Dildine of the University of Maryland's Institute for Child Study.

As Bob Kull, information specialist from Washington, wrote shortly after the first human relations workshop, "Our first loud gripes came from the freedom we had: no reading assignments, no exams, no term papers, no dictatorship in class. . ." Kull changed his mind during the six-week session as he developed an understanding of the methods and of himself. "In some ways the workshop was like a smorgasbord; we were free to select, sample, and chew any idea we chose," he stated. Kull left the workshop enthusiastic. He said he learned to be less dogmatic and to be more open-minded to the diversity Extension workers encountered among their clientele. ²³



"Learning by doing" has been the basic 4-H principle from the very beginning. Trained professionals help young people to understand themselves and to learn subject matter through project experiences.

Similar workshops at Maryland and at Cornell University became standard Extension 4-H training in the next years. The effect was widespread. Participants in the first workshops and personnel from the land-grant colleges and Federal Extension conducted workshops modeled on the Maryland experience throughout the country. Future Extension agents learned to take advantage of courses available to them at land-grant colleges. After in-service training, such as Kull experienced in the early 1950s, many Extension agents adopted a new perspective on their work. Each summer after 1958, Extension agents from around the country traveled to

Washington, D.C., for human relations training at the National 4-H Center.

Aiton, who monitored the first workshops closely, saw them as a turning point in 4-H. When considering the impact the workshops had on the agents, he noted that most "took home a realization that they didn't have to necessarily be the center of the learning process. They went home feeling that the kid was more important than the calf." In addition, Aiton felt that the first human relations workshops demonstrated that the Federal Extension Service had a role to play in training agents and developing and evaluating Extension programs beyond what had been done in the past. Aiton credited Extension Director M. L. Wilson with providing the support and philosophical base for establishing the USDA Extension Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs and the National 4-H Club Foundation for exploring and developing new areas of 4-H activity. The Foundation could investigate and evaluate new ideas, and the 4-H division could share that information with states so that new ideas received wide application.

From its inception the National 4-H Club Foundation was seen as a means of providing both training and research in the needs of the young people served by 4-H. With grants from the Rockefeller and Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundations, the 4-H Foundation began in early 1953 a series of research studies that proved important to the future of 4-H. The studies broke new ground for 4-H and ultimately provided the framework for 4-H's first move away from projects devoted to agricultural production.

While many intuitively knew that 4-H agents needed to develop more sensitivity to the individual needs of young people, no one was confident that they understood what those needs were. Dildine left the University of Maryland in September of 1952 to join the staff of the National 4-H Club Foundation. Dildine continued to play a major role in the human development workshops, but his primary responsibility on the Foundation staff was to coordinate a long-term study of the needs of youth. The goal of the investigation was to develop a citizenship education program for 4-H members. Dildine and his staff saw a close relationship between the citizenship program development and the continued development of human relations training for 4-H agents.

Study New Focus on Citizenship Training

The National 4-H Club Foundation secured a grant in 1953 from the Schwarzhaupt Foundation for a citizenship improvement study. Dildine insisted that "work in citizenship is inseparably related to the basic purpose of the Human Development-Human Relations work." He was willing to act as the coordinator of both programs because "it provided a chance to maintain many activities already under way, and also because the Citizenship Improvement Study promised to provide an ideal way to focus in depth on the basic purpose of the Human Development-Human Relations program."²⁵

By 1956 the project had produced a series of publications for Extension use. Action studies, as Dildine called them, were conducted primarily with the 4-H Foundation's New England pilot project and with a citizenship project in Texas. Dildine and his staff worked closely with Texas Extension leaders to help agents to better understand themselves and the people with whom they worked. Dildine also helped Negro Extension staff in Texas develop district 4-H councils, improve Negro project records, establish a state 4-H camp in "terms of its educational purposes," and evaluate the effectiveness of new programs. ²⁶

Dildine had insisted from the beginning that citizenship and human development were intricately related. In many ways, his citizenship improvement study was an elaborate extension of the human relations workshops that attracted 4-H agents to summer programs. That relationship was summarized in the unorthodox definition of "citizenship" used by the study groups: "The central feelings, attitudes and perceptions which an individual projects in his actions toward his relationships with others, in what we call social institutions and processes." In early discussions about the citizenship improvement study, the technical staff determined that the definition "should be broad enough to include varied pictures of a good citizen in our democracy. There are two reasons for this: 1) realistically, citizenship now means many things to different people involved in 4-H work; 2) personal growth and behavior are whole—all phases are inseparably lined within 'self', each influencing the others." Such a definition certainly threatened no one's idea of citizenship, but it also provided very little guidance.²⁷

In one pilot county an agent reported the results of citizenship as "helping a girl learn to understand herself and others and so improve her citizenship participation in home, school and club, through gaining understanding, confidence and ability in clothing selection, sewing and wearing." Another agent reported helping "an 'average' boy member of Junior Leadership Club deepen his ability to work well with others in club activities and in more casual peer and boy-girl relations." While these examples seemed to confuse citizenship with personal growth and development, some agents reported helping boys and girls in a citizenship club gain

skills in identifying and solving selected community problems.²⁸ A few other agents involved in the pilot project also focused on community activities and the participatory role of a citizen in a democratic society, but more often agents were clearly reticent to associate citizenship with its conventional definition of community involvement.

Most conspicuously absent in the citizenship definition that emerged from the Dildine study was any reference to the vexing problem of a citizen who finds ways to become well informed and then must choose among competing solutions to problems. In a democracy, such a process inevitably leads to disagreement and frequently to controversy. There seemed to be in the citizenship improvement study a singular effort to avoid that fundamental condition. That it provided a vehicle to teach human relations to another group of 4-H agents and pass those techniques along to club members seemed clear. The broad base of the program, however, made citizenship training in the traditional sense a fortuitous result. As late as 1976, a program committee noted the need for a more active role for 4-H in community development.²⁹

Nevertheless, the citizenship study had not been in vain. Training in citizenship and human relations became an important part of the 4-H program in the 1960s. One example was the Citizenship Short Course which had its origin in the needs of a local county 4-H club. In 1959 two clubs from Iowa asked permission to use the National 4-H Center and the 4-H Foundation staff to conduct a citizenship course. The Foundation readily agreed and that summer forty-two 4-H'ers from Buchanan County, Iowa, participated in the courses. Later in the summer a similar program involved a group of 4-H'ers from Marshall County, Kentucky. In September the Foundation sent a copy of the Iowa program and a questionnaire to state 4-H leaders. With a positive response from 39 states, the Foundation recommended that each state be informed of the availability of the facilities and staff to help Extension groups conduct citizenship courses.³⁰

Trustees of the Foundation unanimously approved the recommendation and referred the idea to the 4-H subcommittee, which gave its approval in February of 1960. The Citizenship Short Course—a success from its beginning—gave thousands of 4-H'ers their first look at the National 4-H Center they had helped buy. During the short courses, participants visited and received briefings from high-level government officials. Most visited their congressmen and senators. Trips to the White House nearly always were included. In recounting their Washington, D.C., experiences,

4-H'ers often mentioned their encounter with Dorothy Emerson. Emerson had worked on numerous national programs and continued a distinguished career after her retirement from the Maryland state 4-H staff. She was a tireless teacher who convinced thousands of 4-H'ers to accept leadership positions in their clubs and communities. In 1962, 1,300 4-H'ers and 200 adult advisors participated in thirteen week-long courses. By 1980, over 5,000 young people annually attended a citizenship program.³¹

In 1961, a year after the first formal short courses, the National 4-H Conference of Extension personnel from national and state offices devoted considerable time to studying and planning for future citizenship education. The conference broadened the Dildine idea of citizenship. Along with developing programs for citizenship in "face-to-face relations with others," the conference addressed the problems of citizenship in community affairs, citizenship in governmental relations and citizenship in international affairs. Ultimately, the conference produced a working outline for developing citizenship education at the local level. The outline proposed a series of steps and questions that urged participants to know their community, to understand their state and federal government, to become informed, and to work in community projects involving safety, recreation, school financing, voter registration and local job opportunities. Although not abandoned in the outlines, human relations became supplementary to the principal objective of stimulating young people to become aware and involved in the social and political community in which they lived.32

To further support local 4-H leaders, Extension and the National 4-H Club Foundation secured a grant from *Reader's Digest* in 1963 that helped establish a special citizenship laboratory at the National 4-H Center in the summer months. That year, ten states sent 4-H agents and state leaders to Washington, D.C., for training. States were committed to furthering citizenship education in their home programs. The citizenship education programs were an example of the county, state, and federal levels of 4-H working at their best.³³

A grant from Reader's Digest Foundation helped 4-H take citizenship training out of the classroom and into the community. Beginning in 1963 the 4-H Foundation provided Citizenship in Action grants awarded on a competitive basis to local 4-H groups. The awards, ranging from \$50 to \$500, encouraged the local group to also seek local funding. The projects had to be meaningful and realistic and not just a service activity. The ultimate goal of the grants was to allow 4-H'ers to exercise their social responsibility

and in that way combine their citizenship training with useful projects in their communities.

In general, eight states representing the four Extension regions of the country received Citizenship in Action grants in any one year. By 1968, the grants had produced activities ranging from conducting a three-day camping experience for disadvantaged youth in Johnson County, Kentucky, to helping restore a pioneer home and conducting tours in Ohio. Other groups participated in voting campaigns or helped erect posters on forest trails instructing people what to do in emergencies. The Citizenship in Action grants stimulated local 4-H groups to involve their community and themselves in citizenship responsibilities.³⁴

Human Development Training Expands to Volunteer Leaders

If Extension leaders recognized the need for expanded training of 4-H agents, they were equally concerned about the training of volunteer leaders. Volunteer leaders had been central to the success of 4-H club work since its inception. Without the enthusiastic involvement of thousands of adults willing to donate their time and energy to 4-H, little could have been accomplished. Training volunteer leaders followed the pattern of training 4-H professionals. In the early years, the volunteers were trained by 4-H agents in subject matter areas. They transferred the latest crop and animal husbandry techniques to the 4-H members with significant results. In later years, however, when Extension concern expanded to include general youth development, volunteers needed additional training as crucially as agents did.

After the creation of the 4-H division in the USDA, Extension personnel focused their attention on methods of improved volunteer leader training. One of the first staff members in the new division, C. C. Lang of Ohio, took on the assignment of improving volunteer leader training. Lang began a program called Leads for Leaders that brought the best training materials and methods developed by states to the attention of other states. Lang's program proved particularly useful and after he left the division in 1958, Extension brought V. Joseph McAuliffe from New York to continue the work.³⁵

Although state 4-H leaders and the 4-H division devoted considerable time to volunteer recruitment and training, the retention of volunteers beyond the first year remained low. In the mid-1950s Extension tried to find some answer to the problem. A study conducted by Laurel Sabrosky in the western region indicated that Extension would have to expend a great amount of effort to upgrade

volunteer training. Probably the most significant finding of the study was that only about half of the volunteer leaders ever attended a training session, and those who did, generally attended only one or two. Sabrosky judged the training sessions as inadequate for preparing leaders to solve the problems they would encounter in 4-H. In addition, the study indicated that agents expected all volunteers to receive the same training even though their work differed. Also most of the training was in traditional subject matter areas or procedures for filling out reports.³⁶



Recognizing the importance of volunteer leaders to the program, 4-H officials consider training leaders as important as training professional agents. The National 4-H Center has provided the staff and facilities for leader training. The first volunteer leaders' forum was held at the center in 1961.

The results of the western regional study were disturbing to leaders in Washington, D.C. Although the study included only the West, 4-H program leaders surmised that the problem existed throughout the country. In 1959, Fern Kelley of the 4-H division and Sabrosky authored a pamphlet designed to guide 4-H agents in providing more effective leadership training. They noted that it was not necessary to train every volunteer individually or to expect every volunteer to receive training in every subject. Training conducted over a period of years would eventually provide the county with a large group of excellent leaders. In the process, the leaders themselves and other resources persons in the community could be called upon to conduct training sessions. It seemed ironic that an

organization that used the slogan "learn by doing" used little of that technique in its own volunteer leader training. Kelley urged, and as nearly as an official could, pleaded with 4-H agents to use visual material and allow for considerable practice on the part of new volunteers. Kelley insisted that the training of volunteer leaders would improve only if 4-H believed that training was important.³⁷

The study prompted an additional investigation to determine why volunteers dropped out after the first year. Using records from eleven northeastern states, Sabrosky attempted in 1959 to find direct correlations between the activities of 4-H leaders and the causes of dropout. In addition, the study employed a sixteen-part personality profile which compared characteristics of 4-H leaders to those of the general population in order to determine if the profiles of continuing 4-H leaders differed from the profiles of those who dropped out in one year or less. The first significant conclusion of the study indicated that there was no measurable difference between those who continued as volunteer leaders and those who did not.

The study did indicate, however, that lack of training headed the list of reasons for dropping out. Volunteers apparently felt isolated and uncertain of their role in 4-H. Most had little training in educational principles and could not plan or conduct club meetings with confidence. The study noted that if 4-H agents wished to select volunteers with care, it was necessary for them to match characteristics of the individual with the type and number of tasks the volunteer was expected to perform. One significant conclusion of the study was that most volunteers felt that they should do considerably more tasks than they were doing. The study seemed to conclude that a volunteer's perception of his or her role was a significant factor in retaining the volunteer for a second year.³⁸

National 4-H officials continued to urge better training for volunteers throughout the next two decades. McAuliffe produced a series of publications that helped county 4-H agents be more successful in recruiting and training volunteers. Generally the emphasis was on convincing the agent that he or she must become a better manager of volunteers and break away from working directly with young people. McAuliffe and other 4-H division staff helped 4-H agents and state staffs to analyze their 4-H delivery systems and to think of volunteer leaders as part of the agent's staff. State and county officials were encouraged to distinguish various types of volunteers, to provide a different training environ-

ment for new volunteers and to direct the training toward the principal responsibilities of the individual volunteer.³⁹

When McAuliffe left the 4-H division for an assignment in Minnesota, Banning continued the work until V. Milton Boyce joined the staff in 1970 and continued to refine the material developed for volunteer training by the 4-H division. Boyce particularly stressed the management responsibilities of agents toward their volunteer staffs. He recommended that agents develop job descriptions for volunteers, record forms for their training schedule and well-planned training sessions that emphasized the 4-H philosophy, the organization's responsibility in community service, and the role of the volunteer in 4-H. In short, Boyce, as Banning and McAuliffe before him, tried to direct agents toward increasing their professional attitude and imparting that sense of professionalism to their volunteer staffs.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Extension used the National 4-H Center facilities for training volunteers. In 1960, Extension offered a series of weeklong forums for volunteer leaders. The leader forums did not replace local training, but began to supplement the work of local agents in professionalizing of the volunteer force. The program combined classes, tours of the nation's capital, meetings with Extension officials and time for volunteers from across the country to get to know one another. Probably most important, the forums provided an opportunity for volunteer leaders to exchange ideas, to improve their own techniques, and to feel a sense of belonging to a larger organization prepared to support their local efforts. 41

By 1970, 4-H served a larger and more diverse audience than at any time in its history. The growth and expansion of 4-H underscored the need for advanced training for staff and volunteers. At the urging of the USDA 4-H staff, ECOP in 1970 recommended the design and implementation of a long-term program of professional and volunteer leadership development. Under Banning's direction, a select committee of Extension representatives, 4-H Foundation staff and state 4-H leaders designed the program and secured a grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation to speed its implementation. The foundation grant of \$675,000 for five years, along with funding from the Extension Service, ensured a major 4-H leadership training effort. ⁴²

The 4-H Youth Staff Development and Training Program officially began in July of 1971. The program—designed to eventually reach 4-H leaders and staff from every state—involved county staff and leaders in designing model training programs at the local

level. Emphasis was once again on increasing the professionalism of 4-H agents by arming them with the latest information and methods in management techniques. The renewed vigor of the National Association of Extension 4-H Agents helped propel the program. In the 1970s the NAE4-HA worked closely with the 4-H division to improve its professional status and increase professional development opportunities. In retrospect, 4-H Division Administrator Vaughan credited the association for the healthy state of 4-H in the last decade. "That group," Vaughan insisted, "was responsible for the phenomenal growth of 4-H during a period of time when most, if not all, other major youth groups and organizations were declining. The wholehearted support and assistance of the 4-H Agents' Association was, I believe, an important factor." Without that growth and support, advanced staff development might have remained only a dream.



Growth and expansion of 4-H brought the need for advanced training. The 4-H Youth Staff Development and Training Program, begun in 1972 with a W. K. Kellogg Foundation grant, brought professionals and volunteers to Washington, D. C., for training seminars. Some early participants were, *from left*, Robert Davis of California, Hezekiah Singleton of California, and G. William Stone of Illinois.

The initial response from state leaders and county agents to the new staff development program was enthusiastic. Typically, those who attended the seminars, classes, and workshops were skeptical at the beginning and converts at the end. An agent from Connecticut noted that the program increased his satisfaction with his position as a county 4-H agent. Another said that the training in advanced techniques which he had received in just two weeks was more than he could have acquired in several years at the county level. Nearly all commented that the key ingredient making the training worthwhile was the program approach of allowing participants to identify specific problems and then working with Extension staff experts and outside consultants to find realistic solutions to those problems.⁴⁴

Fellowships and Internships Professionalize 4-H Work

The 1970s also witnessed the reinstitution of a successful training program that had been absent since 1965. Beginning in 1931 with money provided by the Payne Fund of New York, Extension offered a number of fellowships to professionals working in 4-H. The 4-H. fellows spent a year in Washington, D.C., working with Extension staff personnel on 4-H programs and becoming acquainted with 4-H at the national level. The National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Work, with financial help from the Massey-Ferguson Company and Edwin T. Meredith Foundation, offered six fellowships annually to local 4-H workers starting in 1939. The fellowship program was discontinued when the private donors withdrew their support because of economic conditions. Then in 1972 with financial support from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Extension initiated a 4-H intern program patterned after the earlier fellowship. The new program reflected the expanded character of 4-H in that anvone in Extension 4-H—including paraprofessionals and volunteers—was eligible for the internships. More than 150 individuals received support through the 4-H fellowship and internship programs. Most continued active careers in 4-H as professionals or volunteers and contributed significantly to the effort of professionalizing 4-H staffs.45

No activity occupied more time of the 4-H division than staff development and training. Extension leaders as well as representatives from the private support groups devoted many hours to working with state and county 4-H professionals and volunteers. The effort was aided considerably by the continued support of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, which approved a second grant of \$670,000 in 1976 to help finance an additional five-year staff development and training program. While everyone agreed that the training program had been more than successful, problems that had vexed 4-H from the early years persisted. A 1977 report on the needs of 4-H agents and volunteer leaders read much like a report from 1947. 4-H agents needed better salaries to encourage them to view 4-H

work as a career. Volunteer recruitment, training and retention remained at the top of a list of difficulties prepared by delegates to the 1977 National 4-H Conference. While training and development programs undoubtedly improved the quality of 4-H activities, the national staff realized their work was not done.⁴⁶

Concurrently, Extension also worked to make advanced training more accessible to agents. As early as 1950, Aiton had seen the need for prospective 4-H agents to receive college training in the social sciences. By the 1960s agents with backgrounds in sociology, psychology and liberal arts along with traditional agricultural and home economics training were commonplace. The National Advisory Committee to the Staff Development and Training Program recommended in 1973 that Extension Service staff and selected land-grant universities develop a curriculum for educating future Extension agents. Several universities, including Kansas State, Maryland, Purdue, Rutgers and Wisconsin, had developed and instituted such a curriculum by 1976. The curriculum program had moved so fast that Extension agents were ready by that year to push for professional certification of those who had completed university curricula designed for Extension agents.⁴⁷

Perhaps more than any other concept, the training program begun in 1971 instilled in 4-H agents their role as managers. This created a paradox because working directly with young people was generally the reason most agents had entered the profession. Management seemed to remove them at least one step from the source of their personal satisfaction, but 4-H officials thought it necessary in order to increase efficiency and reach more youngsters. As Banning noted in retrospect: "Leadership changed faster than the Extension people. . .kept up with it. They're managers; they're chairmen; the volunteers take over. You see, if you are this manager, it used to be that the main thing was to get people to be up-front leaders of a group of boys and girls, but now we are talking about a volunteer staff that might help you with anything. They might train a volunteer that trains another volunteer. They might recruit other volunteers. They may do all kinds of things to help." Banning was not unaware of the problem of convincing the 4-H agent that management could be satisfying. "Probably the greatest obstacle," he commented, "has been the fact that people who got into youth work and stay in it love the satisfaction of working with the kids. And once you start using the volunteer system, you remove yourself and you don't get those kicks anymore. We had to train them that there can be just as much satisfaction from helping adults grow, improve, and keeping your whole program growing and reaching more youth through the system you developed and managed."48

For all its problems, not the least persistent being the low retention rate of volunteers, the general reliance on professional 4-H agents and dedicated volunteers proved remarkably successful. In 1978, over 578,000 individuals were volunteer 4-H leaders. The time they devoted to the program was valued at nearly \$800 million. The number of volunteers attracted to 4-H seemed to be on the rise by 1980. With additional training provided for both county agents and the growing volunteer force, Extension officials looked to the future with confidence.⁴⁹

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6

International 4-H

Years of indecision drew to a close in 1973 when the 4-H Subcommittee of the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP) finally approved a request to add the words and my world to the 4-H pledge. It was the first time the familiar pledge had been officially changed, although the 1973 action was principally a recognition of what many states already had done on their own. For years Iowa 4-H'ers had simply added and my world whenever they said the pledge. A few other states did the same. The unofficial line began to sound like an echo at national 4-H meetings and leaders wished privately that the organization could at least reach unanimity on the pledge. The subcommittee requested that the addition be discussed by delegates at the 1967 National 4-H Conference and reviewed in the National 4-H News as a guide to further consideration. The conference supported the addition, but the subcommittee took no action. Two years later the issue arose again when the subcommittee decided to survey the states. With 38 states responding, the survey indicated that 4-H members did not want the change and neither did agents or volunteer leaders. The issue rested there until 1973. That year the National 4-H Conference delegates again asked for the addition of and my world. The subcommittee finally acquiesced and on a four-two vote, recommended to ECOP that the 4-H pledge be amended.1

The change in the pledge approved by ECOP, reflected a reality in 4-H work that had grown in the postwar years from a modest exchange of farm youth into a program encompassing over fifty countries in Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America. In addition, 4-H was intimately involved in training Peace Corps volunteers, assisting other countries with the development of rural youth clubs, organizing caravans of young people for short-term foreign living experiences; and introducing international themes into regular 4-H activities throughout the United States. Other programs with Japan, the Philippines, South Korea, and the Republic of China brought young farmers to the United States for agricultural training. If there was any question of 4-H's worldwide impact be-

fore World War II, there was none by the 1980s. Either as 4-H, 4-S, 4-C or some other designation, the theme and the symbol had become a world traveler.

Youth work modeled after 4-H had existed in many countries since the 1920s. Particularly in England, Canada, and Latvia, youth work had early beginnings. Extension personnel helped to cultivate 4-H in other countries. Ray A. Turner, Gertrude Warren and C. B. Smith of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Extension staff worked with the Latvian government to establish 4-H clubs. All three received the Order of the Three Stars, the highest civil order conferred by Latvia. Canadian youth clubs began at nearly the same time as those in the United States. By the mid-1920s Canadian clubs were flourishing. Over the years hundreds of American and Canadian 4-H'ers exchanged visits. Exchanges between members living in states bordering Canada and Canadian club members continue today.

Warren in particular kept in close contact with foreign youth agencies in the 1930s and published several reports on international 4-H youth work. World War II brought most foreign youth club work to a halt. With the Baltic states including Latvia swallowed up by the Soviet Union, little chance existed for renewal of 4-H in Eastern Europe. In Western Europe, however, hundreds of American soldiers in the occupation forces were 4-H alumni. Many used their free hours helping the children of war-torn lands and it was not surprising that one of the first major international efforts of 4-H was aiding the recovery of Western Europe.

4-H clubs throughout the nation organized foreign relief projects. One county in Connecticut collected over \$200 for seeds to be used to grow 365 tons of vegetables. Another project in Kansas. Ohio and Oregon organized a shipment of dairy animals to European countries. Mississippi 4-H clubs sent dairy animals to Greece. Georgia 4-H members sent nearly 15,000 cans of fruits and vegetables to Europe. In addition, 4-H clubs collected thousands of personal items such as soap, toothpaste, and toothbrushes for Europe. Clubs also raised funds for donation to CARE, collected gardening tools and established correspondence clubs with young people in Europe. Young club members in Montana and Illinois assembled over 1,500 boxes containing food, seed and clothing for distribution. Louisiana, Massachusetts and other states established similar projects. In the years immediately after the war, European and Asian relief became a major activity of 4-H clubs in the United States. As the boxes and packages were exported, so was the concept of 4-H.²



4-H'ers became more aware of other nations during World War II. Numerous 4-H clubs organized pen pal programs and collected food and other items for young people in war-torn Europe and Asia. These two New York 4-H'ers contribute a box of garden seeds to be sent to Germany.

4-H Concept Grows in Other Countries

In Germany, American occupation forces spontaneously organized recreation activities and discussion groups for young people. By April 1946, the Army High Command was impressed enough with those individual efforts to set up the German Youth Activities (GYA) program. By the end of the year, the Army had established over 300 GYA centers serving 800,000 boys and girls. The young people regularly attended classes in handicrafts, sports, gardening, and leadership training. They also engaged in public forums, correspondence projects, dramatics, and singing in addition to vocational. cultural, and other recreational activities. United States officers and enlisted personnel as well as paid German instructors were aided by over 3,000 American and German volunteers. While Army funds were available to pay some youth leaders, there was no money to support other needs of the GYAs. Supplies, writing material, and recreational equipment were acquired through the age-old Army custom of "scrounging" and from donations.³



American service personnel with 4-H experience helped establish 4-H in occupied areas of Europe. This young Austrian prepares a beehive display whose sign says: What is a Beehive? 1. A small sugar factory. 2. A wax producer. 3. A chemical laboratory. 4. An infant nursery. 5. An organization for pollinating plants.

Principal reasons for establishing the GYA program were to help combat juvenile delinquency and to introduce young Germans to the principals of democratic society. The Youth Helps Youth program worked to reorient a young population that had known only authoritarian society. 4-H adopted the program as a regular activity in which members corresponded with young people in Germany. 4-H'ers wrote about their daily lives, their schools, and their club and its activities. Members also collected used clothing, yarn, thread, needles, used sports equipment, paper and writing and

drawing materials for shipment to a GYA center. As one American official noted: "GYA is teaching a new way of life to thousands of German children, teaching them independence and a love of freedom, cooperation and leadership. It is the most constructive program in Germany today."⁴



As 4-H traveled around the world following World War II, the movement spread quickly throughout Korea; more than 100,000 South Korean youngsters belonged to 4-H clubs by 1950.

Meanwhile, half way around the world in Korea, another United States serviceman was actively engaged in establishing 4-H. In the same manner that the Army established the GYA program in Germany, Colonel Charles A. Anderson, the Military Governor of Kyonggi, and his civilian counterpart, Ja Ok Koo, held a referendum on the question, "Should a 4-H Club Be Organized in Kyonggi Province?" Nearly 100 percent of the eligible voters voted and a large majority marked their ballots favorably. With Anderson's help over the next two years, South Korean officials organized 4-H clubs, trained volunteer leaders, and established county contests. By the end of 1948 there were over 50,000 young boys and girls in clubs in Kyonggi Province.⁵

The 4-H movement soon spread throughout Korea. A representative of the Korean 4-H clubs attended the 1949 National 4-H Congress in Chicago. Two years later, the Korean Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry adopted the 4-H model for its Rural Youth Education Program. In August 1954, the America-Korean Foundation established a program to assist 4-H in Korea and invited Anderson to return as the project advisor. That same year, Korea established a national 4-H committee and held its first national 4-H contest. Twelve Texas 4-H members arrived in Korea in 1955 with gifts of tools, seeds, livestock and friendship. 4-H'ers from Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee and Texas brought a similar cargo from the United States the following year. By the end of the decade, 4-H club work was active in every South Korean province. Leadership training programs for professional workers established under a 1957 law were common. 4-H club volunteers from each province attended national 4-H workshops by 1959. A year later Korea's 3,729 clubs had 142,595 members served by 6.528 volunteer leaders along with professional help from the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.6

The impact of 4-H development in foreign countries was significant. By the end of the 1950s, Japan recorded 13,000 4-H clubs with over 250,000 members. Japan's 4-H program began as part of the military occupation in 1948. The Japanese established a national director and enlisted the aid of the country's largest newspaper to publicize and help promote 4-H exhibits at local fairs. Although lacking some equipment and materials, the 4-H clubs flourished. Since the Japanese language did not easily adapt itself to the clover symbol and 4-H, the Japanese simply added 4-H to their vocabulary. M. Acki, director of Japanese 4-H clubs, noted in 1950 that three books describing 4-H already had been published. "Although still in its infancy, the 4-H clubs of Japan have throughout the country started to crawl," he said, adding, "We are confident that the rural rehabilitation of Japan will be accelerated by the 4-H movement. The economic stability of the entire nation stems from the prosperity of our farms, and the 4-H movement is very suitable for its development."7

Perhaps the most elaborate 4-H program in occupied countries was established in Austria in 1949 as part of the Marshall Plan. That year officials of the Austrian Agricultural Department prepared leaflets and books modeled on American literature to help establish 4-H in rural areas of the country. Pamphlets titled, Was Sind Die 4-H Klubs?" ("What are the 4-H clubs?"), circulated

throughout the Austrian countryside. Within a year, 4-H clubs had taken root and projects were under way. A club leader's handbook virtually the same as that used in the United States helped establish the familiar 4-H model in Austria.⁸

In other countries, particularly in the Caribbean, 4-H work had begun in the 1930s. A model program begun in Puerto Rico in 1934 encouraged other Caribbean and Latin American countries. Nearby Jamaica, under British jurisdiction, instituted a program in 1938. Cuba's program dated from the 1930s and was looked upon with keen interest by the United States. In 1946, Dorothy Emerson of the Maryland state 4-H office and Warren visited Cuba and while there received an invitation to visit Jamaica. During the war years, officials from Brazil, Chile and Peru visited the United States to study Extension methods and returned to establish Extension Services including 4-H in their countries.

Between 1944 and 1953, twenty-three countries in Asia, Europe and Latin America established 4-H clubs. Another thirty-eight countries, including several in Africa, initiated 4-H programs, between 1953 and 1962. The inauguration of the People to People program in the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration undoubtedly served as a further stimulus to expanding 4-H after 1956. By 1965, 4-H-type clubs existed in seventy-six countries with a total membership of over 4 million young people. It became virtually impossible to travel to any corner of the globe and not encounter the familiar clover symbol. After sending questionnaires to rural youth groups throughout the world, the National 4-H Foundation developed the first *World Atlas of 4-H* in 1963. It succeeded an earlier guide to international 4-H prepared by Maurice Hill of the USDA 4-H division.¹⁰

Government officials, Extension agents, and 4-H club leaders in the United States were well aware that the American system could be a model for 4-H in other countries, but it was not possible to duplicate exactly the American experience. The 4-H movement in the United States was a distinctive phase of informal educational activity that had grown out of the particular American experience. The cardinal principle governing the adaptation of 4-H club work in other countries was to recognize local customs, local needs, and local institutions. 4-H club activities were recognized increasingly in the United States as being valuable in the general development of young men and women. In 1958, Henry Seften, a member of the Foreign Student Training Staff in ES, USDA, and Kathleen Flom of the National 4-H Club Foundation, were instrumental in the preparation of a publication, Rural Youth Clubs

Around the World. It was used extensively in promoting the establishment of 4-H-type programs in other countries. ¹¹ Those officials who aided in establishing 4-H in other countries frequently looked to the human development potential as much as to specific skills in agricultural production. In 1972, the Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz entered into an agreement which provided for the formation of 4-H groups on U.S. military installations, both in this country and abroad. ¹²

4-H leaders also recognized that it was not possible to establish a large continuing program immediately. 4-H clubs needed to begin with relatively modest origins and grow within the context of their host country. Many countries that adopted 4-H in the postwar years were either in a state of destruction or had not extensively developed their agricultural resources. In underdeveloped countries in particular, it was impossible for farm families living at a subsistence level to divert their limited incomes to 4-H club projects. The projects had to be designed to fit within a subsistence economy in the beginning years. In some countries the emphasis of early 4-H club work was primarily on the movement's recreational and social aspects rather than on production. One of the main attractions of 4-H to government officials in developing countries was its flexibility under local conditions. It was also clear that if 4-H were to survive and prosper, local leaders had to be identified and trained. That was a major difficulty in the United States, and even more difficult in a culture that had no experience with voluntary organizations.

4-H leaders in foreign countries generally were sensitive to political realities. In highly structured political systems, it was difficult to keep 4-H separate from efforts of political leaders to control youth clubs and education. To every possible extent, American representatives tried to remain aloof from politics. Emphasizing the local character of 4-H was the only real argument available to keep political considerations to a minimum. Ultimately, the establishment of 4-H had two objectives: first, to begin the long process of improving the agricultural production and lives of rural residents; and second, to foster an understanding between young people of foreign countries and the United States. As F. T. Wahlen, of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), told delegates to the 1950 4-H Club Camp in Washington, D.C.: "In my estimation youth enthusiasm and pluck are two of the greatest assets any individual has during his lifetime. To make constructive use of this youthful vigor, one must have ideals. The importance of upholding these ideals, however different their expressions are in

different countries, cannot be overemphasized. This Open House will promote continuous friendly relations between rural youth workers in the various countries and strengthen the will for peace and cooperation."¹³

IFYE Links Americans to World 4-H

The growth of 4-H around the world was impressive, but it touched the lives of few Americans. The International Farm Youth Exchange (IFYE) was one of the few links. From its modest beginnings in 1948, IFYE expanded each year to include larger numbers of exchangees and a growing list of participating countries. Although only a few American delegates participated in the first year, the organizational structure and necessary cooperative arrangements were considerable. Certainly, the program benefitted from an endorsement by the secretary of state and cooperation with the agricultural attachés of American embassies in the host countries. Sponsors of the first IFYE program had hoped to send twenty-five American delegates, but could secure steamship passage for only seventeen. Twenty-three states submitted fifty-five nominations from which the first delegates were chosen. 14

The IFYE program was designed to allow individual delegates to exercise a good deal of initiative, although in one case perhaps too much initiative was required. In 1951, Elfegio Baca, Jr., was the first IFYE delegate from New Mexico and probably the first Hispanic IFYE. When he arrived in his host country of Brazil no one knew why he was there. Communications somewhere along the line had broken down. Baca thought that since he spoke Spanish, he could quickly learn Portuguese. Mastering that, he simply struck out across the country making his own contacts with host families and, in effect, creating his own program. ¹⁵

Many of the first delegates remained active in 4-H after their IFYE travels. Russell Mawby, IFYE to England, became state 4-H leader in Michigan and then president of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, major contributor to 4-H programs. Raymond Dankenbring interrupted his journalism studies at Iowa State College to visit Italy as one of the first IFYE delegates. Dankenbring later joined the public relations department of the Ralston Purina Company. He remained in close contact with 4-H through the company's sponsorship of 4-H projects and his personal involvement in IFYE alumni activities. Dankenbring remembered his IFYE experience as being particularly good. He worked on large and small farms in southern Italy and spent his weekends in Rome recording and writing articles to send back to Iowa. While he did not think he had

taught much agriculture to his Italian hosts, he felt learning that very recent enemies could be decent people was an important experience for him. Although language barriers proved no difficulty for Dankenbring, the inability to achieve a facility in the language of their host country made for some very lonely IFYEs. Language training prior to their travel in later years lessened the problem.¹⁶

Early in the development of the project, E. W. Aiton and his advisory board decided that the exchange should not be limited to only 4-H members. They sought cooperation from most youth-serving groups in the country. Only the Rural Youth of the U.S.A. directly contributed funds to support the exchange, but delegates represented Future Farmers of America, church groups, and Rural Youth of the U.S.A., as well as 4-H. Several companies and foundations along with the 4-H staffs of the delegates' home states contributed to financing the first year's program. Each state sending a delegate provided \$500 toward the trip; the rest of the expense was borne by the IFYE program except for a small amount paid by the delegates themselves. Substantial contributions to the first exchange came from the Carnegie Foundation as well as Allis-Chalmers Company, French Potash & Import Company, Kerr Glass Manufacturing Corporation, and The Sears-Roebuck Foundation.¹⁷

All seventeen delegates attended a one-day orientation program in Washington, D.C., before boarding converted troopships in New York. The eight-day cruise to Europe provided time for additional orientation under the guidance of the Institute of International Education. All delegates spent their first two weeks in Great Britain. Four remained in Britain for their tour, while the others traveled to Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Norway and Sweden/Finland. Generally, it was planned that the host country would pay the local room and board expenses of the delegates, with the IFYE sponsors accepting the same responsibility for exchangees in the United States. In two countries the arrangement apparently had been misunderstood and the delegates incurred expenses they had not anticipated. For a new program requiring the coordination of so many people and countries, IFYE went smoothly in its first year. ¹⁸

The need for a formal structure to supervise and promote the IFYE program led, in part, to the establishment of the National 4-H Club Foundation. For Extension to solicit and appropriate private donations had always been a little disquieting. When the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work indicated its interest in a different form of funding foreign exchanges, a separate nonprofit foundation seemed a reasonable answer. In the program's early years, however, personnel in the Extension office in

Washington simply found time to manage IFYE. Warren Schmidt agreed to join the staff to help the operation in 1950, and two years later, took a leave of absence to work with National 4-H Club Foundation and direct the International Farm Youth Exchange. By the third year of operation, it had become a full-time job. Response from states and private donors to the program was enthusiastic, but each year the organizing and fund-raising process had to begin anew. ¹⁹



The International Farm Youth Exchange, which began in 1948, has contributed to worldwide understanding by sending thousands of young Americans to foreign countries and by having visitors from abroad live with host families. In 1955, Amarjit Singh, second from right, talks about his homeland with the Roy Tate family of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Nevertheless, the program continued to expand in both the number of Americans traveling overseas and the number of foreign youth coming to the United States. In 1950, thirty states raised the required \$900 to send a delegate to a foreign country. In exchange, each participating state could expect two foreign visitors for three to six months. That year saw delegates traveling to Japan and Korea, the first non-European countries to enter the program. By 1953, more than 300 American farm youth had been IFYE delegates and over 200 foreign young people had come to the United States. IFYE delegates that year traveled to Europe, Asia and as

far away as Australia. The worldwide expansion of the exchange inevitably increased the cost, which was nearly \$1,200 per delegate. The costs were shared by the sponsoring state and the National 4-H Club Foundation. With ninety delegates from the United States that year, the program was becoming a large financial item.²⁰

The itinerary for IFYE delegates had become more or less routine by 1952. After selection and orientation in their home state and in Washington, D.C., the delegates traveled to their host countries. Once abroad, the IFYE groups separated for transportation to host families. An IFYE delegate could expect to live with five to nine families during the stay of four to six months in a country. Delegates became part of the family, helping with farm work and participating in family activities. An individual could become an IFYE delegate regardless of his or her financial circumstances, because host families provided food, room and transportation to the next host family. In some cases where providing meals and rooms would be a burden on the hosts, additional funds were made available for the IFYE delegate to purchase food and lodging in the nearest town.²¹

A unique aspect of the IFYE program was an obligation on the part of a selected delegate to spend considerable time spreading the word at home. Sometimes that led to astonishing activity. One returned IFYE delegate reported delivering over 150 lectures to 4-H clubs, civic groups and schools. As the program expanded to less developed countries, the variety of experiences widened. In 1952, Bob Hume of Massachusetts, spent his IFYE months working in vineyards in France and living with Arab farmers in Tunisia. Hume was a particularly good ambassador and impressed the Arab population when he went to the airport to wish one of his hosts a safe trip to the Moslem religious shrines in Mecca. 22 By the end of the decade, IFYE delegates could recount thousands of similar experiences. At the tenth anniversary of IFYE in 1958, Harold Sponberg, formerly of the National 4-H Club Foundation and later the vice president of Northern Michigan College, summed up the first IFYE decade.

We meet within a coliseum of world responsibility. There is no other group quite comparable to this one. Your personal experience in the IFYE adventure converges from nearly every nation of the world at this very moment. From these experiences you have become wiser, more knowledgeable, more sensitive, and even a little more somber and serious. You have learned as few others have learned, that our nation, without conquest, war, in-

trigue or outright negotiation has become the leader of the free world. Almost reluctantly, we have been asked to exercise our influence—militarily, educationally, economically, politically, and sometimes personally. Ten years ago you knew world leadership was a fact; now it is a mission; tomorrow it will be a matter of survival.²³

Sponberg had every reason to feel confident about the future of the IFYE program. In a decade it had gained a reputation as one of the most successful international exchange programs in the nation. In its first ten years of operation, more than 2,100 exchangees had participated, nearly 1,000 from the United States and nearly 1,200 from other countries. Forty-four states had sent delegates to foreign countries and the United States had hosted exchangees from sixty countries. Program leaders estimated that more than 25,000 farm families had been hosts.

The hope that IFYE delegates would be ambassadors of goodwill also seemed to have been fulfilled. During the first decade IFYE delegates gave over 140,000 talks to 10 million people, delivered 12,000 radio/TV addresses and prepared articles for 60,000 newspapers and magazines. Perhaps more importantly, growing numbers of IFYE participants from the United States and other countries became leaders in their Extension systems.²⁴

IFYE had been from the beginning a cooperative program between the states and the National 4-H Foundation. Funding the program was always a constant problem. In the program's earlier years, several large long-term grants provided most of the financial support. A significant grant from the Ford Foundation gave the program a secure financial base through the 1950s. With important support from private sources such as International Harvester, Nestlé, Olin-Mathieson and The Sears-Roebuck Foundation, the program's finances were adequate enough to allow larger numbers of delegates to go to more countries each year. In keeping with its general policy of providing initial but not continuous support, the Ford Foundation gave the National 4-H Foundation a four-year reducing grant in 1955 with the intention of ending its support in 1959. Private support increased in the next years when the Grocery Manufacturers of America conducted a fund-raising drive to support IFYE. Other private companies, such as Olin-Mathieson and Creole Petroleum, provided support funds for IFYE exchanges with countries in which they had particular interest. The Nestlé Company supported exchanges in 1958 with countries where it had business interests, assuming some of the program the Creole Petroleum Company had started.25

Private support was such that officials at the National 4-H Foundation were confident that the program would have a sound financial base by the end of the Ford Foundation's reducing grant. Consequently, the 4-H Foundation did not feel that state contributions needed to be increased. But in the year the Ford Foundation grant terminated, a series of unexpected events placed the program in jeopardy. The arrangement with India suddenly was canceled. which put a strain on the administrative budget for the IFYE program. With that cancellation, and an unanticipated elimination of support for fourteen exchangees by the Olin-Mathieson Company. it appeared that the 1959 exchange would have to be cut by nearly one-third. In order to rescue the program, the Ford Foundation agreed to extend its grant. That, plus increased state contributions. increases in private support for specific exchanges, and financing from the general funds of the 4-H Foundation, made it possible to continue at the rate of 100 exchanges a year. After 1960, the Department of State provided significant support to IFYE, particularly for exchanges with less-developed countries.²⁶

Thousands of persons had participated in IFYE by 1965, when the European IFYE Alumni Association organized the first World IFYE Alumni Conference in Switzerland. Former IFYE's from throughout the world gathered to renew acquaintances and review the program after nearly twenty years of activity. One of the principal speakers was L. S. Nichols, who had been with the program in the United States almost from its inception. Nichols probably had a closer association with more IFYE exchangees than any other individual. He directed the orientation programs for both those leaving the United States and those delegates coming to America. Many IFYEs remembered Nichols affectionately as "PaPa IFYE." Reviewing the history of IFYE, Nichols noted that it had expanded not only in the number of countries involved, but also in depth. In the early years, IFYE tended to be a series of individual exchanges with little opportunity for the IFYEs visiting the United States to meet one another. A mid-point conference brought visiting IFYEs together at a university campus for exchanges of ideas and instruction from university staff in areas of particular interest: the meeting provided a means for the IFYE program to help participants feel a sense of common purpose. Nichols speculated on the reason IFYE had lasted and grown, noting that "had we been born at the beginning of mankind and lived until the date of our birth, we would not have seen as many changes as we have actually already seen in our lifetimes." IFYE had continued, Nichols thought, because it had been flexible enough to change with the rapidly changing world.²⁷

4-H Joins Peace Corps

While some debate continues on whether IFYE was a model for the Peace Corps of the 1960s, the experience that Extension and 4-H gained in international work in the postwar years undoubtedly placed it in a unique position to take advantage of Peace Corps opportunities. Grant Shrum, director of the National 4-H Foundation, testified before Congress in favor of the Peace Corps and related the experience of fourteen years of IFYE work. John Banning of the USDA 4-H division served on the Peace Corps Advisory Committee in its earliest years. Shortly after President John F. Kennedy signed the Peace Corps bill into law, 4-H moved to become involved.

Responding to a suggestion from the American ambassador to Brazil, the National 4-H Foundation submitted to the Peace Corps in the spring of 1961 an outline for a program in Brazil. That summer, Peace Corps officials asked Schmidt and George Coleman, director of the first Peace Corps project in Brazil, to go to South America to investigate the possibility of volunteers working through Brazil's Extension organization and 4-S program. After returning, Schmidt develped a proposal that would place fifty-eight Peace Corps volunteers in Brazil.

Schmidt outlined a substantial program costing an estimated \$750,000 over a two-year period, 4-H Foundation officials recruited fifty-five volunteers for training and selected forty-three to go to Brazil. Those chosen had been trained in agriculture through high school vocational agriculture or academic work at an agricultural college. Officials looked for young men and women with considerable 4-H experience, and IFYE alumni were prime candidates. The 4-H Foundation proposed extended training sessions in Washington, D.C., to include language, technical skills, human relations, history and geography of Brazil, health practices, United States history and relations with Latin America, and physical training. After an orientation in Brazil, the volunteer teams moved to four regional project sites under the supervision of a volunteer leader for each region. A national supervisor of the program maintained liaison with the Brazilian government and Brazil's Extension Service.²⁸

The project was intended to aid the further development of 4-S work in Brazil. The American volunteers worked under the direct supervision of local Brazilian Extension agents. The original proposal suggested that the entire project be placed under the supervision of Santiago Apodaca, who had been involved with the development of the Brazilian 4-S program in 1952. In 1961, Apodaca was a

regional rural youth specialist with the Inter-American Rural Youth Program, a project sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation in cooperation with the Organization of American States headquartered in Costa Rica. The 4-H Foundation hoped to hire Apodaca on a part-time basis. Another possibility was Geronimo Chavez, a former 4-H leader in New Mexico who was then in Brazil as a rural youth advisor for the United States Agency for International Development (AID). Chavez had been instrumental in proposing a Peace Corps project in Brazil to help expand the 4-S program. ²⁹

The Peace Corps had signed a contract with the National 4-H Foundation by November 1961 to run the Brazil program. One of those volunteering to be a Peace Corps leader in Brazil was Francis Pressly. A North Carolinian, Pressly had been an IFYE delegate to Italy in 1951 and six years later was an IFYE fellow at the 4-H Foundation. After several years as an Extension agent, he volunteered for the Peace Corps. Peace Corps recruits began arriving at the National 4-H Center in Chevy Chase in January 1962. When neither Apodaca nor Chavez could take the supervisory position, 4-H Foundation officials realized they had a likely candidate at hand. Late in January, Schmidt asked Pressly to resign from the Peace Corps to become project supervisor for the Brazilian program.³⁰

Although Pressly had no experience in Latin America, he possessed the initiative and enthusiasm that marked the Peace Corps volunteer. His IFYE experience helped prepare him for living in a foreign environment and he understood that creating a sense of goodwill and understanding between peoples was at the heart of the Peace Corps effort as it had been with IFYE.³¹

Although the 4-H Foundation contract with the Peace Corps did not require a specific evaluation, extensive program evaluations were traditional in Extension. Since the 4-H Foundation intended to propose additional Peace Corps projects and was equipped to carry out an evaluation, officials took advantage of the opportunity to gain as much experience as possible from the Brazilian program. For the most part, the volunteers found the project deficient in two areas. Their training had not prepared them for the resistance they encountered from their Brazilian counterparts. Most felt that more training in the country and less in the United States might have lessened the problem. The majority of volunteers, undoubtedly feeling the isolation of being in a different country, wished to see the volunteer leaders and the project supervisor more often. Some administrative problems arose that were easily solved. The Brazilians felt the volunteers did not have sufficient

technical expertise, but conceded that the Americans were experts at organization.³²

Evaluations by the first Peace Corps group in Brazil provided information that helped streamline and improve the training that later volunteers received for work in Brazil and other countries. 4-H involvement in Peace Corps projects quickly expanded. Shortly after the start of the program in Brazil, additional projects were initiated in El Salvador, Uruguay and Venezuela. In 1964, 4-H began a Peace Corps project in Sarawak and Malaysia in Southeast Asia and proposed projects for Nepal and Niger. Not every proposal became a program. Difficulties with host countries and an inability to satisfactorily arrange for the volunteers occasionally terminated a project such as the Nepal proposal before it could get under way.

One of the most interesting parts of the Brazilian program was the establishment of relations between Brazilian 4-S clubs and 4-H clubs in the United States. American 4-H'ers became directly involved in the effort to improve production in Brazil. 4-H clubs and church groups from New England and New York sent a planeload of pigs for distribution to Brazilian 4-S clubs in 1964. That same year, Joe McDomick, a Peace Corps volunteer from Louisiana, reported on a pig project he had helped start. One young man, after learning to raise pigs in a 4-S project, began a commercial project with money borrowed from the local cooperative to purchase sows. With some apprehension from his family, he later borrowed again for feed. After seven months, the project had produced eighteen pigs ready for market. McDomick noted that his "pupil" made more money than any farmer in the district in the previous two years. The success story sounded much like those reported in the early days of 4-H.33

Pressly's tour as project director came to an end in 1964. Chavez, who had returned to the United States to complete a master's degree at Michigan State University, agreed to take Pressly's position. Meanwhile, Schmidt accepted an appointment as a rural youth advisor to FAO in Rome, and Pressly returned to the 4-H Foundation as director of international programs.³⁴

The 4-H program in Brazil continued for nearly ten years. The corps of volunteers traveling to Brazil generally had 4-H backgrounds and several of the first group had been IFYE delegates. Since 4-H had made contact in Brazil as early as 1951, it seemed reasonable to continue to work through the Brazilian Extension Service to further the development of the 4-S program in that country. Initially, the Peace Corps volunteers worked in those states that already had some 4-S work. Later volunteers spread 4-S work throughout the country.

The last contract between the 4-H Foundation and the Peace Corps office ended in 1971. Pressly felt that the change in administration in 1968 probably affected the change. The Peace Corps—made up almost entirely of volunteers—never fit neatly into the bureaucratic organization chart. The Peace Corps always had tried to keep the mass of government regulations and procedures at arm's length, in order to encourage innovation and new starts that might differ from established regulations. The Peace Corps was absorbed into a general office of ACTION by 1970. Preferring to train its own volunteers, the administration ended contract work with many private organizations such as the 4-H Foundation. The Peace Corps was absorbed into a general office of ACTION by 1970. Preferring to train its own volunteers, the administration ended contract work with many private organizations such as the 4-H Foundation.

While 4-H involvement in international programs dated at least from immediately after World War II, the advent of the Peace Corps accelerated 4-H's international programs. During the 1960s, the National 4-H Foundation and Extension workers throughout the country devoted considerable time and energy to developing additional international programs from the base established through IFYE and Peace Corps contracts.

New International Programs Begin

One of the criticisms of the IFYE program was that it did not involve many young people who were still active in 4-H work. Since the program required a minimum age of twenty, most active 4-H members were not eligible. In 1965, the 4-H Foundation and the Extension Service experimented with a limited type of IFYE program called the Teen Caravan, especially designed for 4-H members between sixteen and twenty. The first caravan of twenty-two vouth went to England, Ireland and Scotland for two months. The young men and women lived with host families who were members of the Young Farmers' Organization. Germany, the Netherlands and Spain were added to the countries visited by the Teen Caravan in 1966; the following year, caravans went to Peru and Canada as well. Teen Caravans were self-financed and the 4-H Foundation served as coordinator. Foreign countries were sponsoring their own caravans by 1966, to bring young farmers from Europe and Latin America to the United States 36

The Youth Development Project (YDP), another international youth program which combined elements of IFYE and the Peace Corps, was started in 1967. Under the initial YDP, the National 4-H Foundation and Extension sent a number of older youth to Botswana for twelve to eighteen months. YDP delegates worked closely with their counterparts in the host country to help develop recruitment programs, libraries and youth leader training, and to

do all they could to assist the host country expand its youth education programs. Principal financing came from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State and several private donors. Eighty-five YDP delegates had worked in Africa, Latin America and the Philippines by 1974.³⁷

By the mid-1960s, the National 4-H Foundation's involvement in international programs had indentified it as a leader in gaining private support for work in other lands. The Foundation also was quickly becoming the coordinator of training programs for foreign delegates to the United States. In cooperation with the Department of State and the Japanese government, Extension—through the 4-H Foundation—agreed to coordinate a Japanese Agricultural Training Program in 1966. About 150 Japanese farmers per year came to the United States for a two-year program consisting of six months of training with Extension personnel in crop production, dairy farming, horticulture and other fields, and eighteen months of work with practicing farmers. Robert Weiss of the 4-H Foundation staff moved to Seattle, Washington, to direct the program. Korean farmers joined the program in 1972, and farmers from the Republic of China participated the following year.³⁸

With the Japanese training program under way, another international agency approached 4-H a year later. The American International Association (AIA) asked the National 4-H Foundation in 1967 to take over a program that AIA had begun in Latin America six years before. The AIA, a private philanthropic organization financed through the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in cooperation with the Interamerican Institute of Agricultural Sciences, developed programs in several Latin American countries to increase rural vouth activities. The AIA had been instrumental in the establishment of the Brazilian Extension Service in 1949 and later helped with the beginnings of the Brazilian 4-S program. By 1966, however, AIA decided that its task of stimulating new programs had been accomplished and began to phase out its work. AIA officials, however, felt that the rural youth work conducted through the Programa Inter-Americano para la Juventud Rural ("Inter-American Program for Rural Youth), (PIJR), could not yet stand alone. After several months of discussion with legal counsel and state 4-H leaders, the 4-H Foundation agreed to assume the program under a declining three-year grant from AIA. The Foundation believed that it could raise the necessary funding to continue the program after the end of the AIA grant³⁹

Early in 1968, Theodore Hutchcroft, former director of information at the National 4-H Foundation, moved his family to San

Jose, Costa Rica, to work in the PIJR program. The program had two principal objectives. Like many 4-H international programs, the main emphasis was on training leaders for 4-H club work and developing youth clubs in participating countries. A unique aspect of PIJR, however, was to develop in the participating Latin American countries private support organizations similar to the National 4-H Foundation and the National 4-H Service Committee. In most cases, efforts to create rural youth clubs and programs in foreign countries had been solely government programs. Cooperative private and public support as experienced in the United States got a significant test in Latin America.

PIJR was given a major boost in 1971 when the W. K. Kellogg Foundation awarded a \$606,000 four-year grant. Additional money from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and Exxon Company helped fund publications and counseling services in participating countries. While the program enjoyed considerable success in expanding rural youth participation in club work and improved agricultural production, it did not develop the local private support organization it needed to keep going after American dollars were gone. As Pressly noted, the idea of that type of public philanthropy was not common in Latin America. Twenty such organizations were formed initially and fifteen remained after 1975.

Hutchcroft had never viewed PIJR as an end in itself, but rather as an organization supplementing the activities of local governments and demonstrating the feasibility of rural development techniques. "The goal of PIJR is that all rural young people of the Americas may have the opportunities needed to effectively shape their lives and improve the quality of living of their families, their communities and their countries," Hutchcroft wrote in his last status report on PIJR in 1974. Hutchcroft saw the main problem for the future of PIJR in the instability of rural programs. In the early 1970s, a trend toward reorganization of government functions often left rural programs without direction. "The rural extensionists and other capable personnel are unable to get resources. information and support. Seemingly hundreds of trained personnel have been shifted into activities for which they are unfamiliar, often unsuited and which appear to lack definition and purpose," he said.

In retrospect, Hutchcroft noted that it was impossible to duplicate the exact program of the United States in Latin America. Particularly in less-developed countries, agricultural ministries concentrated on export agriculture and were not very interested in youth programs. When a youth program was successful in increas-

ing production, the young people often found there was no market for their produce.

Hutchcroft also recognized that in some countries, such as Nicaragua, PIJR often worked with dictatorial regimes that had little time for the trappings of democracy. PIJR programs tried to remain aloof from the government, but could never do so entirely. "Ultimately," he said, "we hoped we could do something to ease the lives of the young people, and that was justification enough." 41

PIJR's principal problems were financial. Without the AIA initial grant and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation grant in 1971, the program would have foundered. By 1974, the project was running a deficit and additional funding from United States sources did not appear likely. Interest in Latin America by both private funding agencies and the State Department had waned. Most private and public entities seemed interested in putting their resources in more stable areas of the world. Faced with decreasing financial support, the National 4-H Foundation decided to close the San Jose office in early 1975. 42

Although the PIJR project ended in 1975, 4-H interest in Latin America did not decrease. On the contrary, 4-H was instrumental in pursuading the Interamerican Institute of Agricultural Sciences of the Organization of American States to create a youth secretariat to coordinate youth programs in Latin America similar to PIJR. The National 4-H Foundation acted as a clearinghouse for information on Latin American youth programs, and several members of the USDA served on interamerican youth councils.

While 1975 proved disappointing for development of 4-H in Latin America, it was a pivotal year for programs with Eastern Europe in that 4-H successfully negotiated an exchange with Poland. Working through the Polish Society of Agricultural Engineers and the Polish National Council of the Union of Socialist Rural Youth, Extension arranged an exchange involving 100 Polish older farm youth. The program was designed as a work/study project including instruction at selected land-grant institutions and the familiar host family system of practical training and cultural experience made popular through IFYE. The Polish farmers spent a year in the United States and young American farmers traveled to Poland later in the year.⁴³

The ice was finally broken in 1975 for an exchange with the Soviet Union as well. 4-H had initiated discussions with Soviet officials as early as 1962. After three years of talk and planning, nothing had been accomplished. As one government official explained, the Soviets wanted an exchange program that would give them the



4-H penetrated the Soviet Union in 1976 with an exchange of young American and Soviet farm experts. Here the Americans pose with some of their Soviet hosts on a collective farm.

maximum benefit with little cost to themselves. Generally, the Soviets were interested in specialized technical exchanges rather than the broad cultural exchanges that American programs fostered. Then in 1974, after 4-H officials had engaged in some informal discussions with Soviet agricultural officials, Chase Manhattan Bank indicated an interest in helping organize an exchange with the Soviet Union, Since Chase Manhattan had business agents in Moscow, it was possible to use their offices to make contact with the appropriate Soviet agency. The State Department encouraged using private avenues for discussions with the Soviets and indicated that it would assist when it appeared appropriate. After Pressly negotiated a preliminary agreement in Moscow in May 1975, 4-H reached a final agreement with the Soviet Union later in the year for an exchange to begin in 1976. International Harvester Company provided \$125,000 to conduct training programs at the National 4-H Center for the Soviet exchangees while the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs provided \$22,500 to defray the cost of travel for the Americans going to the Soviet Union.

The exchange with the Soviet Union proved a success. An Extension committee screened over fifty applicants and selected

fifteen for the exchange to the Soviet Union. Most were recent or near college graduates with specific interest in Soviet agriculture. The Soviet exchangees tended to be older with considerable educational and practical backgrounds in Soviet agriculture. In both countries, participants attended extensive orientation meetings, formal classroom instruction at agricultural colleges and then spent from five to six weeks working on farms with host families. The program was a significant departure from previous exchanges with the Soviet Union. The Soviets generally preferred to keep foreign visitors in a group under the control of guides. The 1976 exchange was the first time they housed American visitors with Russian farm families.

For Americans making the trip, it was a once-in-a-lifetime experience. Most thoroughly enjoyed the close relationships they developed with Russian farm families. The Americans also had some experiences they had not anticipated. At one point, the Americans were invited to a pickup basketball game only to find they were scheduled to play the varsity team of a local school before a large crowd. Most seemed to take the inevitable loss in good humor. On another occasion, the American delegation at one collective farm refused to report for work in the field until they received permission to take pictures. After the Americans staged a one-day sit-down strike, Soviet officials relented and cameras became standard equipment. A feature article in the National Geographic on the experiences of the American young people in the Soviet Union brought the program to the attention of thousands of Americans.⁴⁴

Within a year following the exchange with the Soviet Union, a third East European country, Hungary, agreed to send twenty-five young farmers to the United States for a year of training. Long-term training programs for young foreign farmers and intensive shorter programs such as the Soviet exchange characterized much of 4-H's international work in the 1970s. With the end of the relationship with the Peace Corps and the much reduced involvement in programs associated with PIJR, 4-H international programs tended to receive less attention than in the 1960s. That did not mean that 4-H retreated from commitments to international work, but simply that it had become more and more difficult to obtain financial support for such efforts. Nevertheless, IFYE, renamed the International Four-H Youth Exchange in 1977, remained the centerpiece of international programs.⁴⁵

Local 4-H International Projects Encouraged

While the emphasis on exchanges and sending individuals to foreign countries for technical assistance diminished in the 1970s, the 4-H International Development Committee attempted to increase the use of international materials in 4-H programs at home. In 1973, 4-H Division Program Leader Banning wrote to 4-H leaders urging them to make use of international themes in their local club work. The National 4-H Foundation and the Extension Service produced a leaders' guide, *International Intrigue*, which outlined a series of programs that could stimulate interest among local 4-H'ers in international affairs. Banning pointed out that young people attending the National 4-H Conference had urged more international programs and that the information contained in the guide "will fly on its own if you and others on your staff give it a chance."

At the same time, Extension leaders were concerned about some locally developed international programs. A problem resulted from the popularity of IFYE and other exchange programs, when private travel agencies used the 4-H name and emblem to sell package tours. Local 4-H groups often used the private tours to conduct a type of international program on their own. Extension officials did not want to inhibit such local initiatives, but were concerned that the use of the 4-H symbol might be abused. They were also interested in keeping in touch with what local groups were doing. Consequently, ECOP's 4-H subcommittee recommended in July 1973 a policy statement on international travel programs. ECOP approved the statement and three years later developed a set of regulations to put the policy into effect.

Basically, ECOP gave the 4-H Foundation primary responsibility for counseling and advising in the development of international travel programs. The policy also directed local 4-H leaders to clear plans with the county and state Extension leader. The 4-H Foundation was given responsibility to determine that such programs contributed to the overall educational objectives of 4-H and that the programs were related in some way to international understanding and communication. Certainly, the main thrust of the policy was for the National 4-H Foundation to coordinate 4-H-sponsored international travel.⁴⁷

Some state 4-H leaders were not entirely in favor of the central role the 4-H Foundation was to assume. One leader wrote to E. Dean Vaughan, head of the 4-H division, that he thought the Foun-

dation was to provide services to the local and state 4-H programs and not to direct them. He wondered when the reversal of roles had occurred. Vaughan felt the state leader was "over-reacting" to the policy. Most states saw the need to provide some central clearing-house for a growing number of local international travel programs.⁴⁸

Mel Thompson, coordinator of international relations for the National 4-H Council, estimated that over 100,000 young people were engaged in some 4-H international activity by 1980. Local clubs organized international nights and international dinners, and use of *International Intrigue* had increased. The international theme also penetrated local 4-H clubs through the Partners of the Americas program in which correspondence and occasional exchanges of young people took place between a local 4-H club in the United States and a sister club in a foreign country. The program included city governments, state governments and service clubs, but the part 4-H played was significant in stimulating interest in international programs. Also, some states developed extensive international programs that involved the exchange of young people. The most successful of those was a program begun in 1972 with Japan. ⁴⁹

Jointly sponsored by 4-H in the United States and the Labo International Exchange Foundation in Japan, the program provided for a one-month exchange of Japanese and American youngsters. The well-financed Labo program had a large Japanese staff travel in the United States making arrangements directly with participating states. By 1980, twenty-six states participated in the Labo program; the American young people and Japanese youth often lived in the homes of one another. The Labo program emphasized language training, personality development, and cultural understanding, which were fundamental objectives of nearly all international programs in which 4-H participated.⁵⁰

Despite their growth and influence, 4-H international programs never developed into a national awards program. As early as the tenth anniversary meeting of IFYE alumni in 1958, some proposed that an international project be developed similar to those that brought awards and recognition at national meetings. While the IFYE alumni proposed the project several times, the idea never received the endorsement of ECOP's 4-H subcommittee or the International Program Development Committee. Most felt that a single project would tend to diminish rather than enhance the involvement of young people in international programs. In one sense, international projects did occur as young men and women intro-

duced more international foods into cooking and baking contests; at least one state sent a participant in the People to People program as a delegate to the National 4-H Congress.⁵¹

The international dimension of 4-H changed in the 1960s and 1970s. Thompson noted it no doubt would change as much in the future as it had in the past. One theme, however, remained constant. From the beginning those who devoted their efforts to 4-H international programs emphasized that the programs had to be two-way. They realized that involvement of the United States in technical assistance could not remain at a high level forever. In retrospect, those who worked in 4-H international programs noted with some pride that over eighty countries had 4-H-type programs by the end of the 1970s, that IFYE was as popular as ever, that a host of other exchange programs broadened the availability of international experience, and that international programs had penetrated the consciousness of local 4-H'ers. It was not unusual to see a 4-H'er begin a food demonstration with an explanation of her heritage followed by the preparation of several old-world dishes.⁵²

As William Kline of Allis-Chalmers, an early IFYE supporter, stated, "As the world gets smaller, the people of the world must get bigger; bigger in their thinking, bigger in their outlook, bigger in their understanding of one another." Pressly thought Kline's comment especially relevant to the 1980s. 4-H international programs remained an opportunity and a responsibility to help young people prepare for the world they would inherit. With the threats of war perhaps greater than they were in 1948, the efforts of 4-H toward establishing international understanding among voung people remained an important, if elusive, goal.⁵³

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7 Paying the Price

After two decades of depression and war, the 1950s gave America a chance to catch its breath. The low-key administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower set the tone for a nation more than ready to indulge itself in some promised peace and prosperity. As it turned out, Americans would need whatever energy they were able to conserve during their brief respite in order to cope with the turbulent decade that followed. By 1964, the United States had passed a landmark Civil Rights Act and the nation was also at war in Southeast Asia, a conflict that finally cost the lives of 56,480 Americans and uncounted numbers of Vietnamese.¹

Unfortunately, the violence was not confined to the war zone. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., cast Americans into a period of mourning, not just for the dead leaders, but for a nation which seemed to have lost its way. There would be little time for reflection, however, as people by the tens of thousands joined in a groundswell of political activism that culminated in a series of history-making marches on Washington, D.C. They came in powerful waves for racial integration, for peace and for the poor. American political leaders responded with a redirection of the nation's wealth into a massive stream of antipoverty programs that rivaled the corrective efforts which the New Deal had once churned out. Despite it all, unrest turned to riot and America's great cities and college campuses became battlegrounds where troops were deployed to quell civil strife.

It was not the first time that Americans had been tested, but never before had people been so close to the testing ground. Americans watched the war on television. People turned on the evening news to see the nation's capital city in flames and they heard the taunting shouts of their sons and daughters calling for revolution. It was a time of national anguish, but also a time of progress.

The 1960s brought significant technological and scientific advancements along with the promise of a booming economy, equality for all, the Peace Corps, and the excitement of the space pro-

gram. By decade's end, Americans had watched one of their own walk on the face of the moon. The national triumph of the American spirit was unmistakable, but the turbulence of the 1960s also left its mark on the American character. That things would never be the same again was as true for 4-H as it was for the rest of the nation. The youth organization that entered the new decade was demographically and philosophically different from the "original 4-H"

In fact, in its 1961 report to the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP), the 4-H subcommittee tried to summarize some of those differences by identifying a series of challenges for the 1960s including 4-H's public image, declining enrollments, reduced numbers of rural members and the lowered percentage of male participation. They called for expanded citizenship and leadership training, an increase in career education and a special emphasis on science in 4-H.²

4-H Faces Challenge of Desegregation

4-H also faced another challenge, but it was not identified in the position papers produced by Extension—4-H leadership during the early 1960s. As a youth movement which had always drawn its strengths as well as its weaknesses from American tradition, 4-H found itself poised at the beginning of the decade with two distinctly separate educational programs—one for Black children and another for White.

Like the rest of America, 4-H clubs were often segregated in a de facto way in the North, but in the South, segregated Extension programs had been given the stamp of legality when Congress created a separate group of land-grant colleges in 1890. Those southern institutions which came to be known as the "1890 schools" had their own Cooperative Extension Service program that paralleled the earlier designated land-grant colleges. Since the public schools were also segregated, Black Extension workers served 4-H clubs in Black schools and White Extension workers did the same for 4-H youngsters in White schools. But it was seldom the same. That very specter of unequal treatment, especially in schools, gave rise to the civil rights crusade in the 1950s. 4-H was not the target of the demonstrations, the freedom rides, or the sitins, but it was clear to Extension leaders that 4-H was vulnerable to the charge of segregation. Each of the southern and border states had its own system of segregation, but in all cases the distinctions were specific and unvielding.

Alberta Dishmon, who became a Negro home demonstration agent in Mississippi in 1943, recounted the segregated program in her area of the South. She described it as certainly unequal, but nonetheless beneficial for the Black youngsters who participated. "We organized our clubs in the schools," she said. "The principals and teachers were very cooperative. We met monthly, I think. But the emphasis was on adequate food for the family year-round. Also, we did home improvement, but there was not much money and we didn't have much in the way of activities, but we knew we were doing the best we could with what we had."

A particular advantage, Dishmon felt, was the Regional 4-H Camp which was started for top Black 4-H'ers throughout the South. The camp was designed to balance some of the benefits received by White youth who attended National 4-H Congress in Chicago or National 4-H Camp (later called National 4-H Conference) in Washington, D.C. The regional camps began on August 24, 1948, at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and were held in a different southern state each summer. In 1955, the camp was relocated to the campus of Howard University, an educational institution for Blacks in Washington, D.C. An article in the *Extension Service Review* described the 1954 camp.

More than 125 outstanding youth representing the nation's 343,000 Negro 4-H'ers will be there spruced up in their attractive uniforms. For a full week, every day will seem like Sunday to them. Few will look up at the sky and wonder about sundown. And the puffing tractor, squealing pigs and bleating calves will be forgotten, except during recorded interviews for radio broadcasts or during dormitory discussions when the youths will be talking about their projects back home.⁴

Dishmon recalled selecting eight delegates for regional camp each year. "I'm telling you that getting beyond the state line meant so much to our 4-H'ers. Some of those young people still remember me," she said. The home demonstration agent liked her work with Extension, particularly the 4-H part of the job, but she was also aware, as were other Negro agents, that there were vast differences between the Black and White 4-H programs. She talked about salaries, the lack of office space, and the lack of secretarial staff as the most obvious gaps: "Our offices were in the back of our cars or at home under our beds. We also knew that they [White 4-H'ers] had more projects and more financial backing. You know segregation is there. You don't like it; you resent it; but there's so much to do, you can't spend all your time destroying yourself by

worrying." Like many others, Dishmon was never a supporter of segregation but she was fearful of what might take its place.⁵



Before integration outstanding Black members were selected to attend the Regional 4-H Camp, which provided opportunities similar to those available to White youngsters. Delegates to the first camp, held in 1948 at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, discuss their 4-H work with Thomas Campbell, field agent, and E. H. Shinn of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

It was clear by 1960, some sort of reformed social system would have to take the place of racial separation and it was equally clear that the South, already the target of the main civil rights movement, would be the center of that change. For officials in the 4-H

division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), civil rights pressures which had only been hints in the 1950s became almost daily realities.

Those pressures were heightened by the John F. Kennedy administration and its decidedly pro-civil rights attitude. Despite that atmosphere, the 4-H division saw itself as severely restricted in what it could do. The division had no line authority over the state 4-H programs and the tangled county, state, and federal relationships within Extension made it nearly impossible to impose any central direction on something as basic as a way of life. 4-H clubs were organized in segregated schools. Volunteer leaders and Extension agents lived in separated Black and White worlds. Many believed that any strong national push to integrate 4-H would destroy the organization in the South and perhaps jeopardize federal appropriations upon which 4-H depended.

Unable to initiate a decisive or acceptable course of action, national 4-H leadership remained publicly silent at the beginning of the 1960s. That was not true, however, for state Extension staff members, many of whom were openly opposed to segregation, particularly at national meetings. They often wrote the 4-H division office to express their frustration.

4-H Division Head Mylo Downey received a letter in 1961 from Marvin Boss, assistant state 4-H leader in Massachusetts, who complained about what looked to him to be an attempt to segregate the 4-H All Star Conference planned for that year on the East coast: "... must we continue to operate the 4-H program on a segregated basis? It would seem to me that if the All Star Conference must be held on a segregated basis, then it's time to consider disbanding the conference or holding it under circumstances where this stipulation need not be followed."

Downey, only too well aware of the problems of segregated national and regional meetings, wrote Boss a sympathetic reply that reiterated a position of state's rights on integration: "I concur in the sentiments of your June 1 letter, yet I am sure you realize there are some folks with more authority than you or I have not been able to make certain changes that seem desirable. I suspect we have a moral responsibility for the success of the All Star Conference, if they do operate as an independent group with the Extension Service cooperating. I certainly hope the occasion does not arise which will cause any unpleasantness. Virginia is the host and when you accept an invitation, you do so with the knowledge that you will adhere to the rules of your host."

Pressures from within Extension on the integration issue continued, but a media blast from the outside in July of 1961, got the attention of Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman's staff. An article in *JET Magazine* roundly criticized the Regional 4-H Camp. Despite the fact that many Southern Blacks including Dishmon had given the camp high marks, things had changed by 1961 and the *JET* article cast the camp in a different light: "If Agricultural Secretary Orville Freeman wants to show his midwest liberalism, he can immediately take steps to integrate 4-H. For 14 years, a motley crew of 100 or so Negro youngsters came to Washington for a Jim Crow meet, attended separate sessions and got a second rate view of the nation's Capitol. The Negros don't use the modern new 4-H quarters [the National 4-H Center] or meet with the President or cabinet members—like their White counterparts in the VIP settings."

The record indicates that Black 4-H'ers often did visit the White House and in 1960 they met with Vice-president Richard M. Nixon, but such attempts to equalize the two separate Washington experiences were no longer salable. 9 Segregation was the issue and the JET article delivered a stinging rebuke. Only four days after its publication, the article was attached to a memo originating in Freeman's office which wound its way through USDA channels and eventually ended up in Extension. Rodney Leonard, assistant to the secretary of agriculture, had some stern words for 4-H: "The attached article appeared in a recent issue of JET Magazine which is a popular magazine among the Negro community. Our position in regards to the 4-H organization does not reflect very well upon the Secretary as far as the Negro community is concerned." Leonard continued: "We ought to check the possibility of a Negro as one of the six 4-H reporters next year. I understand from the White House that it is likely the President will be very busy when the reporters come to town in 1962 and that it will take a special reason for him to meet with the 4-H youths as he did this year."¹⁰

Although the piece in JET was not the only criticism of segregation in 4-H, it did lead to some serious discussions about the future of the Regional 4-H Camp. The discussions were mostly confined to the southern directors of Extension who finally decided to discontinue the Regional 4-H Conference.* Federal Extension Serv-

^{*}The name was changed from Regional 4-H Camp to Regional 4-H Conference in 1961.

ice Administrator E. T. York explained the decision in a November 20, 1961, letter to directors in Maryland and Delaware.

During land-grant last week [the annual meeting of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges] the southern directors met to consider regional 4-H conferences. As you recall, an earlier decision had been made to discontinue. It was felt that any replacement should be carried out by individual states. In view of the likelihood of some questions raised concerning the discontinuances of regional conference, it was felt desirable that everyone should speak with one voice. I think we must say that both the 4-H Conference and the Congress will be open to whomever the states send—there will be no race restriction. In other words, we are saying it is the responsibility of the states to decide their own representation. If a state should elect to send a Negro delegation—they of course will be received. 11

The York letter not only stated the position of 4-H regarding integration, but it echoed the view of the South in the early 1960s. Southern social and political leaders argued that the issue was one of state's rights and would be handled by the states given adequate time. Civil rights protest groups made it equally clear that time was running out.

With the end of regional camp and mounting pressure from Extension as well as business leaders, the 4-H subcommittee heeded Leonard's warning and moved to include Blacks on the 4-H Report to the Nation Team in 1962. 4-H also launched a series of trial-balloon proposals at about the same time aimed at integrating national 4-H meetings. 12 The process was simplified somewhat because the National 4-H Center always had an open accommodations policy. E. W. Aiton, the first director of the National 4-H Club Foundation, had urged such action as much for economic as humanitarian reasons long before the center was opened. 13

The minutes of the Foundation's Board of Trustees meeting on June 18, 1952, show that Aiton explained that the adoption of an open accommodations policy would be important if the group expected to get needed private support: "The action taken by the Committee on Development, stressing that equal opportunities should be provided at the Center was discussed. Mr. Aiton reported the Chevy Chase Section IV Citizen Association probably would not protest Negro attendance. He briefly sketched the request which he had received from Nelson Rockefeller on the Foundation position [regarding equal opportunity] and the ensuing correspondence. . . . After a thorough discussion, a unanimous motion was adopted as follows: 'All programs and facilities of the National 4-H

Club Foundation shall be available to all people meeting uniform standards, regardless of race, creed or color." Aiton remembered that it required some careful and forceful negotiations to get such a policy adopted but it was achieved with no dissenting votes. "We could not rationally survive or get donations or grants with a discriminatory program for the Foundation, so we established the policy several years before the buildings were open to 4-H. In Washington, D.C., you couldn't do anything else; it would be ludicrous to do otherwise." Aiton said. 15

Since the National 4-H Service Committee held its principal event, the National 4-H Congress, in downtown Chicago hotels, there was similarly nothing that prevented housing Black 4-H'ers there. The problem was getting the states—North or South—to make the selections.

The 4-H division made a tentative move in that direction in September 1961, with a draft policy statement which recognized that Black 4-H'ers would probably not get selected to come to national 4-H gatherings under the current competition rules. The 4-H subcommittee reviewed the suggested remedy and passed it on to ECOP without comment.

As of September, 1961, Negros have never been included in National Conference, National Congress, or Report to the Nation, except one Negro girl from Alaska at the 1960 Club Congress. Participants have been selected by their respective states on basis of general 4-H achievement, leadership and citizenship. It is recognized that because of limited resources and limited opportunity some of the sub culture groups have not developed to the same extent as their White associates. It is recognized that for these reasons, they might not become members of a state delegation under the usual competitive circumstances. There have been editorial and administrative pressures to the effect that segregated national 4-H events should not continue. A proposed National Policy—Any 4-H event that is of national scope should be open to delegates of all races. ¹⁶

The ECOP minutes do not reflect the nature of the discussion, but later correspondence indicates that 4-H division leaders discussed the possibility of changing the state delegate quotas to allow states to include Black representatives. ¹⁷ ECOP minutes do show that on September 20, 1961, the group reaffirmed its policy of participation selection based on national achievement. ¹⁸ The issue of increasing delegations to allow for minority participation came up again in 1962 and 1963 and was denied each time, but the pressures did not relent.

Downey received another letter in 1962 which typified the increasing concern among Extension staff members. Montana State Associate 4-H Leader Geraldine Fenn, a strong advocate of citizenship education and human development training, was finding it increasingly difficult to square her subject matter with segregation.

While walking to work this morning, I got a brainstorm. This year, why not offer each state the opportunity to send a fifth delegate to National 4-H Conference and let this fifth delegate be Negro. It seems to me that we ourselves have to launch some sort of bold, imaginative plan and not sit back with a go slow—let's see what happens, let's not offend anyone attitude. . . . If there are any states who would bolt the Conference because of this I believe they would bring in these times a great deal of unfavorable public opinion upon themselves. Consequently, I think it is doubtful very many would do this. As I have said in letters written to you before, I feel a sense of urgency in this because I think Extension needs to take imaginative steps itself before we are forced to do so by outside forces which may be more extreme. ¹⁹

Fenn, who remembered the letter, said she realized she might have been criticized for writing from a state where there were few Blacks, but Montana also had problems. She recalled driving to Crow Agency on the edge of the Crow Indian Reservation in eastern Montana to do some 4-H club organizing: "I hauled all my materials out of the car and got ready to spread them out for the Indian children who were there. I looked at my national 4-H posters with those white, blue-eyed children in their middle-class farm home and then I looked at the brown-skinned Indian children before me and I simply turned and put everything back in the car. I knew I hadn't brought one thing with me that those kids could relate to." Even those with great concern fell into the trap of forgetting cultural differences.

National 4-H Conference Integrated

The National 4-H Conference was integrated in 1962, when Maryland selected a Negro 4-H'er, Jestine Pinder, to participate. Pinder, a music major at Morgan State College in Baltimore, roomed by special arrangement with Irene Johnson, a 4-H'er from the University of Connecticut. The conference apparently went well for all concerned and 4-H officials were pleased to see that the first barrier had finally been breached.²¹ There was less pleasure in the Black community, however. The regional camp which had attracted about 150 Black boys and girls to the nation's capital was now replaced by a single national meeting with only one Black

delegate. It was becoming evident that the ground swell of support for an integrated society would impose penalties on Black people as well as White.



While the same 4-H projects were used with all types of groups throughout the nation, local programs often incorporated traditions of their members. Martha Sieweyunptew, a native American volunteer leader from Arizona, teaches young people the ancient art of basketry, to preserve that aspect of Hopi heritage.

A. S. Bacon, a Negro who represented the interests of the 1890 college Extension programs in the USDA, tried to warn his White counterparts that all was not well in the lives of American Black families. In a paper marked "administratively confidential," Bacon talked about the migration of southern Blacks to northern cities. Using carefully worded statements that matched the delicate posi-

tion he occupied in the USDA, Bacon discussed the preponderance of low-income minority families, the low percentage of Negro Extension workers in comparison to Negro populations, the erasure of Negroes from press releases and publications, and the great need to train Negro Extension agents to work in urban as well as rural areas. Bacon also made a plea for something which would later be called affirmative action: "Due to the lack of certain opportunities for Negroes which have been beyond control over a periodof time, it may be necessary to have 'positive discrimination' in favor of the Negro in order for the mass of Negroes to be able to compete on equal terms. This kind of approach with proper study and planning probably can be done without injury to anyone."22 That Bacon's observations turned out to be prophetic were of little apparent consolation. There is no record that his paper was every seriously considered by the hierarchy of Extension. 4-H officials along with much of the rest of the nation continued on their wait-and-see course.

By 1963, the civil rights movement was largely unified behind federal legislation that ruled out segregation as a way of life. Strong southern Democrats backed by conservative Republicans in a number of northern states vowed they would never allow the states to be dictated to in such a manner. By June 19, 1963, the battle lines were firmly drawn. President Kennedy sent his civil rights bill to Congress. Two months later Martin Luther King, Jr., and a coalition of civil rights, church, and political groups marched 200,000 people to the nation's capital to support the Kennedy bill. Standing at the base of the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, King preached to the crowd in the Southern Baptist style that had made him one of the most recognized leaders in the civil rights movement: "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

One day before King's speech, ECOP—meeting in Berkeley, California—turned back one more attempt to adopt a firm policy that would allow for the regular addition of Blacks to the 4-H conference and congress delegations. The new proposal was similar to the one which had originated in the 4-H division in 1961, but this time it came from the Extension staff at the University of Maryland. The proposal reached Ira Hollar, Oklahoma state 4-H leader, who chaired the 4-H subcommittee in July of 1963. The proposal suggested that the subcommittee consider recommending to ECOP "an authorization that states having a significantly large Negro enrollment send one or more Negro delegates in addition to the regular four to National 4-H Conference. It is suggested that rep-

resentation could be arrived at through application of some suitable formula. Such formula could be based upon enrollment, population or a designated number per state."

According to federal civil rights files, Hollar sent a copy of the proposal to all subcommittee members for consideration prior to their meeting on August 20, 1963, in Salt Lake City, Utah. The official subcommittee minutes for the Salt Lake City meeting do not show that the proposal was ever considered, nor do the minutes from the ECOP meeting that followed in Berkelev make any mention of the request. But a typed note dated August 27 and attached to the correspondence explains the disposition of the request. "Report of the Extension Subcommittee on 4-H Club Work to ECOP. Berkeley, August 27, 1963, contained a recommendation (Item 1) regarding 4-H member participation in National 4-H events to allow one additional delegate to National Conference and Club Congress from states which so desire, providing the member is representative of minority 'ethnic' or racial group. ECOP decided this was taken care of by its 1962 policy statement."23 The 1962 policy statement had essentially restated the long-standing position that delegates to national 4-H meetings would be selected on the basis of national achievement.

Leaders in the 4-H program did not have another opportunity to take the initiative regarding the integration of national 4-H events or anything else in the 4-H program for that matter. Three months after the 1963 ECOP decision, Kennedy was dead, the victim of an assassin's bullet in Dallas. Texas. The new president, Lyndon B. Johnson, an experienced politician and a southerner, moved quickly to make the pending civil rights bill a memorial to Kennedy. The Congress held long and tough debates on the issue followed by innumerable private conferences where trades and compromises were made, but it was apparent that the South no longer had the votes it needed to enforce its state's rights view. During the historical cloture debates in June of 1964, Democratic Senator Richard Russell of Georgia warned his colleagues: "If this bill is enacted into law, we will be confronted with new demands for enactment of further legislation in this field such as laws requiring open housing and busing. The country is being enmeshed in a philosophy that can only lead to the destruction of our dual system of states in an indestructable union."

Minnesota Senator Hubert Humphrey, who was the floor manager for the civil rights bill, countered, "The Constitution of the United States is on trial; the question is whether we will have two types of citizenship in this nation or first class citizenship for all."

And Illinois Republican Senator Everett Dirksen, who was largely responsible for the compromise bill that finally passed, said simply, "The Senate has a covenant with the people." The United States Senate voted to invoke cloture for the first time in history on a civil rights measure, thus assuring passage of the controversial bill a little more than a year after its introduction. The bill's success spelled the end of a long campaign for Black and White civil rights leaders, but resistance to the measure did not abate with Johnson's signature. Making the Civil Rights Act work proved to be at least as difficult as its passage.

The Civil Rights Act of July 2, 1964, was a long and complicated piece of legislation, but its provisions clearly made it illegal to discriminate in the voting booth, in public accommodations, public facilities, education, employment or federally assisted programs. The bill certainly covered 4-H, but several thousand Extension staff members could not be sure exactly what the act would mean to them until the implementation orders arrived months later.

At the national level, 4-H division staff members put aside some of their traditional program development responsibilities and, for a while at least, became civil rights compliance officers. In his August 1965, progress report, Downey wrote: "Program review and program leadership pertaining to the Civil Rights Act received the greatest single allocation of time for members of the division during the month of August. FES staff visited one or more states, each doing compliance reviews. We found varying degrees of compliance, however, we were impressed by the sincere dedication and willingness of the state and county staffs and directors in meeting their commitments to comply."

The compliance reviews included on-site visits to southern state and county Extension offices. Federal 4-H staff members needed to know how well state and local workers understood the civil rights compliance schedules; more importantly, they wanted to know how much real progress was being made toward integration. It was apparent from the first that some states would be able to move much faster than others. Many states in the Deep South began by abolishing programs rather than integrating them. Mississippi closed its 4-H camps in 1964 and ended its state 4-H congress. Neither was reopened until 1967. Other states adopted integration plans which met such stiff resistance on the local level they had to be modified. And, some states delayed during the early years in the hope that freedom-of-choice plans and counter suits in the courts would save them from integration.



Integration proved far more difficult for adults than young people. Simply having fun and enjoying companionship, important to 4-H'ers, easily broke the color barrier.

Eugene Williams, who was on the Oklahoma Extension staff during the transition years, said he worried about integration much more than the 4-H'ers did: "I found that the kids were much more open. Now their parents were not as understanding. We had some problems, but I think again maybe at the local level, some leaders were not as receptive and we had some leaders that, quite frankly, we were pleased to see resign because of their attitude about it [integration]. But I think we began to accept it and it was slow. All of us drug our feet. And I think that was our biggest problem." Even a border state like Maryland, which had been working on integration for ten years before the Civil Rights Act passed, still reported pockets of resistance in the 1965 compliance review. 28

Clubs Ordered to Desegregate

In addition to general guidelines requiring Extension to integrate, the federal 4-H office issued a memorandum in July of 1965 that set a deadline for the integration of 4-H clubs, too. "... any 4-H club... which is organized and served by Extension in which there

now exists racial exclusion, will desegregate its membership not later than December 31, 1965, as a condition for continued assistance... If clubs will not desegregate, Extension agents will discontinue any assistance including removal of local leaders' names from the mailing list."²⁹

That created a particular problem for those southern states still conducting most of their 4-H programs in the public schools. Unlike much of the rest of the nation, most southern states had included 4-H meetings in the regular school schedule. That close tie to the schools helped keep 4-H enrollments high, but it appeared that 4-H would lose membership in wholesale lots where schools were integrating slowly or resisting integration altogether.

South Carolina 4-H officials wondered how they could be expected to integrate 4-H clubs by January 1966, when their public schools were not required to be in full compliance until sometime in 1967. Georgia also responded that its integration programs could not move faster than the public schools.³⁰ In late 1967, Senator Russell wrote to FES Administrator Lloyd Davis urging him not to vank Extension 4-H support from schools in Georgia which were found to be in noncompliance with the Civil Rights Act: "I earnestly hope you will not allow the bureaucratic determination of HEW to deprive the people of this county [Screven County] one of the most outstanding programs the federal government participates in. As Director [L. W.] Eberhardt indicates, there is little connection between 4-H and the school staff and in my opinion it would be a grave injustice to terminate 4-H work on such a flimsy excuse." Two years later a Georgia newspaper reported the state had lost 20,000 4-H'ers as a result of cutting off federal funds to counties where schools were not in compliance. "The 4-H program cherished in rural America as a character builder and teacher of farming and homemaking skills has been virtually eliminated in 38 Georgia school systems which have lost federal funds due to failure to meet federal desegregation guidelines. . . . " The newspaper article indicated that Georgia would ask Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin to suspend the rules.³² Mississippi has similar problems. State Club Leader Gordon White wrote the federal 4-H office in 1968 that "part of our problem comes from the fact that Mississippi schools have not integrated to any great extent. We, therefore, find ourselves vanguarding integration and subjecting many young people and their parents to integrated situations for the first time."33

After a 1969 meeting between Hardin and the southern Extension directors, FES Administrator Davis asked permission to delete

the paragraph in the civil rights guidelines which prohibited 4-H in noncomplying schools and instead allow Extension to continue serving school clubs as long as the 4-H program itself was integrated. Apparently the Davis request failed to go far because civil rights compliance information continued to warn that the withdrawal of Extension assistance would be the penalty for discriminatory 4-H "units."

Not surprisingly, integration brought about enrollment losses in many southern states as both Black and White children dropped out of 4-H or found there were no longer any clubs to join. Mississippi alone reported the loss of half its total 4-H enrollment during the mid-1960s. Such destruction of local 4-H clubs seriously affected nationwide enrollment. Already in decline, enrollment plumeted even more during 1965 and 1966. By 1967, there was some evidence of a rebound, but many thousands of youngsters had missed much of their 4-H experience during the difficult transition years.

While federal and state Extension staff members did what they could to ease the transition, the real burden fell on county Extension staff. Trained predominately in agriculture and home economics education, the men and women working at the local level found themselves charged with bringing about a change in lifestyle that dated back more than two centuries. As Roy Cassell, the civil rights compliance officer for the Federal Extension Service, put it years later: "That concept which earmarked Extension personnel and the organization as agents of change did not fare well with this particular social action process. We seemed to know exactly how to bring about a technological innovation for change, but seemed unwilling to apply those same principles to this critical social problem." 36

To complicate matters, even the most willing agents did not have the advantage of imposing required integration plans and then leaving someone else with the burden of carrying them out. County agents lived where they worked, and the people who believed themselves to be adversely affected by integration were neighbors and friends. Eleanor Wilson, a federal 4-H staff member who did a 1965 compliance review in Florida, reported that one county agent had suggested enlarging his local 4-H advisory council to include a Negro representative. The council vetoed the idea immediately.³⁷ In other counties, reviews showed that Black and White Extension staff members were working in the same offices by 1966, but they continued to serve their previous clientele with little idea of how to cross the color barrier. V. Joseph McAuliffe,

also a federal 4-H staff member, completed a report on Georgia with a comment from one bewildered county agent. McAuliffe had asked the man if he intended to comply with the new civil rights laws. "We'll try," the man responded. "Like all the other rules, when you know what you can do, you will try." 38

Integration was becoming a fact of life in the South, but progress was slow and uneven. States moved very much at their own pace and even counties within states exhibited a remarkable amount of independence. The whole integration process proved to be complicated and it produced much more negative fallout than anyone had predicted.

Some Black Extension workers who were elevated by the new system found that their promotions carried with them a whole new set of problems and tensions relating primarily to community acceptance. John Lancaster, a Negro county agent in Maryland, was named the 4-H agent for all of St. Mary's County after integration. Lancaster knew he would encounter opposition, but when the announcement of his promotion arrived, he gathered his staff and suggested that the White agents tell their own volunteer leaders about the change. He promised to do the same for his Black volunteers. After the separate meetings, he asked his staff to share their impressions with him. Lancaster remembered that the White staff were reluctant to tell him what they had learned. But to the Black agent, confrontation was not unfamiliar. He had lost his first Extension job in Virginia because of alleged civil rights activities and he was determined to level with his new staff early. Assuring them that they could not report anything about him that he hadn't heard before, he pressed for responses. Finally one staff member told him that there were some volunteers and parents in St. Mary's County who refused to work with a Black, any Black.

"Thank you, that's good," Lancaster told his staff, "Now I know what I am faced with. Now I know what I have to do." Lancaster, who later became the first Black president of the National Association of Extension 4-H Agents, spent months solidifying his new position in St. Mary's County. As he put it, "I learned to work with White people." He persuaded those who had refused to associate with him to stay on until he could find replacements and then slowly convinced the reluctant Whites that they could work with a Black man. For the most part he succeeded without losing any White 4-H'ers during the transition. He did not fare as well with Black 4-H'ers, however. Integrated 4-H in Maryland, as in most states, was basically the White program with few vestiges of the things that Black children had especially liked about 4-H. Projects

were sometimes different, and Blacks who had been officers in their clubs found themselves at the bottom of the ladder in integrated clubs. Lancaster recounted many experiences with Black 4-H members who came to tell him that the new system which had promised so much as not at all like they had thought it was going to be and they did not want to be in 4-H anymore.

Reflecting on integration years later, Lancaster would not condemn the system, but he talked about the time needed to make integration work: "If there had been some kind of recognition of how to put the two together and to maximize the good things that both systems had to offer, it could have been done effectively. Instead, they just handed integration to us. They said OK, here it is."39 Alberta Dishmon, another Black Extension worker, regarded integration with mixed emotions. She could even pinpoint the exact date, October 7, 1965, when the reality of the Civil Rights Act became clear to her. "Of course we were aware during our last leader training session in the late summer of 1965 that it [integration] was coming and that was sad for us because we did not know the future," she said, adding, "We were hoping things would get better, but we had no choice at all." On October 7, Dishmon and the other Negro agents in Jackson, Mississippi, piled into two cars to drive the 130 miles to the state college at Starkville for their regular bimonthly staff meeting.

"I left Jackson that morning as a Negro girls' club agent. That afternoon I was no more. No more 4-H contacts, no more visits, no more reports. We couldn't even finish out our club year, but we were allowed to distribute the prize money from our state and district councils," she recalled. Negro agents were told to discontinue their programs and to prepare to move to Starkville where they would be integrated with the White 4-H staff. Some of the agents like Dishmon stayed in Jackson until year's end to dismantle the offices. Others moved to Starkville immediately.

"They told us not to bring anything much with us to the state college. There would be no space for our records, so we disposed of almost everything except for a few pictures I kept that dated back to 1922," continued Dishmon. Two of the black agents were assigned to do 4-H work in Mississippi. Dishmon was placed in an Extension community rural development job. Her title was assistant in community development but she was never able to do 4-H work again.

"I asked," she said, "but they refused even though I did get to help with the 4-H judging sometimes. I felt as if someone had taken everything from me. It's not easy to find another job when you're fifty. You hang in there for retirement." Dishmon did retire on June 30, 1973, but she said if she had it to do over again, she would explode a lot more often. Still, she saw a great need for 4-H to do more for young people, though she conceded that the "youth landscape is much different today." As far as the integration years in the South were concerned, Dishmon did not think the word properly applied. "We did not get integration," she said, "we got disintegration, a feeling that you would gradually disappear and that someone else would be in charge."

Experiences similar to those of Dishmon and Lancaster were repeated throughout the South. Without question, the order to integrate 4-H created a great upheaval among Black and White Extension workers alike. It also hurt the 4-H program and denied opportunities to uncounted numbers of children unlucky enough to get caught in the transition. In retrospect, however, there was little evidence that anything short of a sweeping federal law could have moved Americans toward a greater measure of equality.

On the national level, ECOP finally accepted the long-standing 4-H subcommittee proposal for a delegation formula that would make it easier for states to include racial minorities in national 4-H meetings. The subcommittee summary for August 1965, capsulized the four-year push for integrated national meetings: "The 4-H subcommittee recognized the desirability of having some minority groups represented at national 4-H events. A proposal for expanded participation was presented. ECOP approved the recommendation that each state have the option of one additional delegate. Those states with more than 50,000 members would have the option of two additional delegates."41 With a system in place for encouraging minority 4-H participation at national events, 4-H officials were hopeful that numbers would rapidly increase. That did not prove to be the case, however, and 4-H continued to deal with business and civil rights pressure groups who wanted to see more evidence of integrated programming at all levels.

Separate Awards Programs Evolve

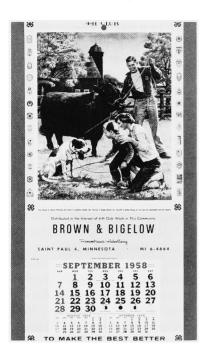
Prior to integration, Negro 4-H programs in the South had their own awards system at the state level. At the request of Extension officials, the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work asked its regular donors to provide awards for Negro children. A number of donors agreed and the prizes were inaugurated in 1951. Awards available to 4-H'ers at county and state levels included medals, savings bonds of twenty-five or fifty dollars, and in some

cases, a watch.⁴² The *Chicago Defender* in 1952 began providing four \$300 scholarships annually for Black 4-H'ers. According to Tom Campbell, the USDA field agent at Tuskegee Institute, it was the first time "that a substantial contribution has been proffered by a business firm or organization composed wholly of colored citizens."

As time went on, the National Committee continued the annual Negro awards program, but Committee Director Guy Noble received orders to handle the special program with particular discretion. In a 1955 letter to Extension directors, the National Committee announced that Extension officials in the South and in Washington, D.C., had directed that no reference to the Negro awards program be made in the Committee's brochures distributed annually to states and counties. The Committee also explained that it had been directed not to do any publicity on Negro award winners. That would be left up to the individual states. 44 In early 1961, a plan emerged to provide additional scholarship awards for Negro 4-H'ers through a cost-sharing agreement with the southern states. Lloyd Rutledge who coordinated the program from Washington, D.C., explained the efforts in a letter to L. R. Harrill, state 4-H club leader in North Carolina: "For two years now the Southern Directors have been developing a plan for regional scholarship awards which involved the Negro 4-H Program in the thirteen Southern states and four border states. Director Vines in Arkansas and Sanders of Louisiana and I have worked as a committee. Now the Negro leaders are being involved and W. C. Cooper is serving as chairman of the group."45

As the new awards program evolved, Rutledge explained that its objective would be "to provide some interstate and regional scholarship incentives for a certain segment of the 4-H membership in the States in the Southern Region and four border states." The scholarships were funded by a \$500 annual contribution from each participating state to a special fund held by the National 4-H Foundation. The group was successful in raising scholarship funds and getting corporate donations from southern firms. The National 4-H Service Committee also transferred its annual \$400 donation for entertainment at the regional conference to a scholarship. ⁴⁶ Unfortunately for Rutledge, his committee, and the 4-H'ers, the first awards were announced at what proved to be the last regional conference in 1961.

Although the awards provided for Black 4-H'ers were not equal to those for Whites, they doubtless did deliver some of the incentive and recognition that many children worked for and en-



Calendar and poster art has reflected the changing 4-H image over the years. The 1958 calendar, *left*, depicts a typical 4-H farm scene, while the later poster includes an ethnic mix of members from every part of the country.



joyed. They were, however, part of the segregated system and like the regional camps were phased out as pressure for integration mounted. Nothing replaced the Black awards program, but a scholarship provided by the National 4-H Service Committee did continue. Some Black 4-H'ers began to reject the remaining awards as tokenism, preferring to compete on their own. In many instances, Black club members did win recognition at state and national 4-H gatherings. However, the number receiving such honors even by 1981 did not approach the 150 Black 4-H'ers who were selected each year to attend the regional camp. Integration exacted its price and for many it was very expensive, indeed.

As the 1960s drew to a close, 4-H moved with other educational organizations to change the racial imbalance evident in publications and promotional materials. The national 4-H poster, 4-H calendar art, press releases and educational materials all began to include integrated illustrations. But, as Montana's Geraldine Fenn lamented, there were still no American Indians in the pictures.⁴⁷ Fenn was one of many who sought to remind federal and state officials that the Civil Rights Act was not limited to equality for Blacks. It prohibited discrimination against any class of people. Such a universal application of the Civil Rights Law and several court cases which followed broadened the nondiscrimination mandate, thereby removing what had been an almost exclusive emphasis on the beleaguered South. Northern Extension workers who had urged southern counterparts to get their house in order rapidly came to appreciate the complexity of the system as the civil rights mandate was extended to all fifty states.

4-H Reaches Indian Reservations and Hispanic Community

Native Americans presented a special case. They were after all legally segregated through a system of reservations stretching across the nation. In many instances, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) had duplicated services available to other Americans through its offices. Extension was no different. The BIA established an Extension division to serve the needs of the reservation in 1928. A. C. Cooley, former director of Extension in New Mexico, served as the first head of the Indian Extension Service. Because agriculture had been a major part of the government's program for Indian assimilation since the latter part of the nineteenth century, reservation

agents hired "expert farmers" to teach skills and cropping methods to adult Indians and conduct classes for Indian children on the reservations and at off-reservation boarding schools. Most expert farmers used bulletins and other literature produced by Extension and the experiment stations. In later years, the BIA sent its Indian Extension agents to training schools and other special programs offered by state Extension services. To the extent that the Indian Extension agents were assigned to conduct or wanted to do 4-H work, reservation children received a program similar to their White counterparts. The system of separate Extension services in the BIA lasted until 1956 in most areas. After that time, reservations contracted with land-grant universities to provide agents skilled in agriculture, home economics and youth work. By the late 1960s, when many tribal councils were striving to gain a measure of autonomy from federal government control, they opted to diminish or terminate their contracts with Extension. 48 In many cases, the tribes preferred to hire their own educators, but 4-H and Extension methods, materials and training sessions were often used.

In the early years of Indian 4-H work, the programs for White children were merely adapted to the reservations. Skills in clothing, food production, grain and animal production, demonstrations and fairs were often a part of reservation life. Sarah Harmon, a retired Arizona Extension leader, remembered an early visit to the Hopi Reservation where she found the Extension agent working on a 4-H electricity project. Harmon questioned the activity because the reservation had no electricity, but the agent apparently knew that power lines would soon be extended to the Hopi people and he chose the 4-H electric project as a way to prepare youngsters for a major change in their lives.⁴⁹

A 4-H group from Coconino County, Arizona, made the news in 1971 when members helicoptered a dozen rabbits into the Havasupai Indian Reservation with the hope of beginning a 4-H rabbit project for the people who lived in the village of Supai deep in the Grand Canyon. There were many other such examples of 4-H groups working with reservation children. But, by the 1970s, it was very difficult to make any generalizations about 4-H programs on American Indian reservations. Some tribal educators raised serious questions about the adaptability of 4-H programs, literature and contests to the Indian culture. Adele King, a Navajo home economist, found most 4-H materials unsuited to her reservation's youth so she either made her own or borrowed from Indian Youth Programs in Canada. She also worked to lessen 4-H competition in her youth education efforts because she questioned its ef-

fect on her people. Whenever possible, King preferred to see youngsters involved in nontraditional 4-H projects more closely related to tribal culture. She did agree, however, that the learning by doing 4-H method transferred well.⁵¹

Only a few hundred miles away, Verneda Bayless, another Extension worker, used the most traditional 4-H methods to teach public speaking to Indian children living in the Southern Pueblo villages surrounding Albuquerque. In San Felippe, Pueblo children attending the Indian summer school did poems, stories and extemporaneous speeches under Bayless' direction. She scored the youthful orators, urged them to slow down and use gestures, and gave the shyest child a hug when the words would not come. One Indian 4-H'er, Margaret Salazar from the Islete Pueblo, won a trip to National 4-H Congress with her public speaking skills. In contrast to the Navajo experiences, Bayless viewed competition as an important element in Indian 4-H programs. 52

In an attempt to design a workable 4-H program for American Indians, Extension sponsored the Northwest Indian 4-H Youth Seminar on the Warm Springs Reservation near Portland, Oregon, in 1977. With King and Bayless among the participants, the seminar progressed into an idea exchange. If a single theme emerged from the three-day conference, it was that while a culturally ignorant Extension agent certainly could make mistakes there was no ultimate "right way" to do Indian 4-H work. The richness and diversity of the Indian people would not allow for a prescriptive program any more than all the children of Chicago could be expected to take a single 4-H project.

The advent of 4-H Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) did provide for some additional service to Indian children, but their numbers are still small in comparison to most other minority participants. Statistics on Indian participation in 4-H became available in 1972 when affirmative action guidelines required that members of various minority groups be counted. 4-H was reaching 25,881 American Indians in 4-H clubs or special interest groups by 1975. While that did not include youngsters reached by television or 4-H EFNEP programs, it represented less than 1 percent of the total 4-H population for that year.⁵³

Next to Black children, the second largest minority 4-H served was Hispanic. The 1975 statistics showed that 110,000 or 2 percent of the nation's 4-H'ers were Hispanics.⁵⁴ Unlike Native Americans and Blacks, Hispanics were not a part of a system of reservations or social segregation, although they were often caught in regional prejudices that extended to many dark-skinned people. For the

most part, however, 4-H included Hispanic children from its earliest years in southwestern rural areas. Urban Hispanics were not generally a part of 4-H until 4-H EFNEP and other special monies were made available in the early 1970s. And it was only in the late 1970s that states under affirmative action pressures invested time and money in preparing bilingual 4-H literature, or noted the cultural differences that demanded more than the usual amount of flexibility from a volunteer-centered organization like 4-H. Geronimo C. (Jerry) Chavez, a bilingual Hispanic Extension official from Texas, recalled his experience with an agent who hoped to do some 4-H work in a Hispanic area. At the agent's request, Chavez agreed to handle the meeting in Spanish. He reported that he had not been there long when it became clear that the women attending were as comfortable using English as Spanish.

"That agent was just so nervous about working with someone from another culture," Chavez reported sadly, "that he just assumed language would be a major barrier."55 Chavez worked with other Extension professionals to conduct a 1976 national workshop on Effective Programming for Spanish and Mexican-American Youth. The sixty participants in the San Antonio workshop said that problems with volunteers, cultural barriers, language barriers, and inappropriate literature constituted the biggest difficulties in reaching more Hispanics. 56 Chavez also cited the competition barrier when he explained that county agents evaluated on the basis of prize-winning animals were unlikely to devote time to working with low-income Hispanic audiences. But Chavez and Linda Richards, an urban Extension agent from California, agreed that when states made the financial and mental commitment to bring the 4-H program to Hispanics they could overcome most of those difficulties. Richards pointed out that the role of women in traditional Hispanic families often kept them from volunteering for 4-H work. She also noted that Hispanic migrant families who had spent a lifetime in stoop labor might not value a 4-H gardening project in the way that an Anglo child would. Still, she believed that 4-H in urban areas was gradually making the cultural transition and that strong affirmative action programs were helping.⁵⁷

4-H Moves Toward Affirmative Action

The term "affirmative action" characterized the government's role in civil rights compliance in the 1970s just as "integration" had been the watchword of the 1960s. To lawmakers and social theorists of the day, affirmative action meant more than passive compliance and tokenism. It meant that government agencies had

to take additional steps to subdue the discriminatory practices that had historically mitigated against minorities and women. The requirements for nationwide affirmative action plans in Extension and the 4-H program grew out of an Alabama court case Strain v. Philpott. The 1971 case dealt with the method in which several southern states had integrated Black and White Extension work. The plaintiff in the case, Willie Strain, contended that the merger system used in Alabama had subordinated him and, to that extent, had effectively continued the old discrimination patterns that the Civil Rights Act was intended to correct. The courts ruled in behalf of Strain and at the same time set up a number of provisions and standards to bring the state into compliance with the 1964 Act. 58 A few months after the decision, Extension Service Administrator Edwin Kirby met with attorneys for the Department of Justice. Kirby determined that once the standards for civil rights compliance were set, he would not limit them to the South, but would require all fifty state Extension services to comply.⁵⁹

The court-ordered affirmative plan meant many things to 4-H. On the federal level, it meant a constant gleaning of the various state and local units for examples of minority participation or especially good programs for minority youngsters. Funds for 4-H EFNEP and urban 4-H were a great help in that regard. It also meant a systematic program of training and monitoring. State 4-H staff members were obligated to participate in and conduct lengthy sessions on civil rights compliance and employment recruitment. Record-keeping became a specific challenge because the guideline required that Extension report the numbers of Blacks, Native Americans, people with Spanish surnames, Orientals and other minorities who participated in 4-H. Despite the best attempts to keep affirmative action directed toward a better and more farreaching 4-H program, it did take on aspects of a paper storm as the already-confused Extension hierarchy attempted to cope.

More than twenty years after the first rumblings in behalf of integrated national 4-H meetings, the federal 4-H office was still in no position to issue direct implementation orders to state 4-H offices. All affirmative action guidelines were based on "reasonable efforts to comply" in the parlance of governments. There was substantial USDA control over the issuance of federal funds to the states, but the record shows that noncomplying states did not lose any Smith-Lever money. Civil Rights Compliance Officer Cassell described it best when he said: "The Department [USDA] from 1965 issued requirements and when results were not of the desired order or magnitude, then other requirements were superimposed.

This brought about the proliferation of regulations and requirements and documents with which state Extension services had to comply."⁶⁰

Along with other government organizations, 4-H faced an additional civil rights compliance factor in the 1970s. Although 4-H clubs generally had been open to both boys and girls, the organization was still vulnerable to the charge of sex discrimination, especially in project clubs or contests that specifically or inadvertently excluded either sex. The issue was dramatized on March 12, 1977. when several northern Virginia counties held a 4-H Car Rodeo. Cornelia P. Suhler, an area resident and state education coordinator for the National Organization for Women, read about the event and noted that there were different contests for boys and girls with different prizes and awards. She asserted that the system violated Title IX of the 1972 Federal Education Amendments and complained to Assistant Secretary of Agriculture M. Rupert Cutler. 61 After soliciting several legal opinions on the subject. 4-H Division Head E. Dean Vaughan prepared a warning memo to state 4-H leaders. "Make this assumption," Vaughan wrote, "sex discriminatory programs especially as related to contests and awards will probably be eliminated."62 When Vaughan wrote the note, the USDA had not issued any rules to implement Title IX, so most state Extension officials were left in limbo. ECOP moved the next year to approve a set of rules to eliminate sex discrimination in 4-H programs, but 4-H did not get its Title IX guidelines until 1981.

In many cases, however, separate contests for boys and girls were less the issue than the stereotyping of sex roles that they encouraged. While there always had been opportunities for girls—especially farm girls—to raise beef cattle, grow corn, and even win national awards in projects like tractor maintenance, those had generally been exceptions. For most of its history, 4-H like the rest of the nation, had reinforced tradition by placing girls in home economics projects and boys in production and mechanically oriented contests. There also had been great concern about finding ways to stem a declining male enrollment, but there had been little talk of enriching the program for girls. It was felt that girls needed home economics skills wherever they went and that home economics projects worked as well on the farm as in the city.

During the 1960s, the sex orientation of projects began to blur. The proliferation of new projects in science, space, health and leadership designed for urban audiences attracted a mix of boys and girls. 4-H officials also made some effort to bridge the gap be-

tween the sexes. Fern Kellev of the federal 4-H office remembered the difficulty experienced when Extension tried to meet the needs of boys who wanted to participate in the Clothing Revue. 63 The discomfort was surely no less than that of a girl showing her animal in the male-dominated county fair ring. In 1960, Extension appeared to acknowledge the likelihood that girls turned women would not be confined exclusively to homemaking. An article in the Extension Service Review tried to put that into perspective: "Do you realize that at least eight of ten girls today will be gainfully employed at some time during their lives? Widening the choices for women beyond their doorstep does not imply neglect of their education for responsibilities in the home. In fact, in 4-H we need to help tomorrow's homemakers to be equipped for a dual life."64 Ten years later, federal 4-H staff member Hope Daugherty urged Extension agents and leaders to quit categorizing people on the basis of sex and start dealing with individual potential. In a 1977 issue of Write on 4-H, she advocated the use of material on sex role stereotyping that "makes affirmative statements about what children are like and what they can become." She noted the materials were available in English and Spanish.65

Extension and 4-H also had to deal with the issue of hiring and promoting women. There had always been plenty of women involved in 4-H work on the professional side, but few of them had made it into leadership positions despite considerable years of experience. Kelley observed the inequity for women in state and county positions during her first year in the federal 4-H office. With the advent of the Civil Rights Act, some of the most overt cases of unequal pay and discrimination in promoting began to abate. By the mid-1970s, women had achieved county and state leadership positions, and Mary Nell Greenwood became the first woman administrator of the USDA Extension Service in 1979. But the issue of promotion for women in 4-H professional positions remained far from settled.

For Daugherty who served as acting head of the 4-H division from 1979 to 1980 and for Oklahoma's Williams who assumed the permanent position in 1980, the issue of affirmative action and how best to help states make it work were critical. On the one hand, both had seen considerable positive change in 4-H as new program initiatives reflected increased sensitivity to minority and sex discrimination. On the other, statistical audits did not always reflect those changes. Minority participation in 4-H remained at about 25 percent of the total 4-H enrollment throughout the 1970s. During the height of increased funding for low-income work and

the success of 4-H television, it crept up to 26 percent. But by 1980, the figure had fallen once again to 23 percent. With the push toward accountability in government, Extension had to deal with that statistical stagnation. It also had to deal with the issue of integrated 4-H clubs in areas where minority and White populations were mixed. Audits showed there had been relatively little progress in that regard.

Williams said that while he realized the legal mandate was crucial, he wished somehow affirmative action could have been introduced more as a planning mechanism: "As I study those guidelines, it's really just a procedure for outlining a good plan of work and being sure that you have good representation on your planning committee of minorities and low-income groups and so forth. Had we approached it from that angle, maybe it would have been better."67

For Extension agents and volunteer leaders, affirmative action often degenerated into a great paper shuffle where forms and deadlines took precedence over doing 4-H work with any group of youngsters. People like Lancaster, Dishmon and Fenn would understand that level of frustration. They had never sought a statistical portrait of equal opportunity either. Instead, they and many others had stood for a 4-H program that afforded many kinds of experiences to many kinds of young people without concern for backgrounds, numbers, or racial designations. That the achievement of such a high ideal proved elusive would not have surprised them, but they may well have taken some measure of satisfaction from a 1981 scene as two young 4-H girls waited for their turn at the sewing machine in a makeshift recreation center in a crowded western city. Waiting with the impatience typical of ten-year-olds, they chatted about the summer and what they would do in school next fall. "I hope," said the child with light skin, "that we get to be in the same class." Her darker-skinned companion nodded in enthusiastic agreement and the two began a tick tack toe game to pass the time. While it could not be said that 4-H had achieved its affirmative action or equal opportunity goals, the future appeared to hold at least some reason for optimism.⁶⁸

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8

Edging Toward Urban America

Paula Mullins must have been frustrated when she submitted her article to *National 4-H News*. A college journalism major, a long-time 4-H'er and a teen leader, she apparently needed to let off a bit of steam as she wrote: "One of these days they'll understand. The non-4-H'er that is. I'm not sure how many times I have had to explain to my non-4-H friends that '4-H ain't all cows and cooking'." 1

Neither the catchy slogan nor Mullins' frustrations were new. Efforts to expand 4-H into non-farm areas and to convince the public that 4-H had a legitimate program for youth in all parts of the country had been a priority item on the Extension agenda for more than two decades when Mullins' article appeared in 1981. Hers was simply another in a long series of attempts to broaden the farm image which had aptly characterized 4-H in the early days and then threatened to seriously limit the organization as Americans began their post-World War II exodus from farm to city.

4-H had gathered strength from its ties to colleges of agriculture and home economics in the nation's land-grant universities. It had developed its staying power with the support of agricultural organizations and rural politicians who saw its value to farm boys and girls. A prize-winning beef cow, the blue-ribon jar of tomatoes at the county fair, the 4-H posters with rolling fields of grain for backdrops had created one of the most successful and easily identifiable symbols in the nation. Yet many argued that the symbols were not as important as an educational method that could and should work for young people anywhere. The seeds of conflict were evident by the mid-1950s. Demographics and a new breed of youth agents looked toward an expanded service concept that included urban America, while more traditional supporters, voicing legal and political constraints, worked just as hard to keep 4-H on the farm.

Part of the problem, as well as the eventual solution, lay in the vague wording of the Smith-Lever legislation which created Extension in 1914. With the controversy heating up in 1956, Assistant

Secretary of Agriculture Ervin L. Peterson prepared remarks for the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP) in which he tried to satisfy all sides. Peterson, whose comments were actually delivered by Federal Extension Service (FES) Administrator C. M. Ferguson, insisted that Smith-Lever was clearly intended for farm people, but he pointed out that the bill did not specifically say that. In fact, the 1914 Act talked about extending information to all people of the United States having an interest in subjects related to agriculture and home economics. Peterson also acknowledged that increasing numbers of city dwellers were beginning to call on county Extension offices for information on nutrition, gardening, pest control and 4-H. Most agents responded, but the assistant secretary warned that such an expansionary path contained a number of perils. He explained those concerns in his presentation to ECOP.

At the same time farm and rural groups insist that until Extension does a more adequate job of serving rural people, it has no business spending time and resources serving rural non-farm and urban residents. Some would go so far as to insist that Extension confine itself to helping farm people alone... Their thinking appears to be shared by some representatives of the press, or organizations and interest groups of legislative bodies and others. This situation presents a fundamental problem somewhat peculiar to Extension. As a public agency, Extension is financed through tax resources collected from all people irrespective of place of residence. Therefore, interested urban residents may be justified in feeling they have a legitimate claim on the public service available through the Cooperative Extension Service.²

Peterson's remarks were not the first words on the rural/urban service dilemma. In fact, they were based on earlier documents prepared by Extension in 1946 and by the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges in 1948. Both pronouncements agreed that while Extension could not limit itself to farm populations, it did have a primary obligation to the rural people and to the agricultural institutions that were responsible for Extension's continued survival in the yearly battles for government funds at all levels.³

Community Organizations Aid Urban 4-H Work

The whole issue must have seemed vastly overblown to Extension agents in the Midwest, South and intermountain western areas who still served largely rural audiences in the years immediately

after World War II. That was not the case, however, in most of the northeastern United States where urban demands were an increasing problem for agents whose once-isolated county seat offices were being swallowed up by metropolitan growth. A 1949 survey of Extension work in the Northeast showed that at least thirteen states were doing urban work in 4-H gardening, nutrition/health, clothing, landscaping and home grounds improvement. The report noted that some of these states had developed special urban programs in areas where more traditional approaches did not apply. Respondents who were serving such cities as Patterson. New Jersey, and Providence, Rhode Island, explained that they were getting service requests from garden clubs, women's clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations, welfare groups, schools and mothers' clubs. The survey, prepared by the Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell University, reported that states were rapidly jerrybuilding whatever funding packages they could to meet the growing urban demand. New York had a provision in its state law permitting Extension programs in urban areas, but only for work with women. Maryland asserted that urban Extension work was permissible under its general appropriations law.⁴ A 1950 study requested by ECOP as a follow-up to the northeastern survey showed that all forty-eight states were doing some urban Extension work. But in addition to New York, only Louisiana, Oregon and Washington had any clear statutory authority. Most states used a combination of special grants from other federal agencies, county and state appropriations, and private support to meet demands.⁵

That was certainly the case in Michigan, Russell Mawby, who was state 4-H leader there in the 1950s, recalled that the Michigan 4-H Foundation funded the first urban programs in the state. "There was interest in 4-H in the cities," Mawby said, "so we decided to experiment. There was a great difference of opinion nationwide on the value of urban 4-H, but not much difference in Michigan. My approach was not to ask too many questions before I did something. There were so many concerns about counting kids and awards eligibility. . . we finally said 4-H is 4-H and by the late 1950s, we had stopped talking urban 4-H and rural 4-H altogether." Michigan established 4-H in Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, and Kalamazoo. The agents adapted rural programs to the cities, but the techniques were different, especially in low-income areas. The men and women who took the youth agent jobs often had backgrounds in the social sciences and education rather than production agriculture.6

Private money, where it was available, made the initial forays into urban areas much easier because few, if any, state officials be-

lieved they could successfully divert funds from established rural programs to reach urban areas without doing substantial damage to all of Extension. The issue of how to fund 4-H urban services remained a major headache for Extension workers at all levels until 1969, when a benevolent Congress finally set aside appropriations for 4-H nutrition work in urban areas. Regardless of the funding sources, many states did begin experimenting with urban programs in the 1950s. Such programs had antecedents but very early urban programs were treated as little more than interesting aberrations.



Although 4-H created numerous new programs for urban members, traditional gardening projects also were effective in introducing 4-H to young city dwellers who often planted mini-gardens.

The earliest urban area 4-H club was reported in Kent County, Rhode Island, in 1906. Another was located in Harris County, Texas, which Seaman Knapp helped start in 1910. Both of those groups started before the name 4-H was even in use. Nassau County, New York, reported that its 4-H program developed quickly from junior project work started in 1917. Portland, Oregon, also dated its urban 4-H effort from World War I victory gardens. People in Indianapolis, Indiana, traced their 4-H program to the

early 1930s when the county commission asked an Extension agent to organize a 4-H club at what was then referred to as a "colored county institution." The Denver program grew out of a victory garden project in 1943.⁹ A major urban 4-H effort got under way in Chicago in 1957 with a grant from John B. Clark of Coats & Clark Inc.¹⁰

In some areas like Chicago and the Michigan cities, 4-H grew from the support of private business leaders who believed that rural values were badly needed in the cities and saw 4-H as the best vehicle for transplant. Other urban programs were bolstered by wartime appropriations that got 4-H going in areas where private donors, schools and Extension staff members were willing to keep up the group in peacetime. An early researcher also credited the substantial movement toward rural school consolidation in the 1950s as a reason for the urban 4-H migration. As rural boys and girls were bused into increasingly urban settings, they wanted to bring some of their old ways with them and 4-H was a prime example. 11 Other urban demands arose from parents who remembered their own farm experiences and wanted the same for their children. even if they had to trade tractors for power lawn mowers. With the decline of the family farm, the nation's smaller cities also included many part-time farmers who worked their acreages in the summer and then supplemented their incomes with town jobs in the winter. Those people were not willing to give up 4-H either. Finally, there was the subject matter itself. Youth still wanted to cook, sew. build, repair and grow things. Parents and teachers believed voungsters ought to learn those skills in an educational setting. That made 4-H a viable answer, but the transition from farm to city did not come easily.

The 1948 report from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges acknowledged the rightness of Extension work in urban areas, but made it equally clear that problems could ensue: "... some influential elements of our population have rather strong feelings as to how Extension's resources should be used. Certain groups on a national basis have expressed themselves quite emphatically on the subject on different occasions." Nowhere did those strong feelings become more apparent than on local advisory councils when Extension agents began to talk about extending 4-H into urban and suburban areas. Advisory council members—principally volunteer 4-H leaders and men and women active in agricultural organizations—were proud of 4-H and had doubtless invested hundreds of hours in its success. They were un-

derstandably dubious when the county agent began to talk about 4-H beyond strictly farm areas and small communities. Some agents faced so much opposition that they gave up on urban 4-H work. Others eventually were able to secure the blessings of local backers, but that was only the beginning.

Extension agents working in urban areas in the late 1950s and early 1960s found they were not necessarily welcomed. With the exception of county commissioners, most government officials knew little about 4-H, and Extension agents had little experience in cooperative ventures with other agencies. Schools outside the South were often indifferent and other youth organizations wondered aloud why 4-H did not stick with its image and stay on the farm. Agents also felt cut off from the rest of the 4-H operation. One survey indicated that those working urban areas felt the state 4-H staff had little understanding of what they were trying to do. Funding was uncertain, project literature was too often inappropriate, and Extension leaders were ambiguous about urban 4-H.¹³

Despite the agent's feeling that he or she was on a new and hostile frontier, the interest and the demand for 4-H work gained increasing visability at the national level. It became clear that top Extension leaders would have to decide what to do about urban 4-H and set some national guidelines that either substantially limited urban expansion or propelled it forward. The funding issue also needed attention and it was apparent that Extension workers required vastly updated training.

The National 4-H Foundation approached the 4-H subcommittee on April 22, 1960, with a proposal to fund a study of urban 4-H programs as a first step toward determining policies on work in the cities. The proposal outlined the problem: "Because of the differences in rural and urban societies and the vast differences in opportunity for youth, especially boys, to conduct projects in the usual traditional 4-H sense, certain fundamental questions need to be answered before the Cooperative Extension Service moves further into this field. There appears to be a strong feeling in some quarters that Extension should not move aggressively into urban areas with its youth program until certain of these questions are answered and some carefully thought-out plans can be developed."¹⁴ Proposal authors suggested a five-year study including pilot projects, a literature review, questionnaires, conferences, a national steering committee, the publication of results and the development of new materials. The subcommittee presented the proposal to ECOP which approved it in January of 1961 and appointed a special ad hoc committee on 4-H club work in non-farm areas. The committee included Marvin A. Anderson, Iowa State University; Emory J. Brown, Pennsylvania State University; Mylo Downey and Laurel Sabrosky, Federal Extension Service; Mawby of Michigan State University; and Grant A. Shrum, National 4-H Foundation.

Mawby, who had encouraged the growth of urban 4-H work in Michigan by not asking too many questions, now found himself chairman of a study committee charged with asking and answering a host of questions on 4-H in urban areas. Mawby later said he guessed he had been put on the committee because he had made a lot of speeches about the flexibility of 4-H. He felt that appointing the committee was a recognition by ECOP that 4-H already had changed and that it was necessary to legitimize that change with a new policy. 15 Extension workers who were uneasy about a 4-H program without tractors and grain contests were undoubtedly apprehensive about the ad hoc committee's work, while those who had been lobbying for a less traditional approach saw the committee as the beginning of a new day. Recognizing that polarization in the ranks. Mawby and his group decided to take their time and produce a completely documented report. With support from the Ford and Sears-Roebuck Foundations, the committee spent three years at its task; its final conclusion was addressed to ECOP in August 1964.

While the ad hoc committee was at work, Extension leaders on both federal and state levels at least could say they were studying the issue of urban 4-H, but that did not stop the pressure to provide an increasing level of service in American cities.

4-H Is One Answer to Urban Problems

Americans did not lack problems to worry about in the 1960s. In addition to civil rights, war, crime, and the feeling that many cities were out of control, Americans had a plain concern for their young people. The butch haircuts, matching skirt and sweater sets, bobby socks, and the noisy, if essentially harmless, hot rods of the previous decade were being replaced by young people who not only let their hair grow long, but were known by the length of their hair. There was even a smash Broadway play called *Hair* that shocked many for its frank discussion of morality, the drug culture and the war. The generation gap became a common theme for popular journalists as young people dropped out of society and took refuge in enclaves that were said to be unsafe for anyone over thirty. Parents, political leaders and business people were horrified. And it was not surprising that they began to search for ways to counter

what they perceived to be a cultural disaster. While 4-H had never claimed any magic cures for disaffected youth, urban decay, or juvenile delinquency, many people looked to 4-H because at least it displayed an "acceptable image." The search for countermeasures to the hippies movement of the 1960s was partly responsible for the growing pressure placed on 4-H and other youth organizations to do more in American cities.



More science projects entered 4-H programs in the late 1950s. These urban 4-H'ers studying botany are learning how plants grow.

A 1962 newspaper article by United Press International announced that "4-H Clubs, traditionally concerned with farm youth, will turn increased attention to urban area problems—including juvenile delinquency—under two new grants created by the Ford Foundation. The Ford Foundation announced Saturday it is giving a \$25,000 grant for a six-month study of 4-H in 100 urban communities and a \$125,000 grant to the University of Oklahoma for development of an urban counterpart to its agricultural Extension research and education programs." ¹⁶

In Washington, 4-H Division Head Downey was bombarded with requests from Extension officials who needed to retrain agents and from citizens who wanted 4-H in their cities. Cecil Mayfield, an Alabama 4-H club specialist, wrote in 1963 for information on urban work for 4-H agents in his state.¹⁷ Elaine Skucius, Nebraska assistant state 4-H leader, asked for help on her Omaha 4-H program.¹⁸ A New York City resident, James Smith, inquired about 4-H in his area. Reluctantly, Downey's staff replied that there was no 4-H in New York City and they had no information of any plans to establish it there.¹⁹

Wilbur Pease, New York's state 4-H leader, was having his problems, too. His letter of July 30, 1963, to the federal 4-H office said: "The pressure is on in New York State for 4-H to move into central cities with primary emphasis on working with low income. The Erie and Niagara County Boards of Supervisors have specifically asked for this. Onondaga County is doing a little work in Syracuse and the Mayor's Commission for youth has pressured 4-H to submit a proposal for work in three target areas of the city. We are going to have to be frank regarding the financial support needed."

Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper got a substantial amount of attention when he asked Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman about 4-H in the cities. A March 12, 1963, letter described his request, "It has been suggested that programs of homemaking, self-care and child care could be well-adapted to urban areas which do not have equivalent programs." A month later Cooper continued the correspondence telling Freeman that the main problem with establishing 4-H in a place like Louisville, Kentucky, seemed to be the lack of volunteer leaders. Were volunteers ever paid, he wanted to know?

FES Administrator E. T. York, who was given the task of responding to the Senator, admitted that few counties got any money for 4-H in urban areas. Those which did, got it from city governments, county governments, United Givers funds, foundations and fund drives. "To my knowledge," York wrote, "there are no state or federal funds for this purpose."²¹

As is often the case, one citizen bypassed the usual Extension and USDA channels. Thomas B. Keane, of Elmhurst, New York, wrote directly to President John F. Kennedy in 1962.

Hundreds of thousands of boys in our cities are desperately in need of an urban 4-H club. The same can be said of the girls. All you have to do is the same as you did with your successful physical fitness program for which I would like to congratulate you. Believe me when I say that you should feel great about that action and feel proud. Having a great understanding of this problem, I would like to have something to do with its successful direction. I feel that you will agree with me that there is no problem facing us as serious as this one. ²²

Although the files do not indicate what Kennedy's staff may have written in response to Keane, it was clear that they could have done little more than apologize and suggest that things might change. In any event, letters from Keane and others like him soon prompted Downey to look for ways to diffuse some of the pressure for urban 4-H. In a 1963 memo for the new FES Administrator Lloyd Davis, Downey recounted that the current 4-H statistics showed 48 percent of the membership on the farm, 31 percent in non-farm areas and 21 percent in urban areas. "It may be a bit premature," Downey wrote, "but someday the legislative subcommittee [of ECOP] may want to consider a request of funds for 4-H and youth development programs in non-farm areas." 23



This young 4-H'er may be wondering if he really wants to begin a project in embryology.

Despite the lack of direction from national 4-H leaders, urban programs continued to spring up throughout the United States. New York began demonstration projects in Buffalo, Syracuse and Orange County in 1964. The projects were funded by a special appropriation from the New York legislature and supplemented by federal funds allocated by the director of Extension. In a demonstration report prepared a year later, New York wrote that the 4-H chick incubation and embryology project proved especially attrac-

tive to youth in Buffalo. It presented basic science in an interesting way. When one of his chicks died, a Buffalo 4-H'er wrote in his record book, "I mean to find out what kilt them."²⁴

4-H officials in Providence, Rhode Island, received some Federal Extension Special Needs money to continue their long-standing work with 4-H programming for center city youngsters. In the August 1964 issue of the Extension Service Review. Kenneth Coombs and Violet Higbee, both on the Rhode Island state Extension staff, explained the Providence effort: "Extension's aim is not to make farmers and natural scientists out of South Providence youth, but to guide them to become worthy citizens, community leaders and family members. Some of the methods tried and proven by Extension while raising the level of living of America's rural population appear to be just as effective in motivating and assisting low income families of limited opportunities in South Providence."25 A gardening program in Philadelphia captured the imagination of urban 4-H'ers and became a model for similar efforts in Boston and Roxbury. By the mid-1960s nearly every state had dabbled in 4-H programming for city kids, but no one was willing to go too far without some policy direction and some money. Many Extension officials approached big city governments in an attempt to gain funding for urban 4-H, but responses were uneven, at best.

Non-Farm Study Surfaces

Downey provided federal 4-H staff copies of 4-H Club Work in Non-Farm Areas, the long-awaited ad hoc committee report, on August 20, 1964. In his cover memorandum, Downey told his staff that ECOP would get the report the next day. He thought moving into urban areas would be controversial with ECOP, and while not knowing the outcome, he did add his own word of caution, "My appraisal of the discussion would indicate that 4-H has an urban image, they [the study committee] think this is good, they think it is the kind of thing the power structure will support, but I don't believe ECOP is ready to give us the green light to move 4-H into urban areas." Downey was right on at least one count; ECOP did not take any immediate action on the ad hoc report and when the signal to move into urban areas came almost a year later, it proved to be more of a yellow light than the green many had hoped for.

ECOP did thank the committee and commended its members for their work; then it appointed a special task force to review the research and report its findings. A year later, ECOP was ready to act. The minutes of the August 17–19, 1965, meeting show that Bryce Ratchford of Missouri made a motion, seconded by Lowell

Watts of Colorado, that "ECOP give positive endorsement to intensifying and expanding 4-H and other Extension youth programs to young people in urban areas with the understanding that this will not be at the expense of programs with rural young people." The motion carried; no specific vote was recorded. ECOP also voted to encourage the federal 4-H office to assign a staff member to lead 4-H and other Extension youth programs in urban areas when additional resources became available.²⁷

That the ad hoc committee had titled its report 4-H Club Work in Non-Farm Areas rather than using the term urban indicated how sensitive the topic was to those involved in 4-H in the mid-1960s. It was not until 1965 that ECOP suggested its secondary task force use the word urban in its title. Mawby and the other committee members were equally as sensitive to the positive forces swirling around their research, and they made certain that their assertions were well-documented. The four-year project included: A Survey of Urban 4-H Club Work in the United States by FES's Sabrosky; 4-H in Urban Areas: A Case Study of 4-H Organization and Program in Selected Urbanized Areas by Brown of Pennsylvania State University and Patrick Boyle of the University of Wisconsin; and Adolescent Behavior in Urban Areas: A Bibliographic Review and discussion of the Literature by David Gottlieb and John Reeves of Michigan State University.

All reports coming out of the study were published and became standard reference pieces for those doing youth work in urban areas during the years that followed. In summary, the study committee clearly favored a major 4-H effort in urban areas, but it devoted many pages to the problems that 4-H was bound to experience in the cities. The authors talked about the 4-H organization's ironclad structure and suggested that traditional club experiences would not always be the most effective way to reach new audiences. The report showed conclusively that 4-H was already involved in almost every major urban area in the United States, but that it did not reach many poor people, that it retained many of its rural orientations, and that rural residents constituted most local 4-H advisory councils even in areas with urban membership. The report noted that 4-H requirements like club membership, fair exhibits, prizes and the general trappings of the traditional 4-H club that dated to the turn of the century, might not be feasible in urban settings. "Clubs," said the researchers, "may be organized for short-lived goals and then disbanded with emphasis on the educational experiences."30

Mawby admitted many years later that reactions to the report

were, in his words, "mixed," but he also noted that most of the free structure recommended in the report arose from what researchers had found progressive 4-H agents already doing in various parts of the country. The Michigan urban model that Mawby had worked on in the 1950s demonstrated that projects had to be adapted for urban areas and that exhibit requirements and awards were not always the best inducements for youth. "Why should a kid with the worst-looking pig in the county have to go to the fair to call his project finished?" Mawby wanted to know. "We tried to stress the importance of what the 4-H'er did with what he or she had and then encourage competition, but make it optional." "31"

The ad hoc committee report which ran forty pages, exclusive of supporting studies, made six recommendations to ECOP. Nearly all of those recommendations were realized before the decade was out. Committee members first asked Extension to set a clear policy on urban work. They then recommended increased financial resources from private grants as well as public sources, warning Extension leadership that it must also solve the legal problems that appeared to be keeping many counties from expanding into urban areas. The committee also recommended that Extension build a support base in urban areas and that it move immediately to hire urban-oriented staff and retrain present staff for work in urban areas. Recognizing the severe strain on family relationships that often existed in the urban sphere, the committee urged Extension to design urban programs that would include family groups. The sixth recommendation was the most difficult to implement and remained a problem in many parts of the country. The committee urged Extension to use the total land-grant university resource, going beyond the colleges of agriculture and home economics. 32 To Mawby's mind that was the essence of the entire report. Seventeen years later he summarized the committee's efforts: "How can you best fit the educational materials of the whole land-grant university into 4-H? That was the spirit of the report."33

The 4-H in Non-Farm Areas study did move Extension leadership off dead center and it did articulate both the positive and the problem areas 4-H would face in the cities. But the report could not deliver money which was sorely needed, it could not deal with 4-H enrollment which was declining, and it could not develop new approaches that would be necessary for a growing 4-H program. Those would have to come from Extension agents, state staff members, national leaders and sometimes members themselves, as 4-H launched its drive toward expansion in the last half of the 1960s.

Perhaps because of its long history and perhaps because of di-

versity among state and county programs, 4-H always has been an introspective organization given to ad hoc committees, investigative reports and position papers. Such documents abounded in the 1960s as a response to Extension and land-grant leaders who questioned the ability of 4-H to trade structure and tradition for flexibility and urban audiences. Many Extension workers at state and national levels believed that 4-H should be retained only as a club experience and an increasing effort should be mounted to work with Scouts, church groups, or any "other youth" organization needing help. They reasoned that tax dollars could not be used just for 4-H and besides they saw the 4-H movement as far too narrow. The "other youth" advocates were buttressed by aggressive young Extension agents who despaired at ever changing 4-H and thus opted to bypass it. Downey wrote Wisconsin State Club Leader Frank Campbell in 1963 urging him to keep the federal 4-H office informed on a new program there called "An Extension Program in Youth Development." The program did not mention 4-H, but focused on working with other youth agencies to train volunteers, administer and evaluate youth programs, and generally share Extension expertise in youth work.³⁴ Other states were looking at similar approaches. Geraldine Fenn, associate state 4-H leader in Montana, talked of a general Extension youth service concept in a 1967 paper, "The Land-Grant University and Youth Development Programs." Fenn believed it unwise to restrict tax money to 4-H and urged Extension to take the broad view.35

Those devoted to 4-H work, especially federal and state leaders, who were trying to make the organization do more under the 4-H rubric, felt threatened by the move away from the 4-H label. That movement apparently reached its zenith in 1965 when it responded to an ECOP publication, Extension Youth Programs in the Twentieth Century. ECOP leaders who were particularly supportive of the "other youth" concept had begun work on the paper after the appointment of a committee for "Intensive Study and Special Consideration to the Future Direction of 4-H and Other Youth Extension Program Development." Fearing that the document might contain an indictment of 4-H, the ECOP Subcommittee on 4-H Club Work began writing This We Believe: A Positive Approach to Strengthen the 4-H and Other Extension Youth Programs. Like rival authors rushing for the attentions of the same publisher, the two groups labored toward goals that were distinguished as much by semantics as anything else.

The subcommittee document was completed first and was presented to ECOP on August 19, 1964, which ironically was when the

policy committee was considering the 4-H in Non-Farm Areas study. Predictably, This We Believe was directed toward a flexible, revitalized 4-H program with the acknowledgement that Extension would always have a secondary obligation to serve "other youth." ECOP's own Twentieth Century, released in January 1965, just as predictably emphasized the "other youth" aspect of Extension while giving only passing recognition to 4-H.³⁷



Whether living on a farm or in a city, young 4-H'ers can't resist petting a friendly animal.

4-H Seen As Youth Education Approach

The issue of downgrading the 4-H label in favor of expanding service to "other youth" was not solved in the 1960s. It remained murky, but as much as anything else, the specter of second class citizenship within Extension galvanized 4-H leadership in both public and private sectors to move the program ahead, not as a network of clubs, but as an approach to youth education.

As recommended by *This We Believe*, the word *club* was dropped from many official titles, letterheads, and building fronts. The National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work already had become the National 4-H Service Committee in 1960. The Extension Subcommittee on 4-H Club Work became the Extension Subcom-

mittee on 4-H Youth Programs in 1965. National 4-H Club Congress became National 4-H Congress in 1968, and by the late 1960s the National 4-H Club Foundation had quit using *club* in most of its official communications, although the word remained in the Foundation's articles of incorporation. After Downey's retirement in 1967, the federal 4-H division devoted considerable time to convincing state and county Extension workers that 4-H was simply the name given to the youth program of the USDA and the landgrant systems.

It was an uphill fight, but eventually even volunteer leaders accepted the fact that 4-H, particularly in urban areas, was no longer bound by the traditional club format with its attendant rules and regulations. Having shed the symbols, however, 4-H still had to deal with the reality of declining enrollments. The numbers game is an entertaining one only if an organization is growing. When that trend begins to reverse, the game becomes the numbers nightmare. That is what happened to 4-H in 1960. Membership had been leveling off for some time as the rural audience diminished, but it was not until the beginning of the decade that the official totals showed a decline. The 4-H Ideas Newsletter recorded the bleak statistics in 1962 with the report that membership was down by 60,000. Forty percent of the states showed a loss.³⁸ In 1964, membership came up a bit to 2.2 million, about what it had been four years earlier. 39 The next year, membership was down again to 2,185,000, and in 1966, membership fell to the decade's low of 2,133,000.40 Membership had not been that low since 1955. Demographics, the civil rights strife in the South, a rural image and a lack of clear direction for urban programs all contributed to the decline. The bright hopes for expansion and diversified programming appeared to have run afoul of statistical report forms which coldly recorded the six-year membership slide.

The 4-H subcommittee decided in 1966 to begin using statistics to its advantage. It was common knowledge that many non-4-H club youngsters served by Extension were not being counted. In an effort to legitimize those less formal efforts and to get numbers back on the upswing, the subcommittee suggested a uniform reporting system that identified total members in organized clubs, total youth participation in 4-H outside clubs, and youth other than 4-H reached by Extension. ⁴¹ Two years later, the subcommittee recommended that the statistical report include space for 4-H members in clubs, 4-H'ers not in clubs, 4-H TV members, and youth not in 4-H but served by Extension. Later, a special category was added for youth served by the 4-H Expanded Food and Nutri-

tion Education Program (EFNEP). By 1967, 4-H membership increased to 2.3 million. The increase was partially due to the efforts of many states to expand their services, but few doubted that the new reporting system was principally responsible for reversing the downward trends in the late 1960s. Some were critical of the change, claiming that Extension should not be counting youngsters reached by television and short-term projects. But to the progressives within Extension, the method was not only statistically beneficial, it was educationally sound as well. With the decision to record everyone reached by 4-H, phrases like "4-H member," "4-H club" and "4-H club projects" were soon replaced by "4-H participants" and "4-H programs."

The broad range of reporting categories usually was retained in official publications, but for the sake of simplicity, Extension leaders often lumped all the categories into a single annual designation for 4-H. By 1970 that figure stood at 3 million. In 1974, 4-H recorded its all-time high enrollment of 7.1 million, reflecting not only the new people reached by special nutrition and urban programs, but also high participation in the 4-H television series *Mulligan Stew*. By 1980, participation had dropped again to 4.9 million. Interestingly, the number of youth enrolled in 4-H clubs stayed right at 2 million during the 1970s, while other kinds of 4-H participation tended to fluctuate. Criticism of the new reporting system eventually waned, and many state Extension services had merged the reporting responsibility with their computer management systems by 1975. Statistically at least, Extension had finally reached a broad compromise on who could be called a 4-H'er.

Operation Expansion Energizes 4-H Program

With its statistical house in order, 4-H was in a much better position to assess the effectiveness of expansion efforts that had begun officially in late 1964, with the announcement of Operation Expansion. V. Joseph McAuliffe, a member of the federal 4-H staff with particular responsibility for expansion, was convinced that volunteer leaders were the key. In the last issue of 4-H Ideas for 1965, the federal office announced that six states had been selected to demonstrate how more youth could be reached through 4-H without hiring more professional staff. Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Washington were to serve as the guinea pigs. 42

Each state selected several pilot counties in order to test new techniques for reaching youngsters. Operation Expansion emphasized removing county agents from 4-H meetings and encouraging reliance on more volunteers. The expansion efforts also stressed the development of new project literature with catchy phrases and up-to-date illustrations. Sometimes it meant whole new projects. Minnesota came up with a fresh series, *A Learning Adventure Through 4-H*, which included information on being a popular baby-sitter, a top cyclist, a home gardener and an outdoor chef. Some people referred to Operation Expansion as a selling job or a merchandizing job, but E. Dean Vaughan, director of the 4-H division, insisted that regardless of the method, 4-H had little choice but to expand. He emphasized that point in a September 26, 1967, speech in North Carolina.

On a recent trip to the beach, I started to walk out into the surf. My daughter called to me. I turned around and shouted, "What did you say?" By that time it was too late, a wave about eight feet high broke over my head and I came up for air around 15 yards later, with a mouth full of sand. Operation Expansion is much the same. 4-H is going to expand. It is going to expand whether or not we may be ready. 4-H expansion is as inevitable as that eight-foot wave. Anyone who turns his back on the wave of youth in America today may expect to come up for air about 15 yards too late with a mouth full of blank enrollment cards. 44

As the six pilot states moved through their year-long demonstration project, other states picked up the idea, began their own expansion experiments and developed new themes on their own. By the end of 1966, Extension leaders were talking openly of increasing enrollments to 5.2 million by 1970. They fell far short of that goal, however, with participation at the beginning of the new decade standing at 3 million, but the numbers did represent an improvement over the 2.2 million enrolled in 1960. Out of Operation Expansion, Extension staff learned to use more volunteers, although some countered that they were already overworked and did not want to expand 4-H. The staff also encouraged the employment of program aides and learned how to wrap 4-H in a far more attractive package. In its final report on Operation Expansion prepared in October 1967, North Carolina wrote:

The most noticeable effect perhaps has been the development of flexibility in 4-H programming to meet various needs and interests of today's young people. Extension agents appear more willing now than before to deviate from tradition and to explore new innovations so larger numbers of boys and girls may participate in this education program. For instance, short-term special interest programs, in addition to traditional community 4-H Clubs are being accepted quite extensively as an effective

technique for providing 4-H experiences for youth not previously involved in 4-H. Consequently, North Carolina has shown that by building flexibility in the 4-H program, it is possible to expand to a considerable degree the number of participants reached per agent year of time spent on 4-H. 45

Expansion techniques could not be developed in a vacuum, however. Several national-level training programs were required to help professional staff members and volunteer leaders deal with urban and low-income audiences. Agents themselves changed as universities recruited Extension people who knew little about agriculture, but a lot about young people.

While it would not be accurate to say that Operation Expansion turned 4-H around, it was true that the new wave demonstration projects, television series, and a commitment to less rigid structures, did energize the program and prepare it for the 1970s. Nonetheless, there was one critical ingredient missing. 4-H got plenty of support from Extension leadership for serving new audiences, but it could not get any more money. By the mid-1960s, the issue of a special line-item appropriation for 4-H, much like the one Guy Noble had tried to secure during World War II, had surfaced once again. The idea was pursued on two fronts.

On the official side, the 4-H subcommittee, which had been stripped of most of its program development responsibility, began to take a far more active role in budget preparation. In many ways, ECOP had forced the subcommittee into that posture by insisting that the membership confine its deliberations to policy issues. Budgets certainly fit within that charge. Subcommittee efforts on behalf of increased funding also received strong support from a small, wholly unofficial group of state 4-H leaders who were decidedly unhappy about the place of 4-H within the Extension hierarchy. The unsanctioned group, which met sporadically during the mid-1960s, was determined to use whatever influence it could muster to bolster 4-H. The group was called the 4-S Club, which has no real significance except that members jokingly dubbed themselves the "self-selected, sophisticated, snobs." Except for its nomenclature. 4-S was perfectly serious. Its informal membership included Mawby of Michigan, C. J. Gauger of Iowa, Frank Graham of Missouri, Ray Ranta of Kentucky, Ron Aronson of Connecticut and Bill Smith of Pennsylvania. Banning and Sabrosky from the federal Extension office, Norm Mindrum of the National Committee and Grant Shrum of the 4-H Foundation, met with them on occasion. Their agenda included seven priorities. They wanted to upgrade the status of state 4-H leaders, see the 4-H Foundation and

4-H Service Committee merge, encourage professional staff training, professionalize the 4-H position at county and state levels, change the role and status of the 4-H subcommittee, modify the 4-H program carefully on the basis of sound evidence drawn from the expert resources of the total land-grant university and secure a line-item appropriation for 4-H.

It was with the line-item appropriation in mind that Gauger, who sat on the 4-H subcommittee from 1965 through 1967, created by his own account an early flap when he suggested that 4-H ought to be supporting an additional \$30 million appropriation rather than the \$1.5 million proposal Downey had placed before the group. The request was later pared to \$7.5 million and it did gain acceptance from ECOP, but it got nowhere in Congress. Despite that, Gauger believed that early budgetary support, even from groups like the ad hoc 4-S, helped lay some groundwork for later appropriations. Federal experiments with new budgetary techniques had drawn all government agencies into the complex budget process by the late 1960s. The 4-H division was no exception as it assumed an increasing responsibility for budget documentation and accountability.

Coincidentally, movement toward more vigorous 4-H participation in budget preparation came at the same time another document battle was brewing. This one grew out of the work of the joint study committee of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges and the USDA. The report, eventually titled *A People and a Spirit*, emerged in draft form in early March 1968. 4-H leaders on the national level were jolted by the document which mentioned 4-H only three times in thirty-two pages and then only in reference to county 4-H agents. The authors did stress the importance of increased Extension youth efforts, especially in cities and with poor people, but they presented a pessimistic view of how a program like 4-H might be involved in an expanded Extension future.⁴⁷

The lack of recognition of what many felt was substantial progress on the part of 4-H to adapt to changing needs riled members of the 4-H subcommittee, despite the fact that Banning, assistant director of the 4-H division, and R. O. Monosmith, California state 4-H leader, had served as staff to the joint study committee drafting the report. In a rare action, subcommittee members decided to voice their concerns in a May 1, 1968, letter to George L. Mehren, assistant secretary of agriculture, and Robert Parks, president of Iowa State University. The two men had co-chaired the joint study committee.

Carlton Blalock, 4-H subcommittee chairman, began the letter of protest by detailing the progress 4-H had made during the 1960s. He concluded:

The point I have been trying to make is that state and national leaders of 4-H are firmly committed to the principle that 4-H must, but more importantly can, continually adjust, adapt and change in order to reach greater numbers of young people with a program that will fulfill their current needs.

The 4-H Subcommittee wishes to call your attention to the following beliefs which we request be considered in preparation of the final report. . . . It has been clearly demonstrated that 4-H in its modern and flexible form can accomplish this mission. It is the further belief of the 4-H Subcommittee that the Quality of Living Report [one section of *A People and a Spirit*] does not adequately express the specialized needs and problems of youth as a unique segment of today's society nor does it recognize the competence of and support for 4-H as a means of designing and conducting programs to meet those needs.⁴⁸

Later Vaughan and subcommittee members got their hands slapped for taking their concerns directly to Parks and Mehren rather than going through ECOP, but some of their defense of 4-H did get included in the final report. As the report alto and regulations for 4-H altogether, the report encouraged many of the changes that were taking place, particularly the demise of rules and regulations for 4-H participation. The report also recommended a national examination of club rules under which 4-H members competed and, in a clear vote of confidence, recommended that Extension maintain 4-H as a youth development activity for youngsters from all walks of life and all economic levels. The report made it clear, however, that 4-H had a long way to go to provide the flexibility in youth programming that would be required to deal with the latter half of the twentieth century.

A month after the report was released in November 1968, Vaughan wrote a memo to 4-H subcommittee members in which he said, "The recently released report of the Joint USDA-NASULGC entitled *A People and a Spirit* recommends that Extension 4-H be doubled by 1975." In his position as national 4-H director, Vaughan could surely be forgiven for a slightly poetic interpretation of the recommendation which regretably did not include 4-H specifically. What the document actually said was, "The Committee recommends that at the minimum, Cooperative Extension Service programs of youth and family education should be doubled by 1975 and that new cooperative relationships with other agencies be developed."

Regardless of the exact intention of the carefully worded A People and a Spirit, the challenge to increase services was evident and 4-H continued to talk of doubling its participation by 1975. Operation Expansion data had shown that it was possible for 4-H agents to be more efficient. 4-H television programs had vastly increased the contact with boys and girls, especially in urban areas, and a concentration on recruiting new volunteers had also proved successful. But like a factory that finally begins to produce at capacity, it became clear that in order for 4-H to do more, it would need more money. Despite 4-H subcommittee efforts and other pressures, many believed that the agricultural appropriations process upon which 4-H depended during each session of Congress would never allow any increase in funds even though 4-H was well known on Capitol Hill. More to the point, skeptics predicted that the powerful Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee would not earmark any money for 4-H in urban areas. By the end of the 1960s, the doubters would be proved wrong as an astute southern politician began to see the roots of compromise between himself and his fellow urban representatives, and America began to see that the tragedy of hunger was not limited to third-world countries.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman had come under fire as early as July 1967, for shortcomings in federal food programs administered by his department. Many counties did not offer food stamps. Some said the stamps remained too expensive for the poor and many began to realize that just delivering food did not guarantee nutritious diets. Freeman looked to his USDA agency heads for ways to relieve the pressure. FES Administrator Davis wrote a memorandum to Freeman in July of 1968 announcing that the Cooperative Extension Service, working principally through the home economics division, was ready to move on a Good Food for Better Living Program. Davis told the secretary that the new program could benefit the poor in fiscal year 1969. He proposed to use home economists to train paid aides who would carry nutrition information into "the homes of the nation's poorest families."

Needless to say, the Davis proposal was contingent upon an annual appropriation. Five months later, Freeman began to lay the groundwork for those extra monies in a letter to Mississippi Congressman Jamie L. Whitten, chairman of the House Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee. "As you are well aware," the secretary wrote, "the last year has been a year of unrest, criticism, and not a little discomfort where our concessional food programs, towit, family feeding and food stamps are concerned. The reviews, analysis and intensive experience of the last year have substan-

tiated what we have known for a long time—that lack of nutrition know-how has been one of the big deterents in accomplishing quality diets for less fortunate Americans."55

Freeman described the pilot educational programs involving Extension home economists in fourteen states: "Based on this experience, we now plan to expand the program and use professional home economists in the state Extension service to train and supervise homemaker aides. . . . I am personally very enthusiastic about this program. There is not much sense making food available to people if they don't know how to use it." The homemaker aide program which eventually became the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) was a part of the Extension appropriation request for fiscal year 1970. The request did not specifically include 4-H when it went to Congress, but 4-H did have a friend on the congressional subcommittee. Whitten had been trying for several years to build bridges between the rapidly declining rural representation in the Congress and the growing urban block. He saw 4-H as one way to strengthen those ties. Some of his thoughts went into the Congressional Record in 1968.

The effect of 4-H club activities on America's rural youth has been so wholesome that many people feel it should be extended to our cities as well as to other parts of the world. At a time when youth seems threatened by the influence of violence from within this country and subversion from abroad, the work of the 4-H clubs of this country is providing an essential stabilizing influence ⁵⁶

During the 1969 congressional subcommittee hearings for agricultural appropriations, Whitten pushed his point again: "I have the feeling that if there was some way to get 4-H-type club activity into the big cities of this country that would do more than anything else to help the youth of these cities. The number of youths that fail to get off to a proper and good start in life is growing increasingly more serious." ⁵⁷

Special Funds Expand 4-H's Outreach

By the time the EFNEP bill emerged from Capitol Hill, a food-conscious Congress had appropriated \$30 million for nutrition education. Of that sum, \$7.5 million was earmarked for 4-H. The committee spelled out its reasons.

In this connection the Committee feels that full use should be made of the nation's three million 4-H Club members to promote 4-H Club-type work with the youth of our towns and cities. The success of this program in rural areas has forcefully demonstrated the effectiveness of this approach. It may well be found that the most successful results from nutrition education of low income families will come through work with younger members of the family.⁵⁸



National 4-H Congress often provides a forum for important public statements. Here Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin announces a \$7.5 million appropriation for 4-H nutrition education programs in low-income urban areas.

It had been nearly ten years since Downey first tentatively suggested that 4-H perhaps would need a special appropriation to do work in the cities. Six years had elapsed since ECOP had given 4-H clearance to work in urban areas. With the \$7.5 million 4-H EFNEP appropriation, policy, method and money finally had come together at one time. The money was strictly limited to nutrition education work and 4-H did not get all the identification it had hoped for, but the funds went a long way toward breaking the barriers that made urban 4-H work difficult even for the most dedicated county agent.

4-H made another breakthrough in 1972 with an additional \$7.5 million appropriation—\$5 million designated to expand general 4-H programs in urban areas and \$2.5 million for 4-H community rural development. The appropriation effort got its first

boost when ECOP's legislative committee, headed by John Hutchinson of Texas, gave the 4-H budget request priority over other segments of Extension. That, coupled with a significant gain in the 4-H EFNEP program and rising enrollments, put 4-H in a better-than-usual position to win a budget battle.

National 4-H Service Committee Director Norman Mindrum, who was closely involved with the strategy that eventually resulted in the fiscal 1973 increase, described it as a go-for-broke year.

I really moved that year and it's the only time in the whole process when I have been severely criticized by some Extension directors because of the fact they thought I was going too far. I was actually calling up state 4-H leaders. I was calling state Extension directors and I think some felt I was going around them. To a certain extent I knew what I was doing and I knew I was taking a chance as far as my own personal reputation was concerned. And yet, in twenty years' involvement with the organization, this was the first time we had gotten ECOP legislative priority and I thought it would probably never happen again.⁵⁹

Mindrum was not the only one who was involved. Nearly every major 4-H backer in the country worked to support the appropriation request. Unlike the 4-H EFNEP money which came almost as a surprise, the 1972 battle was hard fought. When the smoke cleared, 4-H had its additional appropriation, but it did not come as new dollars from Congress. The special appropriation really came as a congressional directive to Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz to allocate an extra \$7.5 million to 4-H from his USDA budget. Mindrum, who initially had not realized that was the case, learned of it when visiting the USDA to thank Butz for his support on the 4-H appropriation. It was then the secretary told him that the USDA would have to come up with the money which probably meant that someone else would not get what had been promised. Butz was not entirely happy about the prospect and Mindrum remembered that the secretary let him know that.

Along with the special EFNEP appropriation, the 4-H urban and community rural development funds continued through 1981. The new money made it possible for 4-H to substantially expand its outreach in hundreds of urban and low-income sectors of America. The twin appropriations also forestalled the decade-long argument about the rightness of 4-H in the cities. There was little doubt after 1969 that 4-H had a place in the education of America's urban youth. There was also little doubt that 4-H had a great deal to

learn about the lifestyles and needs emanating from the nation's metropolitan areas.

Notes on Chapter 8

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9

Forgotten 4-H'ers

Never one for the low-key approach, President Lyndon B. Johnson mustered all the dramatic force and political clout at his command in March 1964, when he announced that no less than the elimination of poverty would be the goal of his domestic program. As one popular writer put it, "Johnson declared War on Poverty last week with all the marshall fervor of a 12th Century Crusader." Shortly after the president's announcement, Sargent Shriver, the new head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, told a National Farmer's Union Convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, that "Americans did have the power for the first time in history to rid the nation of poverty."

Barely five months later, the President signed the multimillion dollar Economic Opportunity Act into law. It contained \$947 million for a host of aid programs including the Job Corps, work training and college work study, a domestic version of the Peace Corps which later became Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) and the expansion of many existing programs. A large chunk of money was also earmarked for Community Action Programs (CAPS). The CAPS were vaguely defined, federally funded agencies designed to let poor people set their own goals and in so doing, find ways out of the statistical backwash often referred to as "low income."²

Critics of the War on Poverty were quick to point out that it was a predictable election-year giveaway. Later, historians of the era detailed hundreds of ways in which the poverty programs failed and the Johnsonian approach was found wanting. But if the president erred in his method, he was not wrong in describing the problem. There were poor people in America, lots of them. The standards used to categorize the poor often seemed fluid, but in simple numbers most observers agreed that during the early 1960s there were nearly 34 million poverty-stricken Americans, and of those, nearly 14 million lived on farms and in small towns. Put another way, poor people made up almost 18 percent of the total U.S. population.³

For a program like 4-H with a history of helping people to better themselves, the specter of poverty should not have been new. After all, many of the early corn and tomato clubs had been aimed at farm youth who lacked advantages. Extension agents had met the challenge of an agricultural depression that began long before the stock market crash in 1929. Experiments with urban programs in Colorado, Massachusetts, Michigan and Oregon had included poor youngsters. But despite those experiences, 4-H, by 1960, was largely a middle-class organization, with a middle-class structure that made it hard for most low-income people to participate. Owning an animal, making a dress, joining a club, exhibiting at the fair, depending upon parents for volunteer leadership, or even coming up with a few dollars for camp, put 4-H beyond the reach of most of the folks Johnson was talking about when he described the American poor.

Beyond the presidential mandate, there were many reasons for Extension to get involved in the War on Poverty. One was the potential for new money. The millions of dollars going into the Office of Economic Opportunity would surely find their way into existing institutions. 4-H could be one of them if it demonstrated its capabilities with youth from low-income families. To its credit, the organization was not without strengths in the drive to help poor people. The complex network of state and county Extension offices was already in place to deliver special services. Few other groups could make such a claim. 4-H did not require that youngsters pay national dues, although some local clubs did collect money. There were no uniform requirements and, in fact, no nationwide participation requirements except that young people fall within the nine to nineteen age category. Most useful of all, 4-H programs and projects were backed by researchers and teachers in the land-grant universities. 4-H officials argued that while those projects were still largely rural in their approach, they could be adapted for disadvantaged inner cities and youth agents could be specially recruited and trained to work with the poor. They also pointed to existing urban 4-H programs that showed adaptability. One of those projects was in Chicago where private, not public, money had propelled 4-H into the midst of the nation's second largest city.

Private Funds Help Launch Chicago 4-H

John B. Clark, president of Coats & Clark Inc., was among a growing number of private business people in the mid-1950s who believed that America's agrarian values were sorely needed in the nation's cities. Clark, a long-time supporter of 4-H, saw the organization as a vehicle for transmitting such values and he was willing

to underwrite the experiment. Hoping to do something in his own New York City, Clark first contacted Cornell University with his proposal. After some negotiations Cornell turned down the idea with apologies to Clark. He got the same response from Rutgers University when he offered to help start 4-H in Newark, New Jersey. A few months later, Clark's interests shifted to Chicago and the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. Because the Committee was not bound by the same funding restrictions as the Extension Service, Clark reasoned that it might provide the channel for bringing 4-H into the city. Guy L. Noble, director of the National Committee, was more than pleased to begin working out the details with Clark, but he knew he first would have to secure cooperation from the Illinois Extension Service.⁴

Kenneth Anderson, associate director of the Committee, began talking with O. F. Gaebe, Illinois state 4-H leader, and W. G. Kammlade, associate Extension director, in May 1956. Both were well aware of the public demand for 4-H in Chicago; they told Anderson they recently had brought up the subject at an Illinois 4-H Foundation meeting, but found little enthusiasm on the part of those attending. Anderson told the two Extension officials that Clark was interested in helping and he indicated that several other businesses in Chicago would like to do their part.⁵

Kammlade immediately endorsed the idea and for the next several months continued to push toward the establishment of the Chicago 4-H program. Like others before him, Kammlade first had to counter resistance among rural 4-H supporters and agricultural leaders who feared that their insufficient 4-H budgets would be diluted to serve a burgeoning urban area. The associate director handled that by assuring critics most of the money would be from private sources. He reinforced those assurances by placing the management of the Chicago program under the jurisdiction of the state 4-H office rather than the Cook County Extension office. It was an unusual arrangement that would later cause problems for 4-H, but Kammlade apparently thought it crucial to the success of the new program.

Clark wrote Noble on June 25, 1956, that Coats & Clark would underwrite Chicago 4-H for three to five years at a rate of \$10,000 per year. Other donors, including the Burridge D. Butler Memorial Trust, The Sears-Roebuck Foundation and the Robert R. McCormick Foundation, also helped launch the new program. Most of the red tape had been cut by the end of 1956 and Kammlade, with promised backing from private industry, had convinced all the necessary forces within and outside of Extension that the pilot projections.

ect in Chicago should go forward. Until that time, negotiations on Chicago 4-H had been conducted quietly, but the news began to leak out as more people became involved.

Like all good reporters, Richard Orr, farm editor of the Chicago Tribune, kept his ear to the ground for news and it was not long before he picked up word of the Chicago 4-H plan. It was an excellent story and Orr hounded the people at the National Committee for weeks in pursuit of a scoop. Finally Anderson gave in and arranged for Orr to talk with Kammlade. On March 13. 1957, the reporter filed a story for the Tribune under the lead paragraph: "State 4-H Club Officials are getting ready to launch a program of club work for boys and girls in Chicago this spring. It will be the first opportunity for city youngsters to become a part of the nationwide youth organization that is devoted to encouraging good citizenship, home and community service and a sense of selfreliance thru 'learning by doing,'" Orr's account drew good response from all over the state and a good-humored correction. Oregon's state 4-H Leader Burton S. Hutton could not resist the opportunity to remind the good people of Chicago that while he was pleased to learn of their urban 4-H plans, they were by no means the first area to be so blessed. Portland, he reported, had enjoyed an urban 4-H program for the previous twenty-five years. His letter appeared in the Chicago Tribune a few weeks after Orr's story.8

The first public announcements on Chicago 4-H also helped to launch the fund drive needed to bankroll the new program. Some money was available from state and federal Extension allotments, but most would have to be private. In its initial stages, the drive was headed by T. W. Thompson, National Committee service director. Then the Chicago 4-H Club Advisory Committee was formed in 1957 to help expand the program and increase private support. In a few months the group of business leaders incorporated under the name Chicago 4-H Association. A. W. Haarlow of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company served as its first president.9 Many other Chicago business and professional leaders worked with the Association during its seventeen-year tenure. Among them were University of Illinois Regent Frances B. Watkins who was secretary from 1957 through 1974, and Thomas J. Nayder, Chicago Building Trades Council president, who headed the 4-H association from 1967 through 1974.

From the time of the first discussion on Chicago 4-H, Kammlade had made it clear that the program would have to be extended to low-income people and that it would have to include Blacks as well. The associate Extension director was well aware that 4-H in the late 1950s was segregated, but he told Anderson that the university could not be a part of any new program in Chicago that excluded Negroes. Those already recruited to back the Chicago 4-H experiment apparently did not disagree and the program went forward with that understanding.¹⁰

The biracial stipulation and the need to find someone who could adapt 4-H to an exclusively non-farm audience were much on the minds of Illinois state 4-H officials as they set out to staff Chicago 4-H. Their choice was Lawrence Biever who first turned down the job and then, at Kammlade's urging, accepted the post in the summer of 1957. Later that fall Biever's wife Anna Rose joined the staff. Biever started on the Chicago 4-H project with a brandnew doctorate from the University of Wisconsin, some basic beliefs about youth work, and a letter from a Chicago teenager named Sally Tokarz who wanted to start a 4-H club in the Chicago stockyards area. On July 17, 1957, Biever, Tokarz and fourteen other teenage girls formed the Yardettes, Chicago's first urban club. Ten years later, there were 137 clubs in Chicago and the number continued to grow.

The Bievers found that 4-H home economics and photography projects worked in the inner city, but nearly everything else required adaptation or starting from scratch. In the interim, they borrowed project material from other states. Eventually, the two agents prepared their own guides on topics ranging from junior leadership to money management. During their seventeen years in Chicago, they introduced seventy-eight projects.

In 1961, the Chicago Board of Education asked 4-H to organize clubs in minority public housing projects where the school dropout rate was especially high. It was all part of a program to combat juvenile delinquency and keep youths in school. The Bievers were successful in organizing sixteen 4-H clubs in housing projects and in the process they learned to deal with security problems that were far outside the experience of most Extension agents. Anna Rose remembered a concerned cab driver who took her on her first trip into the projects with a stern warning that in the future she stay out of the area. Later, when cab drivers would not even go into the projects, she reported that the young people walked her to the bus stop. The 4-H'ers had their problems too. Meetings were most often held in an apartment or home where it was more secure, but even so, children told of having their exhibits or ribbons taken from them on their way back home from 4-H events.

There were few vestiges of rural America in Chicago's 4-H program, but it was not a city unfamiliar with the smell of live-

stock and the Bievers recalled that Chicago did have pig projects for a short time. The 4-H'ers raised their twenty-two pigs in some empty stalls made available by a Chicago packing company. Kammlade agreed to come to Chicago to look at the city pigs and declared them fine enough to go to the state fair. Once in competition at the fair, the pigs as well as their owners distinguished themselves. The experience led Kammlade to tell Illinois farmers that he had been trying for years to get their pigs out of mudholes and he was especially glad for them to see what good pigs Chicago 4-H'ers could raise on concrete.¹¹

The Bievers worked with Chicago 4-H clubs until 1974. They stressed home-centered projects with a dependence on junior leadership and the adaptation of rural subjects to urban areas. Believing that youngsters who wanted 4-H should actively seek their own leaders, they enforced that method of volunteer recruitment. Unlike most Extension professionals, the couple worked with people from a melting pot of backgrounds, races and economic levels. Toward the end of his career in Chicago, Biever told an urban newspaper reporter: "I was dumb and naive. I never heard of all these economic levels until five or six years ago. We treated people as individuals. They all go to school. They all learn to read." 12

By early 1970, Cook County's reluctance to do 4-H urban work had faded. Additional staff and new money helped 4-H to grow throughout Chicago. It became clear in 1973 that the Bievers' pioneer 4-H program would have to be merged with the total county 4-H effort. Lawrence and Anna Rose, who had their own way of doing 4-H and their own successes to show for it, opted to retire when the programs were merged. The Chicago 4-H Association became the Chicago 4-H Foundation and broadened its efforts to support all Chicago's 4-H'ers. Once the 4-H programs were merged under Cook County Extension, new workers began experimenting with a variety of educational approaches designed to reach increased numbers of urban young people. In contrast, the Bievers had demonstrated during their seventeen years, that traditional 4-H clubs, competition, record books and exhibits were also workable methods for at least some of Chicago's youth.

4-H Comes to District of Columbia

Like Chicago, Washington, D.C., residents had long asked for 4-H work, but because of the special political status of the District, no land-grant university had been established there. Without that institution there could be no Cooperative Extension Service and no

4-H. Discussions about 4-H in the nation's capital had been going on since 1945, but 4-H did not appear to be a possibility until 1967, when two bills were introduced in Congress to create a land-grant university in the District. One bill called for a new land-grant university. The other designated Howard University for land-grant status. The Congress spent weeks in debate with strong support marshalled on both sides. Banning, who served as the 4-H division liaison on the issue, recalled a lobbyist for the District of Columbia, Forrest Finley, was especially interested in seeing the 4-H program established and initially believed that Howard University should be the land-grant unit. Ultimately, however, the votes began to swing the other way and on June 20, 1968, Congress passed a bill establishing the new Federal City College* and qualifying it as a land-grant institution eligible for Smith-Lever funds.

With the land-grant issue settled, a Cooperative Extension Service was created under the directorship of Eugene Wiegman and in due course 4-H arrived in Washington, D.C. A former Boston Celtics basketball player, John Thompson, in early 1969, accepted the leadership of the District's 4-H program. The towering youth worker was exactly the sort of new breed of 4-H professionals that Extension tried to recruit for its inner city programs. Thompson also expressed the unstructured philosophy that was prevalent among most urban 4-H programs in that era. The Washington Evening Star summed it up with a lead paragraph in an August 4, 1970, feature on Thompson and D.C. 4-H: "Forget about the prize sow and the rows of shiny clear jars of canned botulism-free vegetables. 4-H clubs have exchanged pigstys for lawn mowers and canning skills for shopping skills."

During the *Star* interview, Thompson told the reporter: "We were able to start fresh. We had no experience behind us and no preconceived ideas of what 4-H clubs were supposed to be like. It was easy to put emphasis on the inner city and city kids. ¹⁵ Although the District 4-H program was destined to be plagued throughout its first decade with an unstable university back-up system, the 4-H program did get off to a good start with people like Thompson who were indirectly helpful in convincing Extension leaders that 4-H could work with low-income people in a variety of ways including the expanded nutrition education program. ¹⁶

When 4-H officials seriously began to investigate possibilities of signing up for the War on Poverty in 1964, they pointed to Chicago 4-H as one of several examples of successful low-income

^{*}Later to become a part of the University of the District of Columbia.



Urban 4-H grew significantly in the 1960s. Such activities as group outings to the zoo helped solidify the club and introduced youngsters to many experiences outside their immediate environment.

work in the inner city. They also cited new training programs for agents, new programming techniques and Extension's long history of 4-H work with people at the local level. But, like the elusive brass ring on the merry-go-round, 4-H would never fully catch onto the resources dispensed through the multimillion dollar Economic Opportunity Act.

4-H Division Assistant Director John Banning remembered that 4-H very much wanted to be involved. As early as December 7, 1964, 4-H officials participated in a Federal Extension Service Task Force on Extension Work Under the Economic Opportunity Act. The group issued a report to all states suggesting that Extension work with the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Community Action Program. In keeping with the strong state's rights view of the era, Extension Services were encouraged to design their own strategies and make their own forays into the poverty war.

A progress report five months later indicated that little had been accomplished.

Despite training and information packets, the general level of knowledge on the Economic Opportunity Act is low at state and county levels. In many states, state 4-H staff members report indecision at the University President's level and the Governor's level. Since Economic Opportunity Act funds are available solely on an integrated basis, Extension as a public agency responsive to local people has hesitated to be 'away out in front.' At the same time, there is a broad awareness to an increasing commitment to eliminate poverty. There is also some confusion as Office of Economic Opportunity Representatives meet with community representatives on Community Action Programs. Extension agents see this as another agency bypassing the local organization and established agencies. There is still substantial feeling that the Economic Opportunity Act is a political program. ¹⁸

To be sure, the Economic Opportunity Act was decidedly political and decidedly prointegration, but Extension officials apparently did not feel they could ignore it. With support from USDA administration, Banning and others in the 4-H division developed a number of program samples designed to help 4-H become at least a cooperator if not a contractor with the growing Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). One program called Opportunity Helping Hand was structured to get teenagers involved in the War on Poverty. Robert Pinches of the federal 4-H division also worked with the Department of Labor to see how 4-H might assist in worktraining programs planned under the Economic Opportunity Act, but in the end relatively few county Extension agents developed any close working relationships with the newly funded OEO project.

Civil rights continued to be a major barrier because OEO grants simply were not available to groups with discriminatory policies. Even if the civil rights barrier could have been breached rapidly, OEO programs in the early years clearly were aimed at urban areas and 4-H was not ready to move quickly into the cities. County agents who had more demands on their time than they could cope with found themselves ill-trained, ill-equipped, and most importantly, ill-financed to change their focus. When 4-H later found its way into urban centers, cooperation with inner-city poverty programs increased, but 4-H never became a major part of the system delivering OEO-funded services to the poor. 19

Extension Concentrates on Rural Poor

Left without any official ties to the Economic Opportunity Act, 4-H might well have chosen to sit out the War on Poverty. Instead, Extension leaders opted to concentrate some of their resources on a segment of the low-income population that had been all but forgotten in the rush to attack the problems of the cities. Extension

workers saw better than most that there were great numbers of poor people trapped in isolated pockets throughout America's lush farming communities. Many county agents knew the poor families by name, and they also knew that many of them were not served by Extension, or any other agency for that matter. By the time rural poverty was recognized by the rest of the nation—a recognition resulting largely from Senate investigations and a 1967 government report called The People Left Behind-Extension had been at work for three years on pilot projects demonstrating what 4-H could do among the rural poor. The pilot projects resulted partly from the Johnson administration push to eliminate poverty and partly as a response to a kind of mid-1960s backlash during which Extension leaders from many states questioned the heavy emphasis on urban programming when plenty of rural youth still needed 4-H. In late 1964, the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP) appointed a task force on Extension Work With Youth of Low Income Families in Rural Areas, but by that time the pilot projects were already under way; one in rural Arkansas was particularly important.

In July 1964, Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman's assistant Rodney Leonard wrote a memo to Federal Extension Service (FES) Administrator Lloyd Davis about the desirability of experimental projects in low-income rural areas. "If we could initiate a series of pilot projects in a number of states particularly emphasizing educational and vocational training projects for the youth of rural America," Leonard said, "we could use this to generate publicity as well as to indicate to the Extension Services in various states what their new role should be." Since Leonard was the man who had sharply criticized 4-H on its segregated national meetings only three years before, Davis doubtless was pleased to reply that not only were pilot projects in low-income rural areas a good idea, but that he had just negotiated funding for such an effort in Arkansas.²¹

The pilot which later became known as the Arkansas Special Youth Project had been under study for some months when Davis forwarded a contract to Arkansas Extension Director C. A. Vines on June 12, 1964. Under the contract, FES agreed to provide \$36,000 and the University of Arkansas would provide \$15,000 to "develop and test methods and techniques of working with low income rural youth, to develop and test 4-H materials and to test the feasibility of using the services of adult and youth aides." The contract was signed on June 17, 1964. When Extension announced the project to the nation's state 4-H leaders six weeks later, it

named Ulyss G. Word, Jr. of Arkansas as the leader and Lloyd Rutledge from the federal 4-H division as coordinator. The Arkansas project concentrated on four rural counties having both Black and White families living well below the poverty level. Early in the project, leaders sought to define the nature of rural poverty. Their findings did not differ greatly from those of other groups who were discovering malnutrition, lack of family stability, poor housing, low educational levels, unemployment and very few options for change in lifestyle. The researchers also discovered that 70 percent of the 354 families participating in the project had no previous contact with Extension. Those results cast some doubt on a 1961 nationwide study in which agents estimated that they were reaching at least 70 percent of the low-income people in their counties.²³

Word and his staff tested a number of methods in their search to program effectively for the poor. Some of the methods were new and unorthodox. Others were borrowed. But all the systems were based on the premise that poor people would not come to youth education programs; the programs had to go to them. In the special jargon of mid-1960s social science research, people often heard the phrase, "start where they are."

Among their early successes, the Arkansas leaders tested the use of a mobile educational unit. The designation "mobile unit" was really a euphemism for a surplus property army camp bus that was refitted with kitchen equipment, sewing machines and tools. Finding a well-equipped place for scattered rural youngsters to meet was one of the barriers to serving the poor. The bus was a solution. The Arkansas experiment also included special training for youth that might lead them into jobs. Recognizing that poor teenagers could sometimes find employment in service fields, leaders tested a home management approach aimed at preparing teenage girls to work as housekeepers and maids. The ten-lesson short course included dish washing, silver polishing, grooming, bed making and the use of electrical appliances. For those who may have argued that youngsters should set their sights above cleaning houses, project directors would likely have countered with their "start where they are" philosophy. The researchers insisted that the American dream of automatic upward mobility was not necessarily available to many poor families. They urged 4-H leaders and professional Extension workers to set realistic goals that voungsters could meet without adding disappointments to lives already marred by failure and rejection.

Arkansas Project leaders also piloted a special camp and countywide workshops where large numbers of youngsters came to-

gether to do woodworking, knitting and handicrafts. The bird-houses, brooms and dresser runners that emerged were proof that many shared the feeling of one participant who said, "There wasn't anything I didn't like."



The large number of clothing and sewing projects appealing to rural and urban young people alike illustrates the universality of 4-H.

Although the Arkansas experiment produced a great many ideas for teaching disadvantaged children, it also demonstrated the need for different roles for Extension staff members and volunteer leaders. Project leaders showed that county 4-H agents had to become more involved in administration and less involved in setting up individual clubs. Researchers also reinforced data which had shown that volunteer leaders were difficult to recruit in low-income areas. Unemployment, single-parent families and low levels of adult education severely affected the volunteer leader system upon which 4-H had depended for fifty years.

The Arkansas project was also among the first to hire Extension program assistants and aides to work with newly formed youth groups. Often referred to as subprofessionals or paraprofessionals, the new breed of staffer received basic training and direction from the county agent. Aides and assistants usually lived in

the communities where they worked and they did jobs similar to those of volunteer leaders, except that they were paid. ²⁴ The concept was not entirely popular in Arkansas and elsewhere. Critics warned that it would hurt the volunteer system. Why, they argued, would someone volunteer his or her time to lead a 4-H club if others were being paid for essentially the same job? The controversy continued and so did the employment of assistants and aides. When the federal government appropriated funds for the 4-H Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) in late 1969, it included money for employment of paraprofessionals. Such widespread use of aides legitimized the new staff level and the controversy finally abated.

Beyond the use of paraprofessionals, the Arkansas project struck a blow for the unstructured method of youth education. Despite the successes of the Chicago 4-H clubs and those in many other areas, researchers decided to concentrate their study on the less-traditional approach. They explained their reasoning in a June 1966 preliminary report to FES: "Disadvantaged youth have had little experience in making decisions such as selecting projects, planning and carrying out formal meetings and being an officer or leader of a group. Since they are lacking in these types of experiences, the major effort to provide group experiences is through informal, unorganized project groups under the close supervision of a local adult called a program aide."

Shunning enrollment requirements, record books and fair exhibits, Extension researchers emphasized the short-term, the specific and the noncompetitive activity. Youngsters did whole units on tooth brushing and wood whittling, projects which were not likely to win anyone a 4-H scholarship. Nonetheless, the project directors believed that incentives and recognition were important in establishing new programs for low-income areas. In response to a personal request from FES Administrator Davis, the National 4-H Service Committee provided \$2,000 for the Arkansas program. Most of the money went for ribbons, certificates and special awards like good grooming kits, mechanical pencils, T-shirts and nail care kits.²⁶

Norman Mindrum had hoped that the Service Committee's donation might yield research information on the use of awards in low-income areas, but he was disappointed. Despite his urging, project leaders were able to do little more than detail how they had spent the money. They also reminded Extension that awards research had not been built into the project and, even if it had been, \$2,000 was not enough to pay for a special study.²⁷ In January

1966, the Service Committee decided not to put more cash into the project, but it did continue to supply materials.²⁸ Through its association with several national 4-H donors, the Committee was able to help Arkansas get sewing machines, a power unit and other equipment for the project.

Leaders generally tried to discourage contests among youngsters, but instead based their awards on participation and competition among project units. They also used the awards ceremonies to involve parents and community leaders. "Here again," Word and his staff wrote, "an attempt is being made to avoid placing demands on the youth and their families which causes them to be uncomfortable to the extent that they reject opportunities provided for them."²⁹

The unstructured field approach tested in Arkansas embodied many of the ideas put forth in previous studies on 4-H. People inside and outside Extension had been saying for years that 4-H was stymied by its rigid club structure. Officials were thus prepared for the abandonment of club meetings in the Arkansas format. They did not even mourn the loss of record books, fairs and animal projects. What they had not bargained for, however, was the loss of the 4-H name.

To Be or Not To Be 4-H

Arkansas Extension Director Vines sent a review draft of the preliminary report on the project to FES Assistant Administrator Ray Scott on March 30, 1966. The draft clearly stated that Arkansas Extension agents and paraprofessionals preferred not to call the work they were doing 4-H. They explained that the official name of the local youth groups had been left up to the county agents, most of whom thought it advisable to call their groups Special Youth Projects rather than 4-H. The report cited two reasons. First, the agents said, they did not want to interfere with regular 4-H and they felt there would be dissension among regular volunteer leaders if program aides were paid for their services. Secondly, they felt many youth had the idea that to belong to 4-H, they would have to carry out projects beyond their financial means such as beef calves, pigs and poultry, which kept youngsters from participating.³⁰

Scott and other 4-H officials were not unaware of the controversy over designation. After all, the 1964 study of 4-H in Non-Farm Areas suggested openly that some Extension youth work should not carry the 4-H label. Other critics more forcefully had stated that 4-H referred only to clubs and should not be tagged on to everything Extension did. But for everyone who adopted that

point of view, there were at least equal numbers who insisted that the title 4-H was a strength in itself, not only in raising public and private money, but in attracting youths. Scott was anxious that the controversy not be heightened by the Arkansas project. In April 1966, Scott wrote to Vines seeking a middle ground: "You have raised the concern about the relationship of the Special Project to 4-H. Lloyd Rutledge has been sharing with me ideas on how your report can more adequately and effectively reveal the relationship of the work of the local special project group to the total 4-H program. . . . We believe the work done through the special project is so closely related to the ongoing 4-H program that it should enjoy the prestige of being considered as 4-H."

When the preliminary report was published a few months later, it carried the title Reaching the Unreached—Arkansas Special Youth Project: A Study to Reach More Disadvantaged Youth Through an Expanded 4-H Program. References to Extension agents opting for the Special Youth Project title over 4-H were deleted and replaced by a series of more general statements supportive of 4-H. The report also pointed out that some of the new youth groups already had requested permission to form regular 4-H project clubs.³² A few weeks later, the issue arose again when Arkansas prepared a review script for a movie on the project. After reading the script, Rutledge sent a May 13, 1966, memo to Scott noting a decided absence of any 4-H identification. "Before my last visit to Arkansas," Rutledge wrote, "I alerted you about the point of view which I have discussed from time to time with the Arkansas folks about demonstrating interrelationships of special youth work with their on-going 4-H program. . . . Yet I notice in the proposal for the movie which Mr. Vines has submitted, 4-H is mentioned only in the title."33

The controversy over the designation was not limited to Arkansas and the Special Youth Project. It simmered throughout the nation, especially in states trying to direct Extension youth work to new audiences. Occasionally, disagreements boiled over briefly as they did in Arkansas, but the issue never was fully resolved as much as it just slipped from view. 4-H Division Director E. Dean Vaughan remembered that he spent countless meetings, speeches and memos trying to convince those inside and outside Extension that 4-H was not the name of a club, but a designation for Extension's youth education system in whatever form that might take. As late as 1976, a New York State 4-H staff member wrote to Vaughan to ask about a clarification for 4-H identification. John Sterling wondered if ECOP ought to look at the issue. In his response,

Vaughan reiterated the decade-long struggle over the use or nonuse of the 4-H title. He also told Sterling he believed people had come to the conclusion that any kind of Extension youth work could be done under the 4-H label. And in a pointed effort to keep the issue from surfacing again, Vaughan added, "Personally I do not feel the question is of sufficient concern to warrant such efforts [asking for ECOP clarification]." By the end of the 1970s, Vaughan's view appeared to have prevailed. National and state 4-H leaders became less reticent about the 4-H title and more interested in programming for youth.

Although disagreements over the 4-H designation in the Arkansas project required time and negotiation, it did not in any sense demean the experiment. Reports and studies coming from research were models for many students and educators. Those considering work with the rural poor were encouraged to read what had happened in Arkansas. For Extension, one of the crucial points from the Arkansas experience was the clear demonstration that agents at all levels needed much more training in order to be effective with low-income people—urban or rural.

In any event, the Arkansas project was not an isolated experiment. Many states had fostered their own pilots which resulted in new information and new methods. Bringing such disparate sources of knowledge together was the purpose of the National Seminar on Expanding 4-H Opportunities for Rural, Disadvantaged and Urban Youth held in Chicago, May 16-20, 1966. ECOP Chairman N. P. Ralston of Michigan opened the training seminar with the message that it was time for 4-H to move away from studies and pilot projects into a fully expanded youth program that could become an integral part of Extension: "Your Extension Committee on Organization and Policy sees a great urgency for each state Extension service to expand their 4-H program to disadvantaged boys and girls in rural, small towns and urban areas. You are to be commended for the study of 4-H in urban areas and with 4-H in disadvantaged rural communities. Our charge to you is to build on these studies and surveys...."35

Few could disagree with Ralston's ringing call for action, but the ECOP chairman doubtless knew as well as any county agent that such goals required increased appropriations. The plain fact was that despite the success of a few demonstration projects, states were still struggling to find the money to work with new audiences. Increased private support filled some of the gap and a few states did receive grant money, but the future for a large funding increase did not look bright. In a memo on alternate funding for urban programs in 1968, 4-H division staffer Russell Smith told Vaughan the prospects for additional congressional appropriations were not ${\rm good.}^{36}$

When money finally did come through in 1969, funds were restricted to nutrition education, but it was the first line-item federal appropriation 4-H had ever received and it specifically authorized work in urban areas. With programs in Boston, Providence, Portland, Detroit and a number of other cities, as well as demonstrations in Arkansas, Oregon and West Virginia, 4-H leaders were ready to try out their new methods on a large scale. Officials had been saying for decades that 4-H was modern, flexible and ready to serve new audiences. Now they had a chance to prove it.

Nutrition Program Takes Family Approach

The Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) began as an experiment initiated by the Division of Home Economics in the Federal Extension Service. Based on mounting evidence that surplus food and food stamps did not necessarily guarantee good nutrition among the poor, EFNEP planners proposed to hire paraprofessionals who would work under the direction of county Extension home economists. The aides in turn would teach low-income families on a one-to-one basis about good nutrition.

The program was launched at a meeting of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, November 11, 1968, when FES Administrator Davis described the experiment. Davis did not specifically include 4-H in his description of the new program, but he did make one oblique reference in his thirteen page speech which at least was encouraging to state and national 4-H officials. Having already explained that families with young children would get specific emphasis in the nutrition experiment, Davis told the land-grant delegates: "We also want to recognize in this program the old principle on which 4-H was based, in part, initially—the principle that sometimes one of the most effective ways of bringing new ideas to adults in the family is to have them introduced by the children. It is indeed important to remember that what these young people learn about diets now will affect the foods they provide for their children. So we believe that it's important to work with the whole family, with the adults and the youth in this program."37

The nutrition program was a popular one that clearly met a human need as well as a political one. The Department of Agriculture had been under fire for some time for being unresponsive to the poor, and Extension leaders were anxious to show that EFNEP could mitigate some of that criticism. Once the nutrition program was underway with \$10 million in USDA money, the next step was to bring EFNEP into the budgetary mainstream by securing an annual congressional appropriation to broaden the work and to give it stability.

4-H was all for that, too, but first it had to solidify its place in any expanded nutrition effort. EFNEP, after all, had not been a 4-H idea. It had originated with the home economists and while there was early consensus that EFNEP should have a youth dimension, there was considerably less agreement that the youth portion should be called 4-H. Fern S. Kelley who was assistant 4-H division director with special responsibility for EFNEP, looked with great concern at the possibility of two competing youth groups emerging in Extension.³⁸ Kelley spoke for many in 4-H when she commented that Extension should not build an expanded nutrition program with a youth dimension that was not close to 4-H.

As the nutrition experiment got underway in early 1969, 4-H did what it could to convince state leaders and others that it should be a legitimate part of the new program. Always stopping just short of declaring 4-H the youth component of EFNEP, 4-H division leaders nonetheless indicated an intense interest. In a letter mailed shortly after the 1968 EFNEP announcement, Vaughan urged all state 4-H leaders to talk with their directors about how 4-H could participate, "Since this is a total family approach [to nutrition, it is suggested that you recommend to your Extension director the contributions that can be made through modern flexible 4-H programs." Vaughan also included quotes from a group of eight unnamed state 4-H leaders who apparently had met with him in Washington to talk about the nutrition issue. One commentator clearly was making a plea for the official inclusion of 4-H in EFNEP when he said, "The skill and knowledge 4-H has had in working with both adults and youth in low income areas should not be overlooked in the nutrition program."39

In addition to the understandable reluctance of the home economics division to share nutrition funding with 4-H, many Extension administrators remained unconvinced that 4-H programs around the country were in fact flexible enough to be involved in a direct service concept like EFNEP. For Kelley, that meant trying to demonstrate that an inner city educational program far different from the traditional club could work under the 4-H rubric.

She spent hours on the phone and on the road talking of the work in metropolitan areas where 4-H programs had accumulated

years of experience. Kelley also dragged out materials from the Arkansas study and other experiences that demonstrated 4-H need not always organize a club and that it could work through paraprofessonals. She challenged the skeptics to look at the new things 4-H was doing.

Congress Gives 4-H Part of EFNEP Funds

Fortunately for 4-H, it had less trouble convincing Congress than Extension of the value of its participation in EFNEP. Agricultural Appropriations Committee Chairman Jamie Whitten apparently did not harbor any concern about the ability of 4-H to be flexible and modern. The congressman, who was also a 4-H alumnus, enthusiastically supported a \$30 million appropriation for EFNEP in late 1969. He also agreed that youth education should be an important part of the new program. When the bill emerged from the Congress, Whitten apparently had been instrumental in specifying that a substantial portion of the EFNEP money be earmarked to conduct 4-H-type work. The appropriation report was clear in its direction: "Of this sum [\$30 million] \$7.5 million shall be available for professional workers to promote 4-H-type programs in the depressed areas of our cities. . . ."

In a December 11, 1969, letter to state 4-H leaders throughout the nation, Vaughan happily reported: "We are pleased to have the youth component built into the legislation for the Expanded Nutrition program. It is the first time 4-H has had funds specifically designed for urban work. Doing an outstanding job with this assignment can open the door to further opportunities." Of the tensions between the 4-H and home economics divisions over how the youth component would be managed, Kelley commented years later, "They accepted congressional direction, of course, as we all did."

Although the wording in the appropriations report did ensure 4-H-type participation in EFNEP, it created some problems as well. The issue of hiring paraprofessionals became a particular concern. It was clear from the beginning that managers of the adult EFNEP program would use funds to hire paraprofessional aides to work in low-income communities, but it appeared that Whitten had not intended that in 4-H EFNEP. The report directed that 4-H monies be used primarily to hire professional youth workers who would recruit volunteers to carry nutrition education into the inner city. That directive ran counter to most of what Extension had learned about working with low-income youth during the 1960s and in a very few months the apparent ban on hiring paraprofessionals for youth work caused difficulty. Kelley and Polly Fussell,



The Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program, one of the largest 4-H activities of the 1970s, allowed the organization to reach a new audience. Here city youngsters from low-income families learn about the basic food groups.

who had been hired to work especially on EFNEP at the federal level, made a plea for a new interpretation in March 1970. "The problem giving us the greatest difficulty in the youth part of EFNEP," they wrote, "is the situation that makes it impossible to hire aides who are indigenous to the area to assist the professionals..." The women reported that Texas, for example, with little experience in urban programming, found it difficult to work with disadvantaged youngsters except through assistants who lived and worked in the target areas. Alabama and Tennessee, they said, experienced the same problem. West Virginia leaders expressed deep concern over the ban on aides. That was reiterated by Rhode Island 4-H Leader Ken Coombs who had been working in low-income

urban areas since the early 1960s and believed paraprofessionals to be essential. "This is a heartbreaking situation," Kelley wrote. "Is it possible that there is more leniency than we have so far felt?" 43

Having carefully negotiated their way into EFNEP, 4-H officials were anxious to show that they could be effective and efficient in reaching new audiences. Without the advantage of program aides who lived in the target areas, 4-H EFNEP work would be a slow process indeed. Not only would it hinder the whole program, but 4-H officials including Kelley were acutely aware that early success stories were important to future funding. In a semantic stroke that finally had the effect of ending the ban on aides, Federal Extension Service Administrator Edwin Kirby ruled by the end of 1970, that paraprofessionals could be used if they were working toward recruiting volunteers. "It was quite a struggle," Kelley recalled. 44

The 4-H EFNEP program did grow rapidly and allowed 4-H to reach youth that it could not have reached in any other way. Program participation peaked at 893,000 youngsters in 1973. Four years later, Congress earmarked 1.5 million of EFNEP dollars for an urban gardening program. The next year that figure was doubled, but it was funded from a different source. In fiscal 1977, the 4-H share of EFNEP was hiked from \$7.5 to \$10.1 million. Nonetheless, participation had dropped to 671,000 youngsters by 1980, reflecting the inflationary erosions on the annual appropriation. 45 In order to cope, Extension leaders cut the number of people employed in 4-H EFNEP and concentrated the programs in the most populous areas of major cities. Despite those cuts, however, EFNEP was providing one of the few remaining out-of-school educational programs in many inner cities by the end of the 1970s. Closed recreation centers and tight municipal budgets were constant reminders of the all-out retreat from the War on Poverty. 4-H EFNEP workers appeared to recognize they were operating in a new era and doubled their efforts to recruit volunteer leaders into inner-city programs.

Ten years after its beginning, the 4-H EFNEP program had a different appearance. Initial efforts concentrated on helping people get food and then on helping them use it wisely. "In the early days, we found that many people did not know about donated food and food stamp programs," Kelley recalled. ⁴⁶ At that time, EFNEP personnel often distributed free recipes at city welfare centers and gave demonstrations on wisely using donated foods and planning nutritious diets. Later the 4-H nutrition program prepared its own lessons for kids eight to twelve and later for teens. They invented

games, short-term programs and nutrition day camps. In a shady park in Albuquerque in the summer of 1981, young Hispanic children could be found sitting in a circle chanting a vegetable game designed to test their memories. "My name is Rome and I am a broccoli. That is Caesar and he is a carrot. Louis is a chili and that is Nati and she is a potato and there is Pepe. He is a tomato and there is Mary Ann. She is an onion!" Mary Ann Baca, the 4-H EFNEP aide who joined the game as she fed her own baby, reminded the children where vegetables fit into the basic food groups and then provided a graham cracker and yogurt snack for a break from the searing desert sun. "Now which food group," she asked, "does yogurt fall into?"

In another area of Albuquerque, EFNEP aides presented a special program for Black children at a city recreation center. The thirty youngsters in the classroom ranged from six to ten years of age. They were absorbed in trying to guess which vegetables were in the mystery box just by touching. Everyone knew the cauliflower by its bumpy texture, but all guessed wrong on the mango. Later, the volunteer junior leaders who worked with the aides, sliced the fruits and vegetables for a mid-morning snack. Before they went outside to dash off some of their inevitable energy, the youngsters saw a filmstrip about eating breakfast and played another game to learn more about the basic food groups.

Like most of her counterparts around the country, Joanne Miller, EFNEP supervisor in Albuquerque, was convinced that paraprofessionals were the key to a good program. Nonetheless, she continued to work toward volunteer leader recruitment. "I'd like to feel," Miller said, "that if EFNEP funds were cut tomorrow, there would still be a strong volunteer force to deliver at least part of this program for years to come." In 1980, there were 44,000 volunteers working on 4-H EFNEP.⁴⁷

Despite the program's declining budget power, the youngsters reached by 4-H EFNEP appeared to have learned. A 1974 evaluation report prepared under contract by the North Carolina Extension Service indicated that children exposed to a special nutrition lesson series increased their knowledge of nutrition. Their attitudes toward nutrition showed somewhat lesser improvement. Evaluation remained a problem for 4-H EFNEP managers, however, and even Kelley admitted that educators were never able to develop hard-and-fast evaluations that quantified the value of 4-H EFNEP.

At places where the programs were delivered, however, evaluation appears to have been less important than just keeping 4-H

EFNEP alive. As in most cities, budget cuts in 1980 and 1981 forced corresponding cutbacks in Albuquerque's summer recreation programs. Miller, her EFNEP aides and volunteers tried to take up some of the slack with their summer day camps. Miller explained that the 4-H EFNEP program shifted each summer in an effort to respond to the changing needs of the inner-city community it served. "After all," she asked, "isn't that what Extension is all about?" ⁴⁹

With the help of the "Mulligan Stew" television series and various other educational aids, 4-H EFNEP, by the beginning of the 1980s, had reached hundreds of thousands of children with its messages on nutrition and health. Beyond that, EFNEP provided a spin-off benefit that few had projected in its beginning. In many places, the nutrition program became an avenue for bringing minority educators into professional 4-H positions. For an organization plagued with affirmative action problems, EFNEP was at least one point of entry for Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans and other minority groups interested in 4-H careers. Ironically, however, the youth nutrition effort did not always provide the association with 4-H that early planners counted on. The children reached by EFNEP were served by professionals and aides either directly connected or closely allied with state and county 4-H offices. EFNEP voungsters were also counted in national statistics as 4-H participants, but they frequently knew little about 4-H.

Kelley explained that in the early years of EFNEP, 4-H identification was left largely to the states. Where EFNEP was closely tied to the 4-H program, the youngsters felt as if they were in 4-H. States which chose to use their funds to operate separate inner city programs had little or no 4-H identification. 50 Evaluations of the children who watched "Mulligan Stew" demonstrated that the voungsters learned something about 4-H, because 4-H symbols and concepts were carefully built into each of the six shows. On the other hand, children in EFNEP day camps throughout the nation learned about nutrition, but they did not hear much about 4-H. For some Extension workers, the educational effort without much concern about the four-leaf clover was exactly on target. Others believed that a sense of 4-H participation was as important for urban kids as it had been for those in rural America. As late as 1981, 4-H identification in EFNEP programs for children was highly individualized.

Urban 4-H Favors Short-Term Programs

In addition to EFNEP money, 4-H also was bolstered by a special federal appropriation which provided \$7.5 million annually begin-

ning in fiscal year 1973—\$5 million for urban 4-H work and \$2.5 million for 4-H community rural development programs. 51 Less restrictive than EFNEP funds, the annual appropriation fostered more work in nutrition, health and gardening. It also allowed more city youth to learn about sewing, insects, art, rockets, leadership, pets, public speaking and about anything else that appeared to have educational value to urban communities. Like EFNEP. urban 4-H programs also suffered from a shortage of volunteers and many moved away from traditional clubs in favor of short-term projects and services to schools. In an interesting philosophic twist, however, urban 4-H agents were beginning to curtail their oneshot educational approaches by the end of the 1970s in order to return to the structured, traditional 4-H clubs that had been at the organization's root. Billie Chambers, an urban 4-H agent in Albuguerque who lost her paraprofessionals in a budget cut, was one who decided that it was worthwhile to take the time to organize clubs in the inner city. In one twenty-member 4-H club meeting in the summer of 1981, the members worked on sewing backpacks for a field trip they hoped to take. They were led by a young volunteer, Judy Bercier, who had recruited a couple of other parents and rounded up some sewing machines to help her with the group. While taking a lunch break of peanut butter sandwiches, potato chips, fruit drink and guacamole, the boys and girls talked about learning the 4-H pledge; they pointed to their 4-H buttons and said they planned to use their brown denim packs for book bags in the fall. Except for the guacamole and the obvious racial mix, the group looked much like a 4-H club which might have operated in central Iowa in the mid-1950s.

Chambers said she started emphasizing 4-H clubs because she was once a member herself and because she began having qualms about the lasting value of special interest and short-term projects. She was fully aware that her decision might mean the involvement of fewer inner city youngsters, but she was willing to take the risk. 52

Two thousand miles away in Fairfield County, Connecticut, Youth Agent Wesley Rouse opted for the best of both worlds. He had traditional 4-H clubs meeting on a regular basis, but he also spent time setting up special programs. In 1980, Rouse reported that he worked with about 3,000 youths in traditional clubs and reached another 65,000 through a variety of short-term programs in and out of school. The participation numbers, which became especially critical during increased stress on program evaluation in the 1970s, made the short-term projects popular, especially in heavily urbanized areas like Fairfield County because an agent

could reach more people. But Rouse thought there was another reason too: "Personally, I think that for me I need a variety of approaches to remain fresh and good as an educator. There are so many kids that I don't have a lot of time to experiment, but if it didn't have the stimuli of doing something different, I would have left 4-H work. I would burn out or be bored."



Many projects for urban children combined traditional interest in nature and a new emphasis on science.

By the beginning of the 1980s, 4-H in Fairfield County included livestock clubs, home economics, science and gardening projects, horses and a few dairy cattle. It also included a heavy concentration on school enrichment like providing materials on basic embryology that precedes sex education in many classrooms. Rouse

and his fellow staff members also worked on bus and bicycle safety complete with Ralph the Talking Bike, an educational technique that proved useful in reaching youngsters. The schools could opt for a plant science series or one on nutrition called Super Snackers. Extension staffers were also working to combat alcohol abuse and they had invested time and energy in a physical fitness program, double dutch rope jumping, a relatively new sport that had developed a following among boys and girls in inner cities. Rouse called the 4-H identification good and tried to tie his program offering to 4-H even if he did not always organize clubs. After each school presentation, he handed out a brochure which said, "Congratulations, you have just completed a 4-H program." The brochure also told youngsters where to get more information on joining a club. 53

Competition, another mainstay of the traditional 4-H program, got varying marks in urban settings. Some states reinforced the tie between urban and rural children by encouraging all to participate in county fairs, achievement days, and special programs. Many urban youngsters including 4-H EFNEP participants did so. Although hundreds of studies have been done on the value of competition in 4-H, none has thoroughly established or denied its value in urban settings. Agents working in low-income areas have used competition to motivate and recognize children who have had too little motivation and recognition. And many youths have taken advantage of the chance to win something as small as a participation ribbon or as large as a trip to the National 4-H Congress. But like the researchers in the Arkansas project, urban 4-H agents had also been aware that competition can be another sign of failure for those who have failed too often. In more affluent areas like Fairfield County. Rouse said he believed competition should be available for those who wanted it, but he did not push it. He explained that he had seen children with so many competitive events in their lives that he thought it refreshing for 4-H to offer some noncompetitive opportunities.54

Miller, Chambers and Rouse represented three aspects of the diverse route 4-H took into the nation's urban and low-income areas. Miller supervised a specially funded nutrition education program that reached children without much structure or 4-H identification. Chambers began with flexible short-term 4-H work, but eventually focused her efforts on the rebirth of the traditional 4-H club approach. Rouse preferred a more eclectic method that allowed him to reach large numbers of children on a variety of levels. Ultimately, all three were well-served by those who pushed for a

specific urban and low-income focus in the 1960s, but in reality achieved a broad range of policy and programming alternatives.

It required, after all, more than fifteen years of slow, labored consensus building to expand 4-H into the mainstream of urban and low-income youth work. During that time, land-grant university officials, federal, state and local Extension workers, and public and private supporters all had to agree on an acceptable measure of expansion. That the decision makers were at times slow and obtuse in their deliberations kept 4-H from being an early leader in urban youth education. That they were careful in what they did also kept 4-H intact for eighty years with offerings for many kinds of children who live on America's farms, her small towns, suburbs and cities.

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10

New Projects for a New Generation

In 1964, a Montana 4-H'er named Jon Swenson and his pet magpie José started their own 4-H project. Swenson, who lived on a farm near Shepherd, already had gained considerable experience with sheep, junior leadership, and gardening when he decided what he really wanted most was to learn more about José. After all, for a fourteen-year-old planning a career in ornithology, what could be more appealing than a Black-Billed Magpie? The only problem was that Extension specialists who prepared project literature for 4-H'ers had written nothing on birds and certainly nothing on a bird like José. Fortunately, the time had passed when a lack of formal literature was a barrier to inquisitive 4-H'ers. Swenson chose to write his own outline and carry out his own study under the rubric of a 4-H self-determined project.

With the support of adult volunteers, Swenson researched a variety of sources and then observed a pair of nesting magpies for twenty-one consecutive days with his camera at the ready. He also got help from a state biologist and the local Audubon Society. Before he was through, he had written a paper on the Black-Billed Magpie and prepared an illustrated talk that earned him a trip to the 1966 National 4-H Congress. When he had finished, Swenson wrote: "The most important thing I learned was about the Magpie's role in nature. The Black-Billed Magpie performs many highly useful functions and is not the villian most people think it is."

Had Swenson made his project choice a few years earlier, he and Jose probably would have dropped out of 4-H because members were strongly bound to available project literature. There was variety, to be sure. Some states offered 100 or more projects, but by the early 1950s, a growing number of Extension agents were noting that youth could not always find a project they liked, and even if they could, they did not always want to conform to the standards someone else had laid down.

Such advocates of free structure and individual determinism found an ally in Montana's Associate 4-H Leader Geraldine Fenn. She believed strongly in letting youngsters make their own decisions and chafed under restraints that required 4-H'ers to bake ten cakes or take one entomology exhibit to the fair in order to say they had completed a project. Fenn contended that the rules often had little to do with learning and she argued that at least some youth should be given free reign. Her solution was the self-determined project, an idea that grew out of contacts with other 4-H professionals and her strong commitment to 4-H citizenship which embodied an element of individual responsibility. Most important, Fenn had a lot of faith in young people and believed that 4-H should help them do what they wanted to do. Her ideas were not entirely popular, and to some extent, they were not entirely workable. No Extension agent could possibly manage with every 4-H'er doing his own thing as the jargon of the day advocated. Neither could hard-pressed volunteer leaders keep up with such diversity. but Fenn maintained that while self-determined projects were not for everyone, they should be available to those who wanted the experience.

Her 1963 publication, Working With Young People in Self-Determined Projects, was designed to encourage volunteers and professionals who had youngsters like Swenson in 4-H. That first bulletin pointed out that Extension's role was not, as some might have supposed, to help youngsters win, but to help them learn. "With adult guidance," Fenn wrote, "young people can determine their own projects. The self-determined idea makes it possible to work on projects that may not be included in current youth programs. Such projects can develop from something in which the young person is interested, would like to do or wants to learn about. This project idea encourages the maximum use and development of individual ability and creativity."²

She also wrote a section on finding out what young people were like and another on helping youngsters decide what they wanted to accomplish. She even included a section on evaluation which suggested that if youngsters could write their own projects, they ought to be able to judge them too. The idea caught on. Within four years, thirty states had requested copies of the new publication and seven had requested permission to reprint it. The Federal Extension Service (FES) distributed the bulletin to all 350 state 4-H staff members. Fenn wrote a decision-making guide, $Make\ Up\ Your\ Own\ Mind$, in 1967, for those with self-determined projects. In addition to providing more information for youngsters who wanted



Conservation became a special concern of many 4-H'ers in the 1960s and 1970s. Self-determined projects designed by young people themselves provided new learning experiences for those wanting options beyond traditional projects.

to design their own 4-H projects, the new publication urged participants to find new ways to share what they had learned. "Usually," wrote the irrepressable Fenn, "fairs and shows do not lend themselves to adequate sharing, presentation and evaluation of self-determined project work. Therefore, you and others in your club and community may want to stage an open house. In a self-determined project open house, each person prepares a display on a table. Then the young person stands or sits by this table in order to answer questions and be interviewed by those who come to see and to learn."

Mylo Downey, head of the FES 4-H division, praised the new step in the July 1965, issue of the *National 4-H News*, "Some of the

brightest developments on the horizon are the self-determined projects being explored in Montana and other states. The idea is that since the member knows his own needs and wants, who is in a better position than he to select the project he will take?" Fenn, a national 4-H alumni winner in 1979, remembered being a bit surprised that the project took off as well as it did: "We tried so many things that seemed like good ideas, but they just didn't work out, and then along came the self-determined project and everyone wanted into the act."



Home economics projects are among the most versatile 4-H offerings because they challenge both rural and urban boys and girls.

The biggest problem in adapting the idea to 4-H was gaining acceptance from volunteer leaders and Extension professionals. The self-determined idea quickly separated the adults into two categories. Those who preferred to hand out a set of requirements at the beginning of the year and a certificate of completion at the end did not especially like the self-determined idea. But adults who were comfortable with the role of counselor or adviser thought the new concept was great. Self-determined projects grew in popularity, but they in no sense replaced more traditional project work. Because of their diversity, they were inappropriate for major donor

support, and as Fenn had predicted in the beginning, they were not for all youth. Rather they were an option beyond the traditional that was ideal for youngsters with an independent streak and an inquiring mind. The projects also were especially helpful to 4-H'ers who wanted to pursue scientific topics at a time when 4-H was trying desperately to increase its science offerings.

Put More Emphasis on Science in Projects

Although 4-H was rooted in the idea of delivering the latest scientific techniques in agriculture and home economics to isolated farmers and their families, the emphasis was more on how to grow corn than how corn grew. 4-H leaders did not propose to sacrifice one concept for the other, but by the late 1950s, many were pushing to incorporate what became known as the "science whys" into 4-H literature replete with "how to" information. 4-H was not alone in that commitment. The success of the Russian Sputnik in 1957 brought the nation's entire educational system up short as everyone decried the loss of the space race.

The Cold War had taken its toll on the national temperament, but the clear demonstration of Russian superiority in space followed by the country's disastrous attempts to launch a satellite left Americans in the doldrums. There was plenty of blame to go around and educators absorbed a big share of it. Predictably, they retorted that Americans had failed to support either scientific research or scientific education and could hardly have expected to have beaten the Russians into space. A frustrated and slightly guilty Congress aimed to correct that by substantially increasing the funds available for research and education in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Much of the money went toward the man-on-themoon project to which President John F. Kennedy pledged the nation, but dollars were also available for institutions like the National Science Foundation and 4-H.

4-H workers from all over the country gathered at the Kellogg Center on the Michigan State University campus in September 1959 to consider the use of more science in 4-H. The conference was funded by the (ooperative Extension Service with a large grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF). NSF had made it clear that it wished to encourage the advancement of scientific principles in informal education as well as in the classroom and 4-H seemed a natural delivery system. The delegates discussed new 4-H science projects and considered the simple addition of scientific emphasis to already-existing projects. They also saw science as an incentive to older members who usually dropped out of 4-H in their early teen years.

In remarks prepared for the National Conference on Science in 4-H Club Work, E. W. Aiton, director of the FES Division of 4-H Club and Young Men and Women's Programs, urged the delegates to look for a shift in project emphasis. He suggested that instead of 4-H'ers learning how to feed livestock they should learn what feed does for livestock, and instead of teaching how to apply weed killer, Extension could teach the chemistry of plant growth hormones. "I should point out," Aiton added, "we do not expect to make a rapid and radical or even a complete shift from one emphasis to another. While skills may be important for young members, for older teens, acquiring skills alone, does not provide an adequate challenge." Aiton shared the concerns of many delegates over the loss of older 4-H members and he felt that a sound series of scientific projects might entice the teenagers to stay on board.⁵

There was little apparent disagreement among delegates that 4-H needed to beef up its science offerings, but no one could be specific on how best to do that. In fact, Merle Howes, who headed the 4-H program in Massachusetts, told the assembly that its support for scientific emphasis might clash with more traditional 4-H principles. He pointed out that while 4-H agricultural projects had always been based on providing an economic return to the family. the scientific method of experimentation might actually bring about some financial losses. He also warned the delegation that volunteer leadership would be difficult to recruit as projects included more technical materials, and he raised the age-old issue of competition. How, he wanted to know, would an emphasis on scientific inquiry fit into award-oriented 4-H projects? Howes was clearly in favor of scientific emphasis; in fact he saw a special value for an urban state like Massachusetts. But he was also a realist and he seemed to be cautioning the delegates that 4-H had never changed easily or quickly.⁶ Delegates left the conference with a pro-science attitude, but with no clear plans for achieving the new emphasis.

A year later the National 4-H Foundation stepped into the breach. After consulting with various Extension officials, the Foundation agreed to seek funds to further study science and 4-H in order to provide future direction. Alan T. Waters, NSF director, approved a \$47,200\$ grant for the study on June 7, 1961.

To conduct the study, the 4-H Foundation hired Karl S. Quisenberry, a retired USDA scientist and Gary L. Seever, a Michigan county agent who took a leave of absence. The two researchers began in the spring of 1962 by assessing materials. At one point, they reported to the 4-H subcommittee of the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP), that after review-



Science demonstrations and other special-interest topics became popular short-term activities conducted by 4-H agents in cooperation with public schools.

ing over 400 4-H bulletins, they found only 10 percent with a strong scientific emphasis. The remainder contained little or no scientific data. Predictably, they found the most scientific information in projects on agronomy, engineering, entomology, foods and nutrition, geology and poultry. The scientific wastelands were in clothing, crafts, farm shop, home furnishings, and surprisingly, livestock.⁸

The national 4-H science study coupled with general concern over the space race motivated state Extension staffs to add to their projects. The developmental committee working on 4-H automotive care and safety projects prepared a list of suggestions noting that project literature should detail the contributions of great scientists to automobiles. And it should stimulate curiosity by asking why things occur instead of simply assuring the 4-H'er that a certain number of steps would automatically produce a certain result. Frank Baker, a USDA Extension animal scientist, reported in late 1962, that an Iowa 4-H publication listed ten scientific fields and their direct ties to livestock production.

Quisenberry and Seevers had completed their work by April of 1963, and released their findings under the lengthy title, A Study

of the Possibilities of Expanding the Understanding and Use of Science Through 4-H Club Work. Noting that everyone was trying to get into the science act, the researchers cautioned 4-H against duplicating what already was being done in the schools. Rather, they urged that 4-H projects complement school work. Only in small rural schools with inadequate science facilities did the researchers encourage 4-H clubs to attempt to fill a gap. They recommended that 4-H develop some new science projects and that it concentrate on adding scientific materials to current projects. They also cautioned that scientific data be adapted to different age groups and they reminded Extension agents that experiments might not fit into the traditional year-long 4-H projects. Seevers and Quisenberry indirectly supported short-term projects when they pointed out that a young person might derive all he needed to know from a two- or three-week scientific experiment. They also encouraged group scientific projects, acknowledging that such methods might deemphasize the popularity of giving individual awards.

The researchers identified a number of problems that Howes had predicted four years earlier. They reported that exhibits and shows "limited the addition of depth and flexibility to 4-H work." In order to add science to 4-H, they recommended that such common year-end goals as the state fair or the county achievement day have less emphasis on the conduct of projects. They made a strong case for retraining not only leaders and professional staff members, but also the parents of 4-H members. In addition to their many recommendations, the researchers pinpointed a weakness in the 4-H program that created problems for many states. Most Extension Services relied on specialists trained in specific fields to research and write their bulletins. Often those specialists were assigned to agriculture or home economics staffs in the land-grant university with some portion of their time designated to youth work. Seevers and Quisenberry asserted that developing 4-H bulletins often was looked upon as low-priority junior Extension work with little consideration given to age differences or educational principles. That sort of approach, they warned, would not suffice if 4-H were truly interested in incorporating science in its curriculum.⁹

In an effort to respond to the study, FES specialists soon began working with North Carolina on developing plant science exercises which later became the basis of a variety of educational aids for 4-H'ers. At about the same time, FES contracted with Iowa State University to develop a set of animal science lessons. The national study had identified livestock as an area with little scientific emphasis, and animals generally were proving to be a subject adapt-

able to both boys and girls, in rural and urban areas. The same could be said of plant science, a topic adaptable to inner-city gardens as well as rolling cotton fields.

On May 13, 1964, FES Administrator Lloyd Davis proudly sent the thirteen new animal science lessons and the plant science exercises to Nyle Brady, director of Science and Education for the USDA. "These are two examples," he wrote, "of the work we are doing with several states in developing new materials to implement 4-H science programs." A few months later, Davis invited Brady to the premier of a televison series, "The 4-H TV Science Club," developed by Michigan State University. The black and white programs, which were among the first attempts at 4-H instructional television, had a 4-H club format and covered the science of fire, animal skeletons, astronomy, plants, archaeology, physics, behavior, microbiology, meteorology and chemistry. 11

Maurice Hill of the 4-H division notified state 4-H leaders in September 1964, that a new series of science books and lab sets would be available soon. Hill explained that the National 4-H Foundation had arranged for the kits to be produced by the Science Materials Center Incorporated of New York City. The center was a subsidiary of Allis-Chalmers, a long-time 4-H supporter. With the new kits, Hill wrote, 4-H clubs could study about astronomy, magnets, map making, fossils and seeds. "Unless we hear from you," an enthusiastic Hill directed, "we'll ship 1,000 'science in 4-H' catalogues to your state." "12

That same year, the 4-H subcommittee appointed a group of Extension veterinary specialists to begin work on a 4-H veterinary science project. The group took the action after a presentation from Charles N. Dobbins, head of the Extension Veterinary Department at the University of Georgia. A national developmental committee meeting in October of 1964, to set up project guidelines, requested that Dobbins oversee the literature preparation. The project was ready for distribution in 1967.

As interest in science grew, it rapidly became clear that the fifty state Extension services could ill afford to develop separate sets of materials on similar scientific subjects. States that had tended to protect their own turf were hesitant to buy or borrow what some other 4-H specialist had produced, but time and economics, especially in the development of scientific literature, fostered a more cooperative attitude. After several years of discussion, Extension directors in the Northeast set up a regional literature office at Rutgers University in 1969, to share costs and save money. Seven years later, FES offered funding for similar regional



Specialized projects such as rocketry resulted from the push to incorporate more scientific principles into 4-H work.

establishments, but only the directors in the northeastern and the north central states accepted the funds. 13

As literature costs soared, states continually faced the problem of balancing the need for creativity among their own staff with the need to be more efficient. For some a regional center was the answer. Others looked to their own cost-saving techniques and a few cut back on literature production, and still others, looked to private sector donors for assistance and economies that might be realized through national production.

In the mid-1940s national 4-H tractor program donors provided technical manuals and worksheets for participants and guides for leaders at no charge. Numerous other donors also pro-

vided some educational materials appropriate for the use of leaders and members in awards programs they sponsored.

National 4-H program developmental committees in the 1960s worked diligently for nationally produced educational aids that could be offered at cost to state Extension services. The earliest production of such aids was in the photography program in 1963 with the financial and technical assistance of Eastman Kodak Company. These were followed by nationally produced materials in electric, horse, veterinary science, small engines, food-nutrition, plants and soil science and many more.

By 1966 the National Committee was able to offer 170 educational aids in ten subject matter areas. These were listed in an illustrated catalog compiled by James T. Veeder, the Committee's director of information services. A decade later, an educational aids unit was formally organized within Council and continued to coordinate the production and distribution of about 500 educational aids by the end of 1980.

Special-Interest Groups Attract Youths

4-H and many other organizations found the deluge of science education funds reduced to a trickle by the late 1960s. Despite the national joy over the historic moon landing in 1969, those interested in seeking more funds for scientific endeavors recognized that federal largess would be in short supply. The issue was complicated by the burgeoning costs of the war in Vietnam. Still, the push to emphasize science in 4-H had left a worthwhile legacy. Where money was available for new projects, scientific subject matter was still included. Certainly private donors who funded project literature remained interested in the inclusion of scientific data. Moreover, the special requirements of scientific experiments and inquiry had helped legitimize special-interest projects which eventually helped 4-H move more effectively into low-income and urban areas.

In the late 1960s, 4-H officially began to count the youth enrolled in special-interest groups or as they were sometimes called, short-term projects. In 1969, the figure was 271,000. By 1980, 4-H recorded 2,052,000 reached by special-interest groups. ¹⁴

Unlike the self-determined projects, there is no record of where the first special-interest group met or what its subject matter may have been. 4-H agents doubtless had been doing the work for years without recording it, but the special-interest system came into its own with the movement into urban areas where year-long projects and club memberships seemed out of place. During the 1970s, special-interest groups accounted for the largest continuous advance-

ment in 4-H participation. The groups became a category in which Extension agents and aides could report the work they did with youth who were not enrolled in traditional 4-H clubs or 4-H television projects.



The world of bicycles is very popular among urban and suburban 4-H'ers. To learn bicycle safety, maintenance and repair, members may participate in special bicycle camps and rodeos.

The special-interest groups were especially adaptable to the cities and they proved to work well in summertime settings or in public schools where administrators normally were reluctant to let agents organize 4-H clubs. Those same administrators were glad, however, to let a county agent do school-enrichment programs in bicycle safety or a whole unit on embryology or plant science. Spe-

cial-interest groups sprang up all over the country. School bulletin boards, media outlets and Extension mailers advertised a four-lesson series on bicycle repair or a month-long course on gardening. The groups were usually free; children and parents did not have to commit themselves, and youngsters could learn most of what they wanted to know on a subject in a short time.

The 4-H subcommittee's decision to begin counting special-interest participation as a part of 4-H legitimized the maverick groups. And although some Extension agents remained skeptical of the educational value of such groups, they at least were glad to get credit for all the young people they were reaching through 4-H. National 4-H leaders who supported the educational values of special interest group experience, suggested hopefully that the groups could turn into full-fledged 4-H clubs. No doubt that happened in some cases, but the rapid statistical increase in special-interest groups, along with the stagnant growth in 4-H clubs in the 1970s, suggested that the groups were an educational end in themselves.¹⁵

Viewers Join 4-H Television Clubs

4-H also began counting its television participants in 1969. Like the advent of special interest groups, that too was a controversial decision. But if anything was clear to educators of the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was that television had the edge on any attention-getting educational tool available. The average child was watching twenty-four hours of television a week. What had been a luxury item only a few years earlier was by 1960, a common commodity. Poor people had TV sets. Rich people had TV sets. Some even had two or three in their home and color television was moving rapidly into most consumers' price ranges. Many state Extension services had added television specialists to their communication staffs, and by 1957, Michigan State University was at work on the "4-H TV Electrical Series", thirteen half-hour shows designed for nine- to eleven-year-olds. The producers simulated a 4-H club meeting with youngsters and a volunteer leader who knew something about electricity. 16 The series was an aid to leaders who could get 4-H clubs together in their homes and watch their counterparts on TV. To a 1980s child raised on "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company", the early effort might have been boring, but Eleanor Wilson, who coordinated television for the federal 4-H office, remembered that youngsters used the supplemental guides and liked the shows. Instructional television was in its infancy in 1957 and no one had heard of the Muppets. 17

Michigan State University's first science television series in 1959, was followed by a second in 1963. The "4-H TV Science Club" was used in a number of other states as Extension agents began to realize television's unequaled ability to hold children's attention. Rhode Island's State 4-H Leader Ken Coombs reported on the success of the "4-H TV Science Club" in his state in 1965: "When it went on the air December 19 (1964), we had some 1.500 enrollments and our figures now exceed 3,000. In the electrical series last spring, 1,750 Rhode Island boys and girls enrolled and nearly 800 from Massachusetts signed up. We are convinced this is an important Extension method."18 The science series which was used for more than a decade eventually enrolled over 4 million 4-H'ers. 4-H television experts worked out a system so that young viewers could join the 4-H TV club by calling or writing their county Extension offices. They received an enrollment card and a workbook or program guide to the series. Participation counts were based on the children who made contact. No doubt, thousands of others tuned in at random and learned something too.

Based on the success of the science programs funded by the U.S. Office of Civil Defense, Michigan State University received an FES contract to produce another 4-H series, this one on emergency preparedness. The "4-H TV Action Club" prepared young people to deal with tornados, fire, atomic attack and a host of other disasters. Like its predecessors, it was built around the club scenario. "TV Action Club" was used by 125 television stations in forty-five states. Between 1963 and 1968, several states produced television shows on automotive, leadership, communication and another one on electricity. Production standards varied, however, and subject matter was not always adaptable to a national audience. Just as nationwide project literature created problems in the diverse world of 4-H requirements and structures, television was destined to make mistakes.

In the mid-1960s, Colorado produced a 4-H series call "Dog Sense." The teacher/trainer who hosted the program evidently knew a good deal about dogs, but as Wilson described it years later, the woman did not know enough about 4-H. In the midst of a demonstration on using patience in dog training, she advised her viewers to take a break for a relaxing can of beer if the dog did not appear to be responding. Although it may have been good advice for the troubled pet owner, it was bad public relations for an organization like 4-H that served minors almost exclusively. Wilson described "Dog Sense" as an interesting series that did not go far.²⁰

It was clear that the federal 4-H office needed to do something

about coordinating the development of 4-H television. At the request of the 4-H subcommittee, ECOP created an ad hoc 4-H televison committee in 1968. Wilson was appointed national 4-H TV coordinator. A year later, the National 4-H TV Review Board was organized. Having gone from no structure to three different levels of structure in a few months inevitably created overlap and confusion. Basically, the review board and the TV coordinator worked together as a clearinghouse for new TV series and encouraged treatment of 4-H subjects that would be suitable for nationwide use. The board also planned to develop cost-sharing techniques that would build funds for future series. The ultimate aim was to provide a nationwide distribution scheme that would make it easier for programs developed in one area to be shared by all. As national 4-H TV coordinator, Wilson was put in the classic Extension position of trying to get everyone to work together toward common goals without having authority over anyone. It proved to be an exceedingly difficult task which never was accomplished completely.

Following the appointment of the TV review board, Wilson and 4-H Division Director E. Dean Vaughan barnstormed the nation in an attempt to set up the cost-sharing fund and to gain acceptance for nationwide 4-H TV coordination. At the same time, a 4-H TV development committee identified conservation as the priority topic for the next series. The first problem was money. Representatives from the National 4-H Service Committee attempted to help find a sponsor for the series, but conservation was a controversial topic in 1969. The whole environmental movement was on the ascent and it simply was not possible to find a private sponsor willing to pour hundreds of thousands of dollars into a television production over which there would be little corporate control. Conversely, it was clear to Wilson, that many states would refuse to air a 4-H TV series with a potential corporate bias. There seemed to be no room for compromise, just as there seemed to be little chance that the cost-sharing system would ever accrue enough money for Extension to produce its own series. It required many months of frustration before Wilson and the others working on the development of 4-H television admitted to themselves that cash availability in all likelihood would determine subject matter and that their roles really would be to assure quality production adaptable to all fifty states.²¹

In 1970, the Eastman Kodak Company, a long-time 4-H sponsor, paid for and produced, in cooperation with the Extension Service and National Committee, "4-H Photo Fun". It was the first

4-H TV series done in color and it eventually enrolled over half a million youngsters. 4-H used the release of "Photo Fun" as the theme for a national workshop in Ft. Collins, Colorado, in June 1970, at a time that states began to concentrate on using 4-H television as part of their educational program.²²

Throughout the 1960s, 4-H television had been aimed at children in fourth, fifth and sixth grades because they were thought to be the easiest age to reach. Teenagers, less oriented to clearly labeled "children's televison," were more likely to watch situation comedies, sports and other adult TV fare. With another grant from the U.S. Office of Civil Defense, Kansas State University began production of "Living in a Nuclear Age". In an attempt to reach the junior high audience, the new series moved away from the club format and introduced animation.

At about the same time, the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) provided a grant to produce a 4-H television series on nutrition. Directed at the fourth through sixth grade level, the series was designed to appeal to inner city youth. 4-H EFNEP leaders wanted an attention-getter that would help them teach nutrition. The series, eventually dubbed "Mulligan Stew," took off like nothing 4-H had ever done before. By contrast, "Nuclear Age," which was released at about the same time in 1972, seemed to pale. Wilson attributed its relative lack of popularity to the difficult age group the series sought to reach and to the fact that it was never highly promoted as was "Stew."²³

More to the point, perhaps, nutrition was one of the era's politically and socially "hot issues." Nuclear power in the years before the energy crisis and Three Mile Island tended to recede into the category of a civil defense pep talk. Despite the series' problems, however, a 1973 report from the National 4-H Service Committee showed that "Living in a Nuclear Age" had enrolled 50,000 4-H TV members in four states during its first year of release. In addition, 196,000 manuals and 26,000 leaders' guides were sold. The statistics tended to prove what TV backers had known for a long time—even if an instructional TV program were not judged a great success, it still could reach a phenomenal number of children. ²⁴

If "Living in a Nuclear Age" failed to live up to expectations, "Mulligan Stew" surpassed anyone's wildest estimates. The popularity of the series swelled 4-H participation figures by 1974 to 7.1 million, more than triple the enrollments recorded during the doldrums of 1964 and 1965. During that record-breaking year, more than 2.5 million youngsters participated in the series. Boys and girls all over the nation were talking about the Stews—Maggie,

Mike, Miki, Manny, and Mulligan—their rock band, and their zany adult cohort Wilbur Dooright. The series was a fast-paced, educational experience in good nutrition, complete with original music, animation, a story line, and an engaging pack of ragamuffins who called themselves "Mulligan Stew". A combination of "Mission Impossible" and "Sesame Street," it was by far the best thing 4-H television had ever done, but it did not hit the air without problems.²⁶

Wilson recalled that once the EFNEP funds were secured, her office subcontracted with Iowa State University to develop an outline of educational concepts for the series. The 4-H TV developmental committee responded favorably to what Iowa State did with nutrition content, but the series did not emerge as a creative whole until Extension hired Ira Klugerman to direct the series. Klugerman, who came from a background of children's television at WQED in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, came up with the title and general treatment for the series.

Production began on location in southeast Washington in 1971. Wilson remembered that the project consumed her and whatever staff she could involve. The budget, always a precarious item, had to be watched with dogged attention. On the other hand, the nutrition subject matter had to meet the standards of a host of home economists who did not always agree. Klugerman insisted that the production be entertaining as well as educational, but was unwilling to let pedantics dominate the series. The child actors were sometimes difficult and Wilson recalled that when she was not juggling columns of numbers, she was settling arguments on the set or haunting the local produce markets looking for just the right shade of green vegetables for the next day's shooting. Wilson herself was without much direct experience in TV production, but she did know about Extension and she was convinced that if the show were to be a success it would have it be a compromise effort. ²⁷

"Mulligan Stew" premiered on October 4, 1972, during the National 4-H Week at the 4-H Center in Washington, D.C., but it was already a winner. Advance information on "Stew" had enticed the states and they were lining up their viewing schedules. The series included the six half-hour films, leaders' guides, and a "Mulligan Stew" comic book/workbook developed by Michigan State University. In all, the Cooperative Extension Service invested \$716,000 in "Mulligan Stew". That amounted to about \$1 per child enrolled, compared to the \$10.48 cost of enrolling a child in a single 4-H project. A 4-H member from McConnelsville, Ohio, summed up the series' appeal when he wrote, "Dear Mulligan Stew, Thank you for

putting on the show. It taught me a lot about nutrition. My little brother watched it and is eating better now. I hope you will show it again next year. It was funny too." From letters like that it was apparent that "Stew" had succeeded in combining the often-dry concepts of good nutrition with the sometimes too-flamboyant airs of television.²⁸

A year after the program's release, a professional evaluator also concluded that "Mulligan Stew" worked. ABT Associates, Inc., received a contract from Extension to evaluate the series. They tested 300 fourth, fifth and sixth graders in six states during early 1974. The report showed that "Mulligan Stew" taught the youngsters a great deal about nutrition. It also resulted in a reduced preference for empty calories by those tested and it probably had a positive effect on their eating breakfast. "Stew" apparently did not make any significant impact on the daily diet youths selected, but the results showed that children generally enjoyed watching the series, the support materials were effective, and the viewers greatly increased their awareness of 4-H. On the minus side, the researchers said that the sound track was sometimes poor and the rock music and visuals sometimes overpowered the message. They also criticized "Stew" for showing children eating on the run and for the absence of any family ties.²⁹

In summing up the value of "Mulligan Stew" and its impact on 4-H, Wilson said she did not think there was a nutrition educator in the country who did not know about the series.³⁰

"Mulligan Stew" was still running in 1981, nearly a decade after its triumphal entry into the arena of 4-H programs and projects. The films had begun to show wear from overuse, some of the nutrition information was outdated, and even the rock band appeared to belong to another era, but it was still on the air because it attracted youngsters' attention and because 4-H had produced nothing to take its place. Despite its success, "Mulligan Stew" was the beginning of a long drought in 4-H TV production.

When "Stew" was at its peak in 1974, 4-H officials began to plan for its replacement. The review board had determined that a series showing how agriculture fits into the nation's market economy should be the next priority and like "Stew" the series would have the best chance of funding through government channels. National 4-H Service Committee Director Norman Mindrum wrote to North Carolina's Extension Director George Hyatt, Jr., who was then chairman of ECOP, asking for TV support. Mindrum wanted ECOP to earmark \$600,000 of a \$30-million request on agricultural improvement for a 4-H TV series.

ECOP approved the request in February 1975. During that year's federal budget hearing, both House and Senate committee reports strongly recommended funding of a series on the Production, Processing and Distribution of Food and Fiber in America. Building on a plan that had been worked out two years earlier by the Pennsylvania Cooperative Extension Service, the review board and the development committee outlined a proposal to award a contract to the Wisconsin Cooperative Extension Service to do the basic preproduction work on the series. The schedule called for production to begin in 1977, with the program ready for broadcast in 1979.³² The Write on 4-H newsletter of October 1977 reported that the production contract for the 4-H food and fiber TV series had been awarded to the Battelle-Columbus Laboratories. The funding called for the production of a pilot film which began under the working title of "Blue Jeans Baby". As with "Mulligan Stew", there were disagreements among those concerned with subject matter and those concerned with producing acceptable television. only this time, compromise did not emerge and neither did "Blue Jeans Baby". A terse notation in the June 28, 1978, minutes of the 4-H subcommittee signaled problems: "A program report indicated dissatisfaction with the pilot phase done by Battelle. Phase I must be improved and completed. The series will be delayed."33

Within a few months the delays turned into the death of the series. Wilson, who said the production became a political football, confirmed disagreements among the members of the developmental committee over the wisdom of exposing youngsters to agricultural policy issues that sometimes were controversial. Wilson also expressed concern over production problems and friction between her office and other offices in the USDA. As late as 1980, the 4-H subcommittee was still listing the food and fiber series status as uncertain. 34.

Despite a successful series like "Stew," the participation of 6 million youngsters, and strong support from nearly everyone in the Extension hierarchy, 4-H television slid from its high point in 1974 to virtual limbo by the end of the decade. In addition to the failure of the food and fiber pilot, 4-H television had other problems as well. It had become a very costly undertaking requiring nearly \$1 million to put a series on the air. Without Extension follow-up, 4-H television often was seen as a brief exposure to educational concepts. Television was also separate from "regular 4-H", which meant that while everyone instinctively supported more television, there was really no constituency to fight for the resurrection of "Blue Jeans Baby".

Wilson stopped using the title of 4-H TV coordinator in 1980 because there was really no 4-H television to coordinate.³⁵ Nonetheless, she and others who worked on the ill-fated project remained convinced that effective 4-H TV programming was important to Extension. As late as 1981, however, no national initiative toward a new project had emerged. 4-H television brought out the best and the worst in the Extension system. When it worked it was very effective, but in retrospect it was only one part of the 4-H attempt to modernize its offerings for youngsters.

Move to Make Projects More Relevant

4-H also devoted considerable time to updating traditional projects so that they would be more relevant to contemporary society. The only problem with that philosophy was that relevance remained a slippery commodity. What was relevant to teenagers in 1964 may have been irrelevant to the same age group by 1970. The times, young people and educational needs changed rapidly and 4-H, like most other youth organizations, ran at top speed just to keep up.

Politics also entered into project emphasis, but not even an agency headquartered in Washington, D.C., could be expected to read the political winds well enough to know what any particular administration might bring to the nation. Shortly after her husband was elected to his first full term as president of the United States, Lady Bird Johnson announced that her special concern would be beautification. 4-H, which had always worked with conservation and community service projects, quickly began to call that work beautification and elevated the status of those project areas. On June 8, 1965, the USDA and 4-H hosted a Youth for Natural Beauty program in Washington, D.C. Presidential daughter Luci Baines Johnson consented to be honorary chair. In his opening remarks at the campaign kickoff, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman commented, "It is fitting that many of our 2.25 million 4-H members take a leadership responsibility in the Youth for Natural Beauty program." A few months later, the 4-H division sent out information on the program to state 4-H leaders under a cover letter from FES Administrator Davis urging states to particinate. During the latter half of the 1960s more than 225,000 4-H'ers signed up for anti-litter and beautification campaigns, a fact that was dutifully reported as 4-H attempted to demonstrate its political and social acumen.36

Other project modifications were perhaps less political, but no less responsive to the needs of youngsters. In the continuing struggle to do a better job for teenagers, 4-H embarked on a career em-

phasis program in 1956 when more than 100 state 4-H staff members attending National 4-H Congress listed careers as one of five critical areas needing attention. Three years later the states requested that a temporary committee be formed on career development. The appointments were slow in coming, but when the group finally gathered in April 1961 at the National 4-H Center, members hammered out a series of recommendations including regional workshops on careers, literature development, and the appointment of a national career task force. A year later the committee reinforced its recommendations by urging that career information be included in 4-H projects and suggesting that at the very least, 4-H'ers ought to know something about potential careers in Extension. Robert Pinches was hired by the 4-H division to concentrate on career exploration, an area that later was broadened to include business and economics.³⁷

In the late 1960s, Extension cooperated with James Coleman of Johns Hopkins University on a series of experiments using simulated games to teach a variety of life skills. Young people attending the 4-H Citizenship Short Courses were among those who tested the games. 4-H games on democracy, emergency preparedness and life careers emerged from those testing groups. 4-H groups and volunteer leaders around the nation used the games in many situations including career development. On another front, business leaders who supported 4-H were also urging Extension to incorporate the principles of private enterprise into projects. A number of states did that by revising production-oriented projects during the 1960s and 1970s. Pennsylvania's Town and Country Business Project was one of the best known.

Early attempts to teach the more theoretical economic principles were less successful. The Economics in Action Short Courses conducted in 1969 and 1970 were poorly attended and finally discontinued. Porth Carolina experienced more success in the mid-1970s with an economics program that centered on profits, consumers, computers and management. 4-H commodity marketing programs also broadened the economic emphasis and made the area more applicable to everyday life. Extension reported that 14,000 youth in thirty states were involved in 4-H economics and business projects in 1976. Porthagola successful and the state of the successful and the successful and

That same year, 4-H pledged to begin work on a national careers project or projects. Donors were behind the idea and so were Extension leaders. Two years later, the federal 4-H office gave the National 4-H Council a contract to develop a series of initiatives in economics, jobs and careers that would include litera-

ture, the establishment of a resource center, staff training and field-testing of new programs. The contract which included money for staff gave the subject the boost it needed.

Jobs, economics and careers continued to receive high priority from 4-H leaders as well as strong backing from 4-H donors throughout the 1970s. It was an area of universal interest and application. That was not the case, however, with all the project ideas which vied for national recognition. In some instances, projects that suited the needs of their originators failed to interest a broader 4-H population. A brief move in behalf of a national pigeon project was a good example.

E. E. Finefrock, founder of the 4-H pigeon club in Oklahoma City, wrote in 1970 to Division Director Vaughan urging that pigeons be given their rightful place in 4-H: "We feel we have something going on here that ought to be introduced to every state in extension. We are receiving inquiries from many would-be 4-H Pigeon Club leaders who want to start such a club, but are blocked when they approach their respective state or county extension directors or agents by being told that extension has no set-up on pigeons. What is wrong with 4-H? Pigeons are one of the oldest living human attractions, dating way back before Christ's time."⁴¹

Finefrock's letter may well have engendered a few chuckles in the 4-H division, but Vaughan wrote a straightforward answer indicating that his staff would investigate the matter. So far as the record shows, the issue of a national 4-H pigeon project rested there. Despite Finefrock's enthusiasm, it was a localized venture that lacked any apparent nationwide support. Had pigeons become part of an important American social movement, they might have received more attention than they did. As it was, the 4-H projects developed during the 1960s and 1970s frequently reflected the social concerns and trends of the times. Community development projects, for example, which had been among the options for 4-H'ers for many decades, increased in importance during the late 1960s as youth became more legitimate participants in society.

Lowering of the voting age to eighteen, campus riots, so-called youth dropouts of the hippie era, and the dislocations caused by the Vietnam War all served to emphasize what some perceived to be the alienation of youth from society's mainstream. Although the disaffection perhaps was never as serious as many in the late 1960s believed, it did result in efforts to open productive avenues for youth participation in the larger society. Youth representatives were included on important boards and commissions; young people were encouraged to exercise their franchise; and youth organiza-

tions were challenged to help their members become more active in the democratic system of making decisions. 4-H's role in community development prior to that time generally had been a passive one guided by the unwritten Extension philosophy that 4-H'ers should work in support of existing structures rather than questioning or working to change those structures. In that regard, community development and citizenship concepts within 4-H frequently were translated into the same activities. Clean-up campaigns, city commission attendance, bake sales to support a worthy cause, and beautification efforts qualified in either the citizenship or the community development category. In 1971, Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin directed 4-H and other USDA agencies to achieve more active youth participation in community development. In his policy statement, Hardin asked his agency heads to report to his office by December 15, 1971, their plans for such youth involvement 42

The 4-H division responded that it had launched a pilot project with the Virginia Extension Service aimed at teaching youth more about their community. The division also announced that the first natonal training seminar conducted with the W. K. Kellogg Foundation grant would be on Involvement of Youth in Community Development. Florida reported more of its members were being appointed to boards and commissions. Ohio said a group of its youngsters would be involved in voter education for those between eighteen and twenty-one. Workshops on recycling, energy, and ecology issues—some of them controversial—became a more common part of community development. Slowly 4-H'ers found themselves welcome as active participants in local government affairs.

In 1972, Congress earmarked a portion of the special 4-H appropriation for community rural development. Vaughan described the purpose for the extra money in a speech to the Southern Region 4-H Leaders' Conference in October of that year: "Last week, OMB [Office of Management and Budget] officially released for use by 4-H in fiscal year 1973, the \$7.5 million recently appropriated by Congress. \$2.5 million is for 4-H for youth involvement in community development in rural areas." The money was often referred to as CRD (community rural development) money, but Vaughan explained that rural included any area of 50,000 or fewer people. 43

For the most part, the new money was used to hire paraprofessionals who worked to increase 4-H participation in community development. A 1973 summary indicated that CRD priority activities included careers, citizenship, community pride, beautification, environmental improvement, study of government, public affairs, rec-

reation, leisure, health, consumer education and cultural programs. Although the money was never used to back any blatantly controversial activities, it did help to convert the old, passive citizenship concept of personal development to one in which 4-H'ers could work within the system for change. That ever-so-slight shift was acknowledged in an October 1976 report of the National Extension 4-H Community Development Program Committee. Chairman C. J. Gauger of Iowa concluded in the introduction that things indeed had begun to change and his committee encouraged the shift: "The committee seeks to move from a theoretical conceptual approach to citizenship education to the real-life laboratory—to the community and to cope with its problems through the functional, practical, experimental action approach to community development.... Recently special funding has permitted and promoted a move from community service types of projects to 4-H Community Development activities. While we do not wish to depreciate past activities, we do feel there is growing evidence that we can and should go farther."44

Although the meaning was slightly obscured by the language. the committee appeared to be telling county agents, volunteer leaders and 4-H'ers that they no longer needed to avoid controversial political and social issues in their communities. The report encouraged young people to become involved in community decision-making structures. It also recognized that they needed educational skills in order to influence communities and proposed that 4-H provide those skills. On the national level, young people selected for the prestigious Report to the Nation Team or for national leadership awards, began to record their work on a specific side of a community issue or note that they had lobbied a county or city commissioner for a change of action. It may have appeared a small difference to some, but it was a long way from the early attempts at citizenship education of the late 1950s, when an agent reported that a young girl had exercised her citizenship skills by making a dress that she especially liked.

Health Becomes Active Project Field

Health was another general area that changed to a more active project during the 1960s and 1970s. The long history of health projects began in 1922 with the healthiest 4-H boy and girl contests. That particular concept faded with World War II, but for an organization with health in its pledge, the remaining programs seemed vague and disparate. Fern Kelley, who worked in the 4-H division, had a particular interest in health and tried to provide some

leadership for the subject. In states like Pennsylvania, health was a full-fledged project with supporting materials and awards. In others, it was simply a part of life and every 4-H'er was expected to know something about good health and how to achieve it. Sponsorship from Eli Lilly and Company and later from Kraft, Inc., helped to move the project into a more modern era. But Kelly recalled that a growing national concern about health also boosted 4-H participation. Information on the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse, the rush toward physical fitness, and frightening reports on smoking all propelled youth into health awareness. Youngsters raised on the stern warnings stamped on every cigarette package would blanch at the account of a 1948 Maryland tobacco festival in which a 4-H'er received his blue ribbon from a smiling tobacco queen called "Nicotina."

Kellev reported to state 4-H staff members in 1960, that nearly half a million young people had been reached by 4-H health programs. "Enrollments," she said, "were up." A Pueblo Indian girl from New Mexico was typical of the growing numbers of 4-H'ers who turned to health-related projects. Lorraine Salazar filled her carefully typed record book with information on nutrition talks, diets and weight control programs she had designed for herself and for her people in Isletta Pueblo where she lived. County agents, especially those in more urban area, began organizing special programs on drug abuse and teenage alcoholism. A 1973 report indicated that every state had some sort of drug prevention program. Wisconsin leaders talked about a program in health careers. New Mexico and Oregon were selected for special pilot programs on smoking and health developed under contracts between the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the National 4-H Foundation. Some states also were doing work in sex education. Kelley recalled that before she retired from Extension in 1973, the delegates to the National 4-H Conference asked for and got frank discussions on abortion, teenage pregnancy and sexuality. "In my early years of National Conference, we would never have programmed that way," Kelley said. "We would have brought in a resource person to give them [the 4-H'ers] the facts, but by then we were trying to leave it wide open to see if we could get their program suggestions scattered to the states and built into future 4-H health planning sessions."46

Despite a great deal of activity and strong interest from 4-H'ers, the health program still lacked the emphasis and the national priority many had hoped it might achieve. A grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation in 1975 helped to stem that concern. The grant paid for a study and a series of recommendations on 4-H health programs. Three years later, the same foundation gave money to try out new 4-H health ideas in Florida and Michigan. The experiments dealt with using computers to develop health risk profiles on children and designing new health programs that 4-H and schools could share. A grant from the American Optometric Association and its auxiliary provided a nationwide program on eye care. 47

The general concern about the "fourth H" could not help but lead 4-H'ers and their leaders to a greater awareness of life for handicapped citizens. By the late 1970s, 4-H like the rest of the nation had begun to make itself more accessible. Hope Daugherty, who assumed the health responsibilities in the federal 4-H office after Kelley's retirement, concentrated early in the decade on programming for the handicapped. Working with Charles Freeman of the National 4-H Foundation, Daugherty put together a discussion session with handicapped youth and leaders from 4-H, Scouting and the Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations. The objective was to determine what youngsters wanted and to see how much 4-H would have to change to accommodate them. She described it as a slow transition because "a lot of our leaders and agents still felt uncomfortable with the handicapped, especially the mentally handicapped."

4-H programming for the handicapped began at about the same time that handicapped people, themselves, launched a strong drive for increased awareness and for some tough federal and state legislation on accessibility. Because of that, the National 4-H Center, as well as other state and local 4-H conference sites, began to change facilities and programs. Sometimes the changes were initiated by 4-H. At least as often, the complaints of handicapped people fostered the actions that eventually opened 4-H to handicapped youngsters, volunteers and professional Extension workers.

Documented 4-H experience with the handicapped goes back at least twenty-five years. There were many instances like one in 1964 when New York Agent Richard Robinson organized a 4-H club in a private school for retarded children. ⁴⁹ 4-H'ers frequently reported working with handicapped persons, and the issue also arose as a training topic at 4-H meetings and conferences. Michigan and other states had developed a horse project for handicapped youngsters by the late 1970s. Pennsylvania tested ideas on working with the handicapped and wrote publications that many other

states could use. And camping, one of the oldest 4-H educational methods, turned out to be an excellent training ground for working with handicapped people.



Increased emphasis on health projects and activities in the 1960s and 1970s led 4-H'ers to a greater awareness of the problems and needs of the handicapped. Like many other organizations, 4-H made its programs and facilities more accessible to handicapped youth and adults.

In many ways, camping, which initially had been viewed as recreational, proved to be a useful transition for a variety of new programs during the 1960s and 1970s. When the 4-H Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program began, leaders used day camps as a teaching method. When bicycle programs caught on in

urban areas, state and county 4-H workers set up bicycle camps to interest young people. South Carolina experimented with a biracial camp for problem youngsters in 1973. Other states worked on adventure camps and mobile camps.



Participating in local, state and regional camps is a favorite activity of 4-H members today. Camping takes on a variety of forms across the nation.

Camping in 4-H generally ranged from primative sites with tents and campfires to modern educational centers with all amenities indoors. From 1970 through 1976, camping participation increased by 50 percent, but as 4-H enrollments began to decline, camping fell off as well. It nose-dived by 15 percent in 1977, much greater than the drop in general 4-H participation. ⁵¹

That same year, however, 4-H groups throughout the nation reported owning 200 camps and having lease arrangements with several more. In one of the last major speeches before his retirement, Vaughan urged 4-H leaders to go after hard evidence to prove the effectiveness of their camping programs, but added that such evidence was hard to get and perhaps even harder to define.⁵²

During the postwar years, the penchant for change occupied much of the time of those in charge of the 4-H program. Home economics projects, always a mainstay in 4-H, shifted from a preoccupation with construction and preparation to consumer awareness and nutrition education. Projects involving energy moved from the concept of unlimited power to a more conservation-oriented stance. And 4-H officials everywhere began to rely on the comments and ideas of 4-H participants as they designed projects and activities.

National Conference Reflects 4-H's Responsiveness

National 4-H Conference, a major annual event in Washington, D.C., came to reflect the move to a more open and responsive 4-H program. As 4-H changed directions, added new participants, and served new audiences, it became more difficult to provide a single conference program that would satisfy everyone. It was not like the old days when the conference—which began in 1927 as the National 4-H Camp—recognized 4-H'ers from each state who had shown outstanding ability and fitness for leadership. After being suspended during World War II, the camps from 1946 to 1958 were held at various Washington sites including the American University, Arlington Farms and the Raleigh Hotel. The annual event became known as National 4-H Conference in 1957. When the National 4-H Center opened in 1959, the conference gained a permanent home. During its seven decades, the conference had many locations, but it was not until the early 1960s that Extension began to talk about changing its focus.⁵³ State 4-H leaders told Edgar Reeves, 4-H youth development project leader, in 1963, that delegates should be more involved in conference planning, but they provided no specific suggestions on how to do that. By the late 1960s, the conference and summer 4-H Citizenship Short Courses appeared to be duplicating each other. Extension experimented with a cosmetic change in 1968.

Although the 4-H conference kept its name, leaders began to emphasize the advisory role of delegates in shaping 4-H. Rather than sending older members in recognition for services already rendered, states were encouraged to select 4-H'ers who might return home to participate in program planning. The conference still

provided an opportunity for delegates to meet their congressmen and senators after visiting the President at the White House. The citizenship education aspect was replaced with study groups that involved delegates more directly in 4-H matters.

Despite that change, Division Director Vaughan believed there also was too much duplication between National 4-H Conference and National 4-H Congress. With increased travel costs and a great deal of the federal staff's time committed to the national gatherings, Vaughan began to push for a major change. Years later he would write that his inability to make any great shift in either the congress or the conference was one of "his most notable failures." Vaughan wanted a single national 4-H gathering and he found some support for his idea during the seven years that he tried to sell it to 4-H leadership. "It seemed to me to be a mistake of costly proportions," Vaughan wrote, "to continue having two major national 4-H events annually. My idea was that the better features of the two events be combined into one annual event. And. rather than have the two held each year in Chicago and Washington, D.C., the one combined event should be held in a different major city in a different region of the nation."54 Vaughan went to the 1973 4-H subcommittee meeting in San Antonio, Texas, hoping to bring his plan to the forefront. According to the minutes for the May 7-9 meeting, "it was moved by Vaughan and seconded by Lois McGurk that a moratorium be declared on National 4-H Conference until the subcommittee comes up with an acceptable substitute. After several amendments and substitute motions, Vaughan's motion was withdrawn."55

At Vaughan's urging, the 4-H subcommittee agreed in 1974 to establish a committee, chaired by Charles Sappington of Mississippi, to make recommendations on the future of conference. The 4-H division director tried hard to convince the committee to adopt at least some of his views, but National 4-H Conference was by then a tradition as was National 4-H Congress. Despite the expense, the staff time, and to a certain extent, the duplication in the two meetings, the 4-H'ers who attended each year by all accounts had a great time and they appeared to learn something, too. Both events provided a considerable amount of publicity for 4-H and in the case of national conference, the visits to Capitol Hill were an invaluable contact wth a money-conscious Congress. In July 1975, the subcommittee accepted a recommendation that the next conference remain unchanged, but that consideration be given to a new format in the future. 56 That new format was presented in 1976. Speaking for the Sappington committee, John Banning stressed using the event as a tool for overall program development without changing its name or location. The committee's plan was a compromise that received approval from ECOP and the subcommittee. The 1977 National 4-H Conference, the first to be conducted under the compromise plan, heavily involved delegates in program planning and public relations. Delegations were increased from four to a maximum of ten, and states were encouraged to send volunteer leaders and Extension professionals as well as 4-H'ers to the meeting. ⁵⁷



At the National 4-H Camp, which began in 1927, youth from all over the country were housed in tents on the mall near the U.S. Department of Agriculture building. This most famous 4-H camping experience was replaced by the National 4-H Conference in 1957.

Despite Vaughan's personal disappointment at the failure of his plan, National 4-H Conference by 1981 was considerably different than it had been twenty years earlier. The canned and prepackaged programs squeezed in among tours of the nation's capital were replaced by consulting groups in which 4-H'ers, volunteers and agents worked together to provide a cohesive national direction for 4-H. The 4-H'ers still made their day-long pilgrimage to Capitol Hill, but the uniform requirements were gone as were the expensive banquets and balls in downtown hotels. The conference was decidedly work-oriented and most believed it to be a far more productive event. There were still some problems, however. Greatly increased travel costs had rendered it impossible for some states, especially those in the West, to participate. Some argued that economics eventually would force the consolidation of the two annual 4-H gatherings, but by the time Vaughan had retired in 1979, any active push for further change had faded.

As 4-H settled into the 1980s, many hoped for a respite from the program upheavals of the previous two decades. During that time, the traditional 4-H project system—once characterized by young girls baking pies and boys growing corn-was studied, manipulated, bent, in some cases broken, repaired, criticized, stretched, modified, improved, and studied once again in an attempt to be responsive. Sometimes the reports, conferences and experiments produced only the tiniest change in program orientation. In other instances, whole new initiatives emerged and 4-H found itself headed in a different direction. The influx of federal or private money often would mandate a new emphasis. But, just as often, 4-H was faced with responding to a political or social need with no additional funds whatsoever. The enormous problem of initiating change in an organization as diverse as 4-H undoubtedly increased the internal pressures and frustrations. On the other hand. 4-H seldom failed to act when educational tendencies became clear trends. And to its credit, 4-H was careful to preserve a place for pies and corn as it moved ahead into rockets and ecology.

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11

The Private Life of 4-H

Robert Guelich did not do very well with his 4-H rabbit project. Although he became proficient at skinning the animals and did sell some pelts, his project was not a financial success. The rabbits were to have provided a college fund for the Ohio farm boy, but the demand for chicken outweighed that for rabbit and Guelich eventually gave up on his critters, counting himself lucky to break even in the depression-ridden 1930s.¹

Forty-five years later, Guelich recalled his experiences with 4-H rabbits from behind a desk in the Chicago corporate headquarters of Montgomery Ward & Co. By then he was vice president for public relations and one of several hundred American business people responsible for major contributions to 4-H each year. Like many other corporate leaders, however, Guelich did more than just channel money into 4-H. He took special interest in the development of the project his company supported. Guelich had participated directly in the evolution of the original girls' record award program as it changed first into a home economics project and finally a consumer education program for girls and boys. Other businessmen and women could cite similar experiences growing out the symbiotic relationship between 4-H and the private sector. In most instances, business and 4-H shared the same goals for their educational projects and awards, but the methods for reaching those goals sometimes differed.

While corporate donors were accustomed to the fast-paced world of competition, Extension had learned the futility of making rapid shifts in 4-H without consensus from all levels. When methods conflicted as they inevitably did, business leaders sometimes despaired of making progress while 4-H responded with a wariness of too much corporate control. To Guelich's mind, however, private support had been a critical element in helping 4-H to change and progress.

In the long run, the two management styles most often complemented each other, but if 4-H were likened to a circus, surely

the tight-rope acts would exemplify the organization's attempts to keep its government and business constituencies in balance. The 1939 clash between Extension and the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work signaled that the relationship temporarily had gone awry. By 1976, the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP) had come full circle with a recommendation for a 100 percent increase in private 4-H funding at all levels.² Regardless, however, of the particular emphasis on private giving in any era of the 4-H experience, it could fairly be said that the organization had utilized private sector support since its earliest days.



Participants in 4-H international programs often visit company facilities to learn more about the organization sponsoring them. These International Four-H Youth Exchange delegates are touring the Eli Lilly and Company's agricultural research center.

In the early 1900s, Seaman A. Knapp's seed corn demonstration work that undergirded 4-H depended on private money. The ribbons, pins, and award trips associated with the first corn clubs, came from local railroad executives and bankers. In 1954, bankers began annual campaigns designed to help 4-H at all levels. The national 4-H awards program, which by 1980 included 287 scholarships, has been totally dependent on private largess. Private money got the 4-H international program and the National 4-H Center off the ground and continued to be a mainstay to both.

Major staff development and training opportunities in the 1950s and the 1970s were privately financed. Company representatives often have served as consultants providing technical expertise to Extension project development committees. Influential business leaders committed to 4-H pushed for racial integration in the 1960s and later for expansion into urban areas. The annual 4-H donors' conference has become a place to focus on new program initiatives, and businessmen and women have come to the aid of 4-H when key appropriations requests needed a boost. Fortunately for both parties, the relationship has not been one-sided. 4-H has also aided its private backers.

4-H'ers are, after all, consumers and future members of the work force. While they are no longer exclusively rural, 4-H'ers, for the most part, embody an agrarian conservative ethic with which American business leaders identify. There is, of course, the opportunity for tax benefits, but businesses have plenty of chances to give their money away. Those who have opted to support 4-H have done so because their market researchers, educational advisers and corporate memberships have assured them that it is a good investment.

Robert Fordyce of the Eastman Kodak Company spoke for many 4-H donors when he explained his company's involvement: "We try to work with any young person, we arbitrarily say college age or under, and help them use photography and learn to be comfortable with a camera. It's a mutual self-interest between 4-H and the company. . . . Ours is obvious. We are teaching young people to use our product." Fordyce explained that 4-H literature produced by his company could never recommend that participants use Kodak equipment. "That would be against our principles, too," he said.3 But provisions are made for donor identification and the results are apparently beneficial to both parties. Most officials agree that 4-H would be hard-pressed to find the technical and financial help needed for national educational and programs and awards without private money. On the local level, thousands of 4-H clubs benefit each year from the hardware dealer who donates fencing for the county fair or the grocer who provides hot dogs for an endof-summer picnic among inner city 4-H'ers. The relationship between public and private resources pervades the 4-H experience.

An amount equal to 21 percent of the 4-H budget came from private sources in 1980. The vast majority of private money was raised in states and counties, which reported nearly \$30 million in contributions.* In addition, the National 4-H Council listed 2,300 donors and budgeted \$10 million for its operations in support of 4-H. That support complemented an annual governmental appropriation of approximately \$184 million for 1981.⁴

Michigan, which studied its own private giving in 1976, reported that its counties received more than \$500,000 a year in private money and in-kind contributions for leaders' banquets, awards, trips, meeting facilities and citizenship short courses. At the state level, Michigan received \$81,000 in private money. If the contributed time of volunteer leaders were taken into account, Michigan could have added another \$23 million to its private support total. Most other states could draw similar comparisons.

Over the years, 4-H developed a variety of mechanisms to deal with its private side. Some of the systems survived; others were abolished. By all accounts, the first formal channel for bringing private money into 4-H opened in 1921 with the formation of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. The Committee not only served as a conduit for bringing support into the growing 4-H awards program, but its members actively sought donations from America's largest firms. Major donors gave at the national level and also encouraged their local retail outlets to help 4-H. The system was an effective one, but it was not long before the various state Extension services began to look for their own ways to manage private support.

States Form 4-H Foundations

West Virginia formed the first state 4-H foundation in 1945, followed by Ohio in 1946, Georgia in 1948 and Missouri and New York in 1949.⁶ During those early years, state foundations were little more than a bank account from which to handle private contributions. But by the late 1950s, many such foundations were actively recruiting private funds for camping programs, training centers, international programs, awards and trips. In 1960, J. O. Knapp, West Virginia's Extension director, chaired a conference on Effective Utilization of Private Support for Extension Youth Work. The January meeting at Purdue University recognized the burgeoning role of private money in 4-H. States shared new data on

^{*4-}H officials say that \$30 million is an educated guess derived by multiplying the average per-county level of private support by the total number of counties. No attempt is made to separate in-kind help from cash contributions.

tax laws and reviewed fund-raising strategies that could benefit 4-H. Knapp reported to the delegation that in 1959-60, 4-H had received \$50 million in public support and \$18 million in private money.⁷

Canada announced in 1970 that it had formed a 4-H foundation. Many rural youth organizations in other countries were doing the same.8 Some took the step on their own; others relied on assistance from Extension leaders in the United States or the Inter-American Rural Youth Program which worked to establish private support entities in Latin America. Norman Mindrum, chief executive officer of the National 4-H Council. told state 4-H leaders assembled at a 1976 workshop on financial resource opportunities, that some of the 200 county 4-H foundations in the United States were recruiting more than \$200,000 in private money each year. At the same time, there were thirty-nine state foundations, a figure that would rise to forty-one by 1981. State foundations could be expected to raise from \$5,000 to \$500,000 annually on behalf of 4-H. Mindrum explained that state 4-H foundations were often a part of the regular land-grant university development program, but in a growing number of cases, the potential for private support was so great that foundations were employing their own staff.9

Ray Crabbs, current chief operating officer for the National 4-H Council, recalled that he became the first full-time staff member of the Washington State 4-H Foundation in 1972. The foundation could barely claim assets of \$5,000 at that time, but when Crabbs left three years later, the group was budgeting \$175,000 annually. Other state foundations told similar stories. As more and more aggressive development skills were applied to the foundations, they began to be a source of funds for staff training, experimental programs and conference centers. Arkansas, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon and Texas were among the states investing private dollars in training facilities for local and regional 4-H groups. It was no wonder that among the first offerings of the W. K. Kellogg-sponsored staff development and training program for Extension was a 1972 workshop on fund-raising.

In most instances, states encouraged the growth of 4-H foundations, but at the same time, moved to keep them under control. Many state foundations were directed by the state 4-H leader. In those cases where independent staffs were employed, they were directly responsible to Extension and land-grant university leaders.

Despite many attempts at coordination and control, some difficulties did occur as a growing number of fund raisers competed

for a finite number of private dollars. Nowhere was competition more obvious than on the national level, where 4-H found itself with two strong, aggressive fund-raising organizations. It was probably inevitable at some point, that the two would encroach on each other. But 4-H had grown so accustomed to dealing with dual support groups that the National 4-H Service Committee and the National 4-H Foundation existed side by side for nearly thirty years before merger would be accomplished.

Initially, the two had arisen to address different needs. The National 4-H Service Committee (called National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work until 1960) was organized to bring together business leaders and the national 4-H project and awards programs. The Committee also published the National 4-H News. founded the National 4-H Supply Service and coordinated the annual National 4-H Congress in Chicago. Contributors to the Committee usually were identified with a specific 4-H project and they enjoyed substantial contact with individual 4-H'ers. The Committee—a 1921 brainchild of a group of dedicated Chicago business leaders—always operated in support of 4-H, but it retained a certain independence from the Cooperative Extension Service. Extension created a closely allied private support mechanism in 1948. The National 4-H Club Foundation came into being initially as a bank account for the International Farm Youth Exchange, but it very quickly became a fund-raising entity for the establishment of the National 4-H Center. The 4-H Foundation served another purpose, too, Kenneth H. Anderson, a national 4-H fellow who went to work for the National Committee in 1938, explained it best when he acknowledged that the 4-H Foundation provided a counterweight to the power that existed in the National Committee in Chicago. That power had been substantially curbed in 1939, but Anderson recalled it was then that he began to get indications that federal 4-H officials, including Gertrude Warren, Ray Turner and Charlie Potter, would like their own organization. 11 When it was formed in 1948, the National 4-H Club Foundation provided a new mechanism for raising money for 4-H. Its control was vested in a board of trustees composed, at that time, only of Extension Service and state land-grant college representatives. The National Committee, on the other hand, limited its membership to private citizens and business leaders and had no Extension representation. It was not until 1961 that the corporate bylaws for the 4-H Foundation were changed to allow for business representatives on the board. 12

The 1948 birth of the National 4-H Foundation gave rise to



Major business leaders often give years of leadership as well as financial assistance to 4-H. Raymond C. Firestone, *center*, accepts an award presented in 1968 to The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company for twenty-five years of service to 4-H. Kenneth H. Anderson, *left*, and Norman C. Mindrum, of the National 4-H Service Committee, make the presentation.

many meetings between Chicago and Washington in the early 1950s that finally resulted in a delineation of authority. The 4-H Foundation would concentrate on bricks and mortar and international programs, with some emphasis on research and educational development. The National Committee would continue to publish the News, fund the awards programs, coordinate National Congress, operate the supply service and carry out its public relations functions. So far as the record shows, there was never any open hostility between the two groups, and 4-H undoubtedly benefitted from their efforts. There certainly was competition, however, and it led to confusion among business people and even among Extension leaders in some cases. Had the two organizations done their jobs with a lackluster approach, there might have been no need for merging, but that was not the case. Both organizations aggressively developed sources of private money, partly because of their professional commitments, and partly because Extension requested an increased amount of assistance from the private sector.

During the 1950s and 1960s, 4-H asked for private help in staff training, new project fields, expansion into urban areas and work with disadvantaged children. Grant A. Shrum, who headed the Na-

tional 4-H Foundation until the merger in 1977, recalled "limited competition along with a lot of coordination and cooperation" among the two groups, but he acknowledged that there were problems, particularly in planning. ¹³ It had become obvious to many by the late 1960s that the twin systems were inefficient.

That specter of inefficiency began to bother Blaine Yarrington, president of the American Oil Company and also a member of the National 4-H Service Committee. Yarrington remembered attending a fund-raising luncheon in Chicago in 1968. The National 4-H Foundation was hosting the event, but in Yarrington's estimate, at least half of the participating business leaders thought they were guests of the National 4-H Service Committee. After all, Chicago was Service Committee turf and many of the long-time 4-H supporters were not entirely familiar with the organizational duality in the private life of 4-H. Eventually, Yarrington recalled, people began to figure out what was going on, but no one would admit his or her mistake by asking questions. "So I listened to all of this," Yarrington said, "and I thought to myself, this is just one more example. This doesn't make any sense." Yarrington was not the only one who questioned the sensibility of the system.

E. Dean Vaughan, 4-H division director, drafted a memorandum on August 10, 1970, to Extension Service Administrator Edwin Kirby complaining about the method by which private support entered the 4-H program. Asking the administrator for a reexamination of the issue, he singled out particular concerns: "There are two primary questions. First, should the Service Committee and the National 4-H Foundation be continued as is or combined? Second, what are the hazards and benefits? Should there be a single overall National Extension Foundation?" Vaughan urged Extension to study the issue, but the record indicates no movement in that direction. 15 Many state 4-H leaders also supported a merger, but the first tentative feelers came from Yarrington who became president of the National 4-H Service Committee in 1971. "I found that particular period of 4-H one of the most rewarding I'd ever had," Yarrington recalled, "because I came into it at a time when actually things were changing. 4-H needed to change and Norm Mindrum was making it clear to me that he needed assistance from me in a different way than he had from his predecessor presidents."16

In one of their early meetings after Yarrington had assumed the presidency, the oil company executive expressed his concerns about the existence of two private support organizations and the confusion it created, especially in light of the major capital development program already under way to expand the National 4-H Center. He bluntly asked Mindrum to explain once again why there were two such groups. Mindrum, who had given the explanation to hundreds of people in the past, talked about the difference in missions, the international aspect, and the project orientations. He also candidly shared with Yarrington the balance of power considerations that had been present at the creation of the 4-H Foundation in 1948. Despite the fact that some residue of sensitivity still existed in the business world as well as in Extension, Yarrington quickly discerned that the reasons for separation were more political than rational and he suggested to Mindrum that the two groups at least explore the possibility of merging.

That began a series of informal conversations between Shrum and Mindrum which resulted in Yarrington's visiting the National 4-H Center, Dean McNeal, vice president of the Pillsbury Company and Chairman of the 4-H Foundation Board of Trustees, reciprocated with a June 27, 1972, visit to the Service Committee in Chicago. With a few preliminaries out of the way, Shrum, Mindrum, McNeal and Yarrington met in a private luncheon at the Chicago Club. The four men openly discussed the problems associated with their respective organizations and they noted several items that signaled a readiness to merge. Competition between the two organizations had reached the point where it could adversely affect 4-H's relationship with the private sector. It was also evident that while the relationship between Extension and its private support entities was good in the early 1970s, a situation could easily arise in which that would not be the case. And, a merger would save overhead costs by ending duplication in management and operations. 17 4-H was also undergoing changes in terms of its rural/ urban audience, and some speculated that the time for merging might be right. As Mindrum described it later, there was another key argument in favor of the merger. Yarrington and McNeal apparently liked and trusted each other immediately. "The chemistry between those two men was very strong," Mindrum said. 18

The two corporate leaders asked Shrum and Mindrum to prepare a white paper on merger for a future meeting. That discussion piece reiterated points in favor of the merger, but it also stated the objections. Service Committee representatives feared that a merger might move their operation closer to governmental control. National 4-H Congress could be sacrificed, awards deemphasized and Chicago might cease to be a center of business support for 4-H. For their part, 4-H Foundation representatives were especially anxious that nothing interfere with attempts to expand the Na-

tional 4-H Center and they did not wish to see any of the citizenship, leadership, or international programs diminished by the awards system. Despite reservations, however, the group decided to form a joint committee of the two boards to study the merger question. In Yarrington's words, "I just kept egging them on." As the merger issue surfaced and discussion mounted, the reasons in favor of the split organizational structure seemed to fade. The issue became one of finding the right merger strategy.

Merger Possibilities Studied

The first meeting of the Joint Study Committee of the 4-H Foundation and 4-H Service Committee convened at O'Hare Airport in Chicago on November 11, 1973. The 4-H Foundation was represented by Marvin Anderson, Iowa dean of Extension; Chester Black, North Carolina assistant director of Extension: McNeal: Shrum and attorney Robert Metz. The National 4-H Service Committee delegation included its attorney Norman Sugarman; Guelich; C. V. Roseberry, regional vice president for Westinghouse Electric Corporation; Omer Voss, executive vice president of International Harvester Company; and Mindrum, E. D. Dodd, president of Owens-Illinois, also represented the 4-H Foundation on the joint committee but he could not attend the first meeting. 21 There were plenty of concerns to be aired and each man had his assessment of the problems associated with merging, but the group reached consensus on two things. They wanted to continue meeting and they agreed to invite Extension Service Administrator Kirby to attend their January 4, 1974, meeting also scheduled for Chicago. There were three more meetings of the joint study committee during which some, but certainly not all, of the objections to the merger were ironed out. On June 17, 1974, the committee reviewed an agreement for the establishment of a permanent Joint Committee on Organization and Operation. The agreement which was approved by the respective boards of the two national groups on October 7, 1974, was the first step toward what came to be known as unified operations.²²

The merger generally was discussed only in private conversations during the early negotiations since there were still many unanswered questions and some opposition to the plan. Guelich, who had been part of the merger talks since the beginning, was one of those who expressed reservations. Like many others who had a long-standing loyalty to the National 4-H Service Committee, Guelich feared that a merger could mean the loss of donor identification with important national 4-H programs. He questioned the

wisdom of having a single entity which might be more interested in developing and supporting a training center than it was in projects. In summary, he and others in the Chicago area feared that what they perceived as the real strength and advantage of the National 4-H Service Committee might be lost.

Although it remained undecided in the early days of the merger discussions, it was also clear to Guelich that any single organization undoubtedly would operate out of the National 4-H Center in suburban Washington, D.C. "I was concerned," he said, "that when you are physically located in Washington you are influenced by the Department of Agriculture, governmental attitudes, and opinions far more than when you are located here [Chicago]. And the principal donor support of 4-H projects was not Washington-oriented."²³

Yarrington, who engaged in a good deal of shuttle diplomacy during the merger negotiations, acknowledged that relocation to the National 4-H Center was, from the beginning, an obvious possibility. "It always occurred to me," Yarrington recalled, "that in the end we would have to go where the brick and mortar were for a headquarters, but that there would be no need to lose any aspect of the middle-western activity as long as we held the National 4-H Congress in Chicago." Yarrington also believed that the first problem was to accomplish the merger on paper and then work toward consolidating staff and headquarters.

In addition to assuaging the concerns of the business community, both Yarrington and McNeal spent a great deal of time assuring Extension leaders that the unified organization would not become a kind of "super group" that would dominate 4-H. Yarrington admitted frankly that he underestimated the amount of time it would take to convince Extension that the merger could be a source of strength and not a threat to 4-H.²⁴

As Yarrington and McNeal talked individually with those concerned about the merger throughout 1974 and early 1975, the Joint Committee on Organization and Operations continued to meet. In March and April of 1975, Shrum and Mindrum made informal presentations to Extension directors to keep them apprised of merger progress. As the time for a final written merger agreement drew nearer, all the principals in the negotiations spent many hours in travel, in conferences and on the telephone, in an attempt to make sure that no one was offended or confused by a lack of accurate information. To a great extent they succeeded. Although people in Extension and in the business community continued to ask hard questions, no strong opposition to the plan ever surfaced. In retro-

spect, 4-H Division Director Vaughan remembered being surprised at how smoothly the whole thing proceeded.²⁵

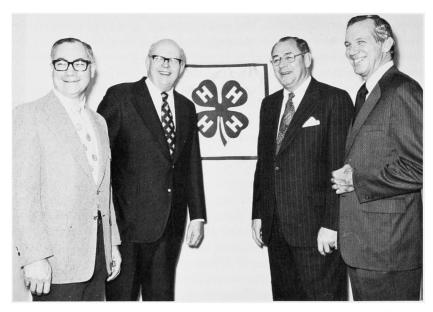
The joint committee took the second major step in the merger process on April 24, 1975. The committee set up a joint resource development program which merged the fund-raising functions of the two organizations. Yarrington agreed to head the resource development committee. At the same meeting, the joint committee also recommended that a new umbrella organization, called the National 4-H Council, be created. The strategy was to create the umbrella organization first and then slowly diminish and finally dissolve the 4-H Foundation and the Service Committee into it.

National 4-H Council Created

The powerful Extension Committee on Organization and Policy approved the creation of a new organization on August 5, 1975, but only in principle. The group appointed an ad hoc committee to give further study. ECOP Chairman Roland Abraham, Minnesota Extension director, wrote a letter to Mindrum on August 21 in which he referred to the previous ECOP meeting as a landmark event.²⁶ On September 29, the ad hoc committee of ECOP telephoned its approval of the merger plan. Three weeks later, the respective boards of the 4-H Foundation and the Service Committee met at the National 4-H Center for the third step, the creation of the National 4-H Council. It was a historic occasion which garnered good wishes not only from the participants, but also from Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz. A joint statement issued to the press on October 24, 1975, outlined the third step in the merger. "Major steps were taken this week toward the eventual unification of the National 4-H Foundation and the National 4-H Service Committee—two national organizations providing channels for private support to the 4-H youth program. Combining efforts of the two organizations will be a gradual process, according to Omer G. Voss, Executive Vice President of the International Harvester Company and President of the National 4-H Service Committee and Jean C. Evans, Chancelor and Vice Provost of the University of Wisconsin and Chairman of the National 4-H Foundation Board of Trustees."27

The new National 4-H Council was designed to operate with a twenty-member board of trustees. Twelve of those members were to be selected from business and industry, seven from state landgrant institutions and, one from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). A few weeks later in early December, Sugarman, the Ohio attorney who served as general counsel for the merger, informed the new board that Extension Service Administrator Kirby

had granted authorization for the newly formed Council to use the 4-H name and emblem.²⁸



Operating efficiencies and improved services were among the goals of the National 4-H Service Committee and the National 4-H Club Foundation merger in 1976, when the National 4-H Council was established. Among principals in the new organization were, from left, Jean C. Evans, Norman C. Mindrum, Omer G. Voss and Grant A. Shrum.

As America's bicentennial year began, the merger, now four years in the process, was at least halfway home. The National 4-H Council was a reality, with articles of incorporation filed in Ohio on January 9, 1976. The resource development committee, under the leadership of Yarrington who was by then a vice president of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana), was pressing ahead on its joint fund-raising campaign and certain of the Council's public relations programs also were operating jointly. Nonetheless, there still were problems ahead. A final decision had to be made on a permanent home for the Council. Disposition was required for the two old organizations, which were now in every sense lame ducks, and a professional staff in Chicago and one in Washington, D.C., had to be consolidated with new titles, responsibilities, pay scales and pension plans.

The National 4-H Council Board of Trustees held its charter meeting on February 27, 1976, at the O'Hare Hilton near Chicago.

They began with a congratulatory note from President Gerald R. Ford. "It always gives me special pleasure to commend strong and vital youth organizations. That pleasure is doubled on this occasion as I salute the merger of the National 4-H Foundation and the National 4-H Service Committee and welcome on the youth scene the National 4-H Council. Born in our bicentennial year, the new organization will surely fortify and expand upon the traditions of its predecessors and I am confident that our society will greatly benefit from its important work. I wish it every success."

At the recommendation of the nominating committee, Voss officially assumed the chairmanship and presidency of the board. Robert J. Hampson, executive vice-president of the Ford Motor Company, became a vice-chairman as did Jean C. Evans. The trustees made another decision that was the result of a private agreement between the two men most intimately involved in the merger. Mindrum and Shrum offered the new board their own recommendation on which of the two would have rank in the operation of the National 4-H Council. Both men had exerted powerful leadership in their respective organizations, but it was clear with the advent of the merger, that only one could continue to hold the authority to which both had become accustomed.

The two had met in 1955 when Mindrum hired Shrum to raise funds for the National 4-H Foundation. They worked together for three years before Mindrum accepted a post with the Service Committee in Chicago and Shrum subsequently was elevated to the Foundation's directorship. Neither would deny that they had disagreed over the years, but it was also true that both consistently had deferred to 4-H and, for the most part, had managed their organizations in a cordial atmosphere. Moreover, they had become friends in the sense that professionals learn to respect each other's abilities. Despite what many foresaw as a power struggle to determine the top man in the National 4-H Council, it did not happen.

In the initial phases of the merger negotiations, the two chose to ignore the questions of leadership, but as the creation of the National 4-H Council progressed, both knew that if they could not reach an acceptable decision on who would lead, one would be imposed upon them. In a 1975 private conversation for which there are no records and little public comment, the two agreed, apparently without rancor, that the elder Mindrum would carry the title of executive vice president and chief executive officer, and Shrum would be one step below with the rank of executive director and chief operating officer. The Council trustees had full power to reject or alter the recommendation, but they chose not to do so.

Two years later, health problems forced a change in responsibilities for Mindrum. In October 1979, he accepted the title of president of the National 4-H Council with a continuing commitment to fund-raising and congressional liaison efforts on a limited basis. Shrum then became the Council's chief executive officer, and Ray Crabbs, vice president, was named chief operating officer.³⁰

During the late 1970s, the National 4-H Council made a number of hard decisions. It succeeded in merging the pension plans and agreed on a new logo. The Council also began the process of reducing the boards of trustees of the two organizations for final absorption. Although the routes for merging the Foundation and the Service Committee into the Council differed because of legalities, both finally transferred their assets, functions, liabilities and personnel to the National 4-H Council by January of 1977. Thirty days later, on February 1, 1977, the National 4-H Council became operational.

The merger was not really complete without a consolidation of staff, but by 1977, it was clear that the National 4-H Center would house the newly formed Council. As Guelich and Yarrington had surmised early in the merger discussions, it was the only obvious choice.

The consolidation effort required about two years to complete and effected a \$270,000 annual operational saving. 31 It also meant that while some staff members moved to Washington, D.C., others took early retirements or severance settlements. As with any such undertaking, the merger involved some unhappiness, emotional strain, and at least one formal grievance. By 1980, however, the new chairman of the National 4-H Council, Walter Peirson, reported that the Council entered the 1980s in a "strong, consolidated position ready to continue its effective performance as a Partner for Progress." At the beginning of the year, the reorganized programs division, communications division and fiscal office were located at the National 4-H Center. The president's office, National 4-H Supply Service and related functions continued in Chicago. 32 For all practical purposes, consolidation accomplished the fifth and final stage of the merger which had begun eight years earlier.

It was with a mixed sense of comfort and nostalgia that Shrum and Mindrum realized new Extension workers and 4-H'ers would know nothing of the National 4-H Foundation or the National 4-H Service Committee. They would not struggle to remember which group sponsored the IFYE program and who coordinated the National 4-H Congress. They need never again have mail returned

with the polite reply that the requested information should come from the "other" organization. 4-H'ers and volunteer leaders would be less likely to suffer the discomfort of thanking a donor for one program only to learn that the firm supported something else. And, business leaders would not have to fret over which 4-H organization was inviting them to lunch. Early assessments indicated that the National 4-H Council had succeeded in preserving the best of both defunct organizations while eliminating the duplication, waste and confusion fostered by the old dual system. It was a new day and a welcome one.

4-H Center Expands

Just seven months after the National 4-H Council achieved operational status amid congratulations and good wishes, the leaders in 4-H and a deputation of youngsters assembled again at the National 4-H Center to celebrate another historic event. This time business and government representatives stepped into the crisp fall air to dedicate the completion of the center's expansion project. Since its purchase twenty-six years earlier, the historic old campus had been a focal point for an evolving 4-H program. But by the mid-1960s, overcrowding had become a serious problem. Program leaders began to rent extra space in 1965 to handle the demand for the popular 4-H Citizenship Short Courses. The staff often conducted duplicate programs for about 300 4-H'ers at the center and another 300 on the University of Maryland campus ten miles away. 33 Faced with the dilemma of success, the National 4-H Foundation trustees—under the leadership of Henry Hansen, Connecticut's associate director of Extension—began to consider expansion. A number of study groups worked on the idea and a variety of plans emerged, but two things were certain from the beginning. The expansion program would be costly and it would have to depend on private sources. After a lengthy series of meetings with state Extension staff members, Shrum reported to the 4-H subcommittee on April 25, 1966, that "the state directors [of Extension] are now in agreement with the plan for 4-H Center long-range development and will cooperate to make it happen."34 The next step was to secure support from the business community.

Although the Foundation already had developed a diverse roster of private contributors, it was necessary to expand that commitment through the formation of a National 4-H Advisory Council. Raymond Rowland, retired chairman and chief executive officer of the Ralston Purina Company, agreed to help the Foundation recruit the business leadership it needed to launch the \$8.6 million

capital fund drive.³⁵ At about the same time, the Foundation petitioned the Montgomery County Board of Appeals for an amendment to the zoning exception that had permitted the establishment of the 4-H center in a residential neighborhood in the first place. That permission was granted on August 20, 1968, giving the 4-H Foundation authority to expand its center's overnight accommodations from 300 to 800 guests.³⁶



The establishment and expansion of the National 4-H Center represented a major use of private money pledged to 4-H. Business leaders, Extension professionals and 4-H'ers shared responsibility for raising \$8.6 million to build new facilities and renovate the administration building in the early 1970s.

In 1968, the center launched its capital campaign under the leadership of Howard C. Harder, chairman of the board of CPC International. J. C. Penney and Mrs. Richard M. Nixon accepted the honorary cochairmanships of the 150-member National 4-H Advisory Council. Harder announced that the advisory council would raise \$6.6 million from the business community, and that 4-H members, volunteer leaders, and professional Extension staff members had accepted the responsibility for the remaining \$2 million.³⁷

The goal was an ambitious one and the economic climate for major contributions was not always favorable, but there were sufficient pledges to begin work on a badly needed new conference complex by 1970. Delegates to the 1970 National 4-H Conference



Turning the first ground to begin the National 4-H Center expansion in 1970 were, from left, Howard C. Harder, chairman of CPC International and head of the expansion program; Tricia Nixon; and Pennsylvania 4-H'er Chris Peterson.

gathered for the ground-breaking ceremony under a huge canvas tent erected to ward off the April downpour that threatened to turn the occasion into a mud bath. The carefully painted green and white spades were passed to President and Mrs. Nixon's elder daughter Tricia, Harder and 4-H'ers Janice Glover of New York and Chris Peterson from Pennsylvania. Later in the day, with the sun once more in command, the 4-H'ers were able to see a newly-planted Bradford Pear tree which commemorated the event with native soils contributed by each of the 50-state 4-H programs. The ceremonies were hardly complete when heavy equipment operators began the excavation work. It required a year and three months to complete the job, but when the workers left, they had finished two

buildings large enough to house 650 people. 38 The days of the satellite Citizenship Short Course at the University of Maryland were over, but the expansion campaign was not.

The W. K. Kellogg Foundation awarded a \$1.5 million grant to assist with the expansion in 1972, thereby becoming the largest single contributor to the National 4-H Center. With the expansion campaign continuing over the next five years, many more private donations arrived and 4-H completed its \$2 million share of the program. Beyond their state goals, many 4-H groups also raised additional funds to furnish special equipment for several state-designated conference rooms.

The final phase of the expansion program was completed with thanks, good wishes and an official dedication on September 22, 1977. 4-H'ers and Extension leaders were on hand to respond to the presentments of the W. K. Kellogg Hall, McCormick Hall and J. C. Penney Hall. There were also special recognitions for Firestone Hall and the Kenneth H. Anderson Reference Gallery. Many who had begun work on the expansion campaign a decade earlier could not avoid reflecting on the thousands of 4-H'ers, business leaders, and Extension officials who had brought it to fruition.

With the construction equipment gone, 4-H Center visitors could enjoy the vista of the completed campus with its blaze of flowers and sweeping shade trees, but few would appreciate the monumental problems associated with the capital fund campaign required to accomplish the expansion. There were many opportunities for failure and no shortage of problems. The project took longer than early planners had envisioned and in the end it took more money. Time coupled with inflation reduced what could be accomplished with the \$8.6 million budget. That meant scrapping plans for a large separate auditorium in favor of renovating the main administration building. Expansion commitments also had to be maintained in the midst of a complicated merger plan. In some cases, death or resignation made it necessary to replace key members of the National 4-H Advisory Council during the campaign. Staff members and Extension leaders also came and went, each leaving his or her mark on the changing National 4-H Center.

In retrospect, the National 4-H Center located in Chevy Chase, Maryland, and the National 4-H Congress conducted annually in Chicago, were perhaps the two most visible and at the same time most representative examples of private-sector activity in 4-H. Neither could have appropriately been done with tax dollars, and yet each provided a sense of vitality and a source of enrichment upon which 4-H and 4-H'ers came to depend.

Despite their importance, however, the congress and the center were only two of the thousands of benefits that emerged from the sixty-year relationship between 4-H and business. Admittedly, there were moments of turmoil. It would be difficult to imagine anything else, given the vastly different lifestyles in public and private agencies. But on the whole, the association was a productive one. The smoothness with which the National 4-H Council was formed and the growth of state 4-H foundations amply demonstrated the relaxation of tensions. By 1981, it would be easy for Standard Oil Executive Vice President Yarrington to describe 4-H as the best example of partnership between the government and private enterprise that he knew.

Notes on Chapter 11

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- 17. "Factors That Suggested Merger," June 27, 1972, Records of the National 4-H Service Committee, Chicago (hereafter cited as RNC).
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- 23. Guelich interview.
- 24. Yarrington interview.
- 25. Interview with E. Dean Vaughan, April 1981.
- 26. Roland Abraham to Mindrum, August 27, 1975, RNC.
- 27. "Major Steps Were Taken This Week," Joint Press Release, October 24, 1975, RNC.
- 28. E. Dean Vaughan to Norman A. Sugarman, December 3, 1975, RNC.
- 29. President Gerald Ford to Omer G. Voss, February 11, 1976, RNC.

- 30. Shrum and Mindrum interviews.
- 31. Ray Crabbs, "National 4-H Council Report to the 4-H Subcommittee," January 15–17, 1980, New Orleans, 4-H, USDA.
- 32. National 4-H Council 1980 Annual Report, Files of the National 4-H Council, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as National Council).
- 33. Kathleen Flom, "National 4-H Center History and Observations," June 1980, passim., National Council.
- 34. "National 4-H Subcommittee Minutes," April 25, 1966, 4-H, USDA.
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12

The Search for Consensus

Some called it a 4-H renaissance, that postwar period when 4-H seemed to be doing everything right. The organization was largely rural as most agreed it should be. Moreover, it was growing at a steady pace through the carefully nurtured club structure that existed at the very heart of 4-H. It was a positive time when the public perception of 4-H very nearly matched what Extension leaders themselves saw as the mission of the organization. It was also a time of great optimism for the future. Like others, American 4-H leaders shared a sense of accomplishment generated by World War II and a sense of mission toward a more secure and just society.

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) created the 4-H division within the Federal Extension Service (FES) in 1952, to emphasize the program and provide a measure of national leadership that could help 4-H progress without disturbing state and local initiatives. National leaders were self-conscious about supporting rather than directing state and local groups. At about the same time, the international dimension and the influx of social science theory surfaced, bringing with them a challenge the organization needed to stay alive and interesting. There were disagreements over terminology and methodology, but at base, there existed a remarkable consensus on what 4-H in its purest form should look like. So universal and well-established was the 4-H consensus, that Franklin Reck could comfortably sum up *The 4-H Story* in 1950, with a prescriptive example.

Reck chose Geary County, Kansas, where a group of young farm boys gathered for a meeting of the Blueline 4-H Club. It was a gathering populated with blue ribbon winners, mostly in agricultural projects, but a few had won safety awards as well. Members and their families worked hard under the firm guidance of two volunteer leaders, a man and a woman, who attended the meetings instead of the county agent. The club raised money and kept good records. The 4-H'ers served their community; they had a good time when they were together, and in general, they excelled. The

Blueline Club represented consensus about 4-H at its best among Extension leadership, volunteers and the general public. But the consensus would not last. ¹

A few years later, it was no longer possible to cite any single example of 4-H and call it typical. Despite the efforts of many to fortify the rural club meeting image, the unanimity of opinion that had brought it to the forefront, dissolved during the latter half of the 1950s. The ensuing search for a new consensus in the face of an ever-broadening array of program alternatives became the theme for the decades following the 4-H renaissance. As 4-H diversified in its attempt to satisfy many, it embraced an increasingly complex network of audiences who often found agreement elusive. The values represented in the Geary County example of 1950 survived the transition intact, but by 1980, those values were a part of something much larger.

The loss of consensus, the disagreement over what 4-H should look like, and even what it should be called, were not cataclysmic: indeed the consensus eroded slowly as the nation's demographic patterns and social base evolved. In Set for the Sixties, the 1960 report of the National Conference of State 4-H Leaders, authors alluded to changes already evident when they spoke of declining rural populations, an increasing demand for science and technology programs, the growth of government intervention, and the search for equality for women. Speakers urged 4-H leaders to "listen more closely" to what young people were saving and to design programs based on the developmental needs of youth. Still, those harbingers of change were not viewed as something that would radically alter 4-H. The focus was rather on how 4-H could help rural youth adapt to nonfarm employment opportunities and how it might work more closely with the agribusiness sector of the economy. The critical issues of civil rights, massive urban migration, programming for low-income people, declining enrollment, and the apparent stagnation of the club structure did not surface.²

In retrospect, 4-H was not set for the 1960s, but neither was anyone else. During that single ten-year span the whole complexion of 4-H changed. Ideas that had gestated for decades became prominent. Some of the changes were planned and systematically applied. Others were forced on the organization and only reluctantly adopted and still others emerged almost as if by accident. The acceleration of change that characterized the 1960s created difficulties. Consensus on any basis is maintained only through long-term deliberations. The 1960s allowed for little reflection. There was always something more to do immediately. Neverthe-

less, the educational values that 4-H strove to instill survived and provided members and leaders a basis for seeking a new consensus apart from familiar program structures. While 4-H moved ahead, it tried to distinguish between changes that met future needs and those that were only fads.



National 4-H photo and poster art exhibitions encourage creativity and improve communication skills among members while focusing attention on the educational values of 4-H. The exhibits shown first at National 4-H Congress are later displayed nationwide.

4-H leaders at all levels were facing a new agenda and a new generation of youth by 1970. People were aware that 4-H was not the same as it had been, but they were hard pressed to define exactly what it had become. Most found it easier to articulate what 4-H was not. The familiar terms simply were not encompassing enough to describe the organization. 4-H was no longer a network of clubs, record books and awards. It was not just for farm youth. It was not necessarily project-oriented, and its participants did not look nearly as much alike as they had once been portrayed in artwork and photographs. There was a diversity of participation and activity in 4-H that had outgrown old descriptions.

1970 Document Attempts to Define 4-H

In April 1970, 4-H staff members from the fifty states gathered again in Washington, D.C., at the time of the National 4-H Confer-

ence. They had come together to continue work on a document begun the previous year. The result of the effort, 4-H in the 70's, attempted to say something definitive about a youth program that had been through a sometimes harsh metamorphosis. It was all part of the process of rebuilding the consensus that had slipped away in the 1950s. The job proved immensely more complicated than 4-H leaders had imagined. As they struggled with the tangled strands of an educational program that seemed to have lost its center, they must have wondered whether it was any longer possible to make a statement about 4-H that was as true for Massachusetts as for Mississippi, as accurate for Iowa as for Idaho.

When it finally emerged, 4-H in the 70's was far more than a statement. It was a series of documents and recommendations that not only tried to describe the program of the day, but also to respond to criticisms and to set goals for the decade to come. Among other things, 4-H in the 70's reiterated a call for doubling enrollments by 1975. Such calls for more active recruitment had occurred in 4-H in the past, but in the 1970s, 4-H met its membership goal for the first time. Although the 1974 enrollment of 7.1 million was a short-lived phenomenon due in large measure to television participation, it was something that 4-H had never achieved before.³

Significantly, 4-H in the 70's called for a balanced program and a flexible format that could reach expansive numbers of youngsters wherever they lived. The document reintroduced the age-old issue of age limits in 4-H. Having effectively abandoned aspirations to serve young adults beyond nineteen years of age, 4-H had for some time referred to itself as a youth education program for youngsters from nine to nineteen. The 4-H in the 70's report recommended working with children under nine years. A changing audience made the recommendation a logical choice. The participation requirements of 4-H simply were not compatible with inner city lifestyles. 4-H recognized that denying participation to those under nine made little sense in an environment that frequently saw nine-year-olds in charge of younger brothers and sister. As it turned out, requirements for membership, age limits, project completions, exhibits and a host of other rules were not compatible with many of the new audiences 4-H tried to serve. Some wondered if such rules still remained useful even for traditional audiences. While the basic educational mass remained, the trappings of several decades of structured 4-H participation dropped away.

The authors of 4-H in the 70's also recognized that 4-H'ers wanted more involvement in determining their 4-H programs and their participation in community affairs. It was easy to endorse the

values of youth participation, but it was not always easy for Extension workers and volunteer leaders to achieve that goal. It was not that local Extension workers wished to restrain 4-H'ers or dampen their enthusiasm, but more a matter of maintaining community balance. Not only did Extension workers and volunteers have to adjust to a new style of 4-H, but local community leaders had to as well. In some instances, officials with whom Extension agents were expected to cooperate, had some difficulty in accepting a more activist generation of 4-H'ers, particularly when those 4-H'ers might oppose them on an issue of public interest.

A host of other recommendations emanated from 4-H in the 70's, including a plea for accountability and documentation. 4-H always claimed that it had an effective educational program for youth, but its claim rested on an intuitive sense gained by people who had devoted their lives to youth work. Anecdotal reports filled with heartwarming stories and smiling faces were no longer enough to convince public and private officials to support 4-H. Extension workers were told they needed to be specific in documenting the impact, relevancy and effectiveness of 4-H.4 The age of quantification had engulfed federal and state governments by the 1970s and there was little reason to expect 4-H to escape. Ironically, at the very time when Extension workers were encouraged to use less structured and more creative approaches to youth education, they were also instructed to define their efforts in easily quantifiable terms. If the information could not be entered in a computer memory, it did not exist. Computerized report forms, numerical data, and charts became the order of the day. Each state was asked to assign one professional staff member to coordinate evaluative data. While to some it appeared that the process produced only a flood of additional paper work, decision makers knew that competing for funds had become more and more difficult. They recognized that if 4-H were to compete successfully with other agencies, the organization would have to deliver the same bulky cybernetic proof of its worth to budget officials.

4-H in the 70's also noted another change in the organization that distinguished it from earlier years. While 4-H had never isolated itself from other youth organizations, the relationship had generally been confined to exchanges of good wishes on anniversary dates and general statements of support. During its rural era, 4-H had little need to share programming efforts, resources, or skills. In most cases, Extension's 4-H program was the only youth-serving agency available outside of the public schools. Beyond the southern states, 4-H did relatively little work with the schools.

With the advent of federal program grants, urban emphasis, and the creation of other federal agencies with a youth mission, 4-H had to change. Extension staff members not only learned to work with other public and private agencies, but also discovered they could share their skills in youth organization, training volunteers and program delivery, without diminishing the recognition of 4-H. After a series of meetings, luncheons and conferences, a national collaboration of the 15 largest youth-serving agencies was developed in 1971 to foster cooperation. In many areas, a cooperative attitude was virtually mandated in order for 4-H to accomplish its goals.

In one area of cooperation, however, Extension agents learned that they would have to curb their traditional response. One of the advantages of the Extension Service was that its county agents became intimate members of the local community they served. More often than not, the county agent had the same values, attended the same church as his or her neighbors and easily fit into a generally homogenous rural population. It was not surprising then that local 4-H clubs worked in close cooperation with churches. The "Heart H" in the 4-H pledge was frequently interpreted in a spiritual sense, more specifically a Christian religious sense. Throughout most of its history, 4-H had celebrated National 4-H Sunday and Rural Life Sunday. In some cases, 4-H clubs became vehicles for delivering religious values to members. In that regard, 4-H was not unlike many public schools that regularly included prayers and other religious themes in their daily activities. When federal court actions more narrowly defined the separation of church and state, 4-H had to reassess its policies. The reassessment was hastened by the recognition that new audiences did not necessarily share the common religious values presumed to exist in rural America. Letters of complaint and confusion led the FES 4-H division to move away from associations with specific religious activities. The division urged Extension agents and volunteer leaders to strictly avoid advocating any particular religious creed. That did not mean that 4-H could not cooperate with religious institutions, but it did mean that the old relationships were changed. In 1978, Division Director E. Dean Vaughan appointed a developmental committee to review the issue of the "Heart H." The developmental committee worked to provide guidelines that retained moral and ethical values as an important part of the 4-H experience, but refrained from translating those values into specific religious tenets.

Leaders Seek New Agenda and New Consensus

4-H in the 70's set a new agenda for the 4-H program, but it also served to ratify the changes that had taken place during the 1960s. Clearly, the growth of urban programs, nutrition and low-income work had generated considerable increase in the power and responsibilities of the 4-H division, but it still could not mandate change.



As it moved into the 1970s, 4-H had to conform to narrow definitions of the strict separation of church and state. In reviewing the "Heart H," a 4-H committee developed guidelines calling for retaining moral and ethical values as part of 4-H without subscribing to particular religious tenets.

For all of the calls to excellence and flexibility, there were many thousands of 4-H programs that reflected the structure and methods of twenty years earlier. Some saw that as a lack of progress. Others insisted that the lessons of the 1960s had been to enhance the organization rather than erode its base. Most thoughtful officials noted that 4-H had changed principally by widening its umbrella to encompass the best from the past, while incorporating new audiences and programs that fit neither the old structure nor the old methods. If 4-H agents and volunteers could focus on that central theme, then perhaps those involved in traditional club work and those working in other environments could find a new consensus to move 4-H into the next decade.

In America's bicentennial year, Extension seemed to embrace that view with another think piece, 4-H in Century III. In many ways it repeated the message of 4-H in the 70's, but there were some new elements on the horizon. After several years of spiraling enrollments, the numbers of 4-H'ers leveled off. Official publications used the word stabilized, but soon it became less than that as enrollments began to drop. Inflation effectively cut programs and reduced staff, particularly in urban areas. The lack of any new television series eliminated a large audience that had helped swell the rolls in previous years. 4-H once again faced fundamental demographic changes in a population that simply had fewer young people. Clearly, if 4-H were to recapture its expansionary trend, it would have to reach a greater part of its potential audience.⁶

To that end, 4-H in Century III urged Extension to direct more effort toward publicizing 4-H. Extension personnel were asked to do more to tell the nation about national 4-H events, provide greater exposure for National 4-H Week and generally bring the accomplishments of 4-H before the public. A specially appointed Report to the Nation Team, an activity originally begun in 1950, assisted in the public relations efforts by talking with important national officials and presenting them with a volume describing 4-H achievements during the previous year. The reporters-who usually got good coverage, particularly at the White House-were themselves representative of the new emphasis in 4-H. The team was integrated in 1962 and its members soon represented the diverse geographic and program elements in 4-H. The teams proved so popular that many states organized their own reporters to make similar tours on the local level. Such activities were designed to let 4-H'ers gain maximum public exposure for their own program.

4-H efforts at public information were considerable, but a gap still persisted between what the organization had become and the



To increase public awareness of program initiatives and growth, 4-H used many information methods, including Report to the Nation Teams. Fay Craig of Louisville, Kentucky, and Larry Pressler of Humboldt, South Dakota, met with President John F. Kennedy in 1963. By 1980, Pressler was a U.S. senator from South Dakota.

public's perception of 4-H. A Gallup Poll, commissioned in 1978, indicated that while 4-H was not as well known as some other youth groups, it was recognized by 88 percent of the people in the sample. That recognition figure was up from a 77 percent positive response in a similar poll taken in 1974. The growing recognition probably represented the expansion of 4-H efforts in urban areas. Nevertheless, the poll also indicated that 4-H was most frequently recognized by people living in small towns and among those of upper socioeconomic groups. The Gallup Poll also noted that one of every three who indicated an awareness of 4-H described it as an agricultural program. There was no Gallup sample from the late 1950s with which to compare the 1978 data. Consequently, 4-H officials could not accurately assess the public's perception of the organization's evolution over the previous two decades, but they could surmise that public information was an area that still needed emphasizing.⁷

Volunteers Remain Crucial to Success of Program

While 4-H structures and programs had changed dramatically in the past two decades, one element remained constant. *Century III* reiterated the importance of volunteer leaders to 4-H. Just as or-



Nearly 40,000 youths and adults fully utilized the resources of the national capital area as they improved their citizenship/leadership skills in educational programs at the National 4-H Center.

ganizers had seen over half a century before, the success of their programs rested squarely on the shoulders of volunteers. While experiments with paid aides and paraprofessionals had proved successful, they were used largely in special situations. People who accepted the mission of working with 4-H'ers without pay continued to provide the organization's driving force. In that regard 4-H had changed little. While volunteers might need to absorb new management skills and take on new responsibilities, their presence in the 1980s was as essential as it had been at 4-H's beginning.

The writers of Century III also conceded that there were no easy means for responding to the call for accountability. Extension leaders simply urged agents and state staffs to keep working on the thorny issue. Road builders, farmers, factory workers and many business people could numerically assess the worth of their efforts, but like most educational endeavors. 4-H found it difficult to evaluate what it was doing in numerical terms. Statisticians could quickly calculate what it cost to provide services to an individual 4-H'er, and social scientists working within narrow parameters could often suggest what an individual might have learned from a given 4-H experience. But determining whether the learning process was worth the cost was quite another matter. Most educators. including those in 4-H, intuitively knew that education was valuable. Determining the cost-effectiveness of helping a young person grow and develop his or her self-esteem and confidence seemed irrelevant. Ultimately, the effectiveness of educational programs required a measure of judgment, as well as a measure of numbers. Statistical methods of determining the worth of educational programs simply did not lend themselves to applying informed judgment. Like nearly every other educational institution, 4-H wrestled with forcing an educational program into a reporting mold that left little room for individuality.

4-H in Century III also was stylistically unique among 4-H publications. Its graphic approach seemed to indicate that 4-H as a youth education program had grown strong enough and secure enough to discuss itself without the supporting symbols that alwavs had been so critical. The publication was done in shades of orange and black, rather than the traditional 4-H green. Neither was there any evidence of the familiar 4-H clover. While the clover had been pushed and pulled into an amazing variety of shapes over the years, it seldom failed to appear somewhere on 4-H publications. The graphics used in 4-H in Century III portrayed no award winners, no uniforms and no carefully balanced sets of rural and urban situations. Instead, its few drawings focused on young people doing what most 4-H'ers had always done; learning by themselves or with help. Many readers of the document might have asked how one was to count the intensity on their faces or measure the sense of accomplishment they had acquired.8

Finally, 4-H in Century III highlighted the breadth of programs which 4-H had developed in the 1970s. Instead of listing several hundred projects which differed from state to state, with or without awards, the document spoke about learning experiences. 4-H in the 1980s could enrich the lives of youth through programs in

economics; jobs and career exploration; animal, plant, and soil sciences; environmental and natural resources; health and safety; leadership; citizenship education and community development; creative and performing arts; leisure education and communications; mechanical sciences; energy conservation and development. The new categories in part responded to the need for ease in computerized reporting, but they also reflected the diversity and broad appeal that 4-H had achieved in the previous decade.

4-H at Home In USDA

From its earliest years, 4-H always had been a bit uncertain about its place within the USDA Extension hierarchy. Since it was not mentioned in the original Smith-Lever Act, 4-H had carved out its place in the programmatic and budgetary world of government without the legislative foundation that most agencies enjoyed. Some recognition came with the placement of responsibilities for use of the 4-H name and emblem with the Secretary of Agriculture.* Even with the 1952 creation of the 4-H division, the organization experienced mixed fortunes. 4-H officials did not always achieve all that Extension leaders wanted them to, and Extension did not always provide all the support that 4-H needed to move ahead. While the growth of the 4-H agents' association was fundamental to expanded programs and increased professional status for youth work, most agents retained the lingering suspicion that advancement in their careers required moving to adult programs. 4-H also contended that it did not always get a fair share of the funds that Extension directors allocated each year to the various Extension units.

As the competition for public and private money became more intense in the 1970s and 4-H moved further from its exclusively rural image, a new concern regarding its future place surfaced. Some suggested openly that 4-H no longer belonged in the Department of Agriculture. It seemed to make some sense for 4-H to come under the jurisdiction of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Usually such suggestions occurred when 4-H had suffered a particularly bad year at the budget office. Many 4-H officials remembered casual discussion along those lines often originating in the 4-H division, but the issue escalated to a more serious level in the late 1970s.

^{*}Use of the 4-H name and emblem, protected by an Act of Congress since 1939, came up for review and revision during the late 70's. Out of this has come a recommendation that the traditional 4-H emblem be used consistently nationwide.

National 4-H Directors



E. W. Aiton 1952-1960



Mylo S. Downey 1961–1967



E. Dean Vaughan 1967-1979



Hope S. Daugherty 1979-1980



Eugene Williams 1980-

President Jimmy Carter's administration was committed to the creation of a cabinet-level office that combined the various educational activities of the federal government, possibly including 4-H as well as other youth groups. Division Director Vaughan later recalled that he was asked by a White House official in 1978 to attend a series of meetings on the proposed new department⁹ At issue was how 4-H with its ties to Extension and land-grant universities might fit into a department of education. Vaughan made no commitments, but continued to consult with the White House and openly discussed the possibility of moving 4-H. While he insisted that he never took a public position on the question, word spread quickly through Extension. Before long, the division head found himself accused of trying to "scuttle 4-H" by severing its ties with the USDA. Finally, complaints and expressions of concern reached such a pitch that W. Neill Schaller, deputy director for Extension in the USDA's Science and Education Administration, sent a general letter to all state directors telling them that while the White House was exploring a move for 4-H, no decision had been made. He also noted that the USDA valued the 4-H program and had no plans to transfer it to another agency. 10 Ultimately, the Carter administration created the Department of Education, but without centralized authority over youth organizations that might have included 4-H. 4-H staved within the USDA Extension structure.

Looking Back And A Little Prophecy

From the perspective of 1980 it is easy for critics and supporters to look back on the post-World War II era and suggest how 4-H might have better anticipated the challenges that lay ahead. It is also easy to be critical of a report like *Set for the Sixties*. Hindsight arms the observer with a precision and an assuredness that planners in 1960 could not possibly have possessed. Each forecast of the future carries with it an element of chance. Each list of goals meant to guide the organization runs the risk of being out of touch with reality in a society where "reality" changes dramatically in a short time. Despite enormous advances in information retrieval and analysis, the demands of a future time remain as elusive of precise definition as ever.

Probably it would be safe to speculate from the vantage point of 1980 that affirmative action demands will continue to be a pressure point for 4-H. Undoubtedly, the struggle for funds will largely define future program initiatives, but no one can be certain exactly what those initiatives will be. It appears that 4-H also will remain

committed to opportunities for disadvantaged and urban youth. 4-H will continue to serve those populations just as it will rural youngsters, but such goals are easier stated than reached in the face of budget restraints. The decline in participation noted after 1976 may also trigger the same sort of long-term expansion effort that reversed a similar trend in the early 1960s, but that too is speculation bound by the availability of resources and innovation.

4-H also continues to search for the proper mix of organized club experiences and the many short-term educational opportunities popularized in the 1960s and 1970s to increase 4-H participation. Such new approaches undoubtedly have broadened the program base, but voices of caution suggest that the educational goals central to 4-H may have been diluted in the process.

It is a virtual certainty that 4-H in the future will rely on its volunteer force. But here too the concept is expanding with the accompanying requirement that Extension constantly redefine the levels of responsibility and authority it wishes to ask of its volunteer leadership.

On the national level, the emergence of the National 4-H Council raises a new and largely untested element in the delicate 4-H leadership balance. While it appears likely that the USDA will continue to support its 4-H division, it is not as clear how Extension will delineate the future roles of the Council and the division. With prevailing political winds blowing toward less government and more private-sector leadership, the future of all government-supported youth organizations is murky. History provides some clues, however, and one is that there are certain to be major opportunities and obstacles lurking in the years ahead which stubbornly refuse to reveal themselves even to the most insightful and persistent planners. 4-H has dealt with the unplanned and unforseen in the past and it surely must prepare itself to do so again.

During its long history, 4-H has survived its failures while taking a just measure of pride in its many successes. The organizational consensus once shattered by the move to new programs and new audiences has been largely reestablished. It emerges in the very diversity of educational opportunities that once threatened to pull the organization apart. Eugene Williams became the new head of the 4-H division on October 1, 1980. A former assistant director for 4-H in Oklahoma, he succeeded Hope Daugherty who served as acting head after Vaughan retired in 1979. One of Williams' early tasks was to gain ECOP approval of a statement on 4-H that accurately represented the new consensus. Indeed, as the statement illustrated, the variety in contemporary 4-H approaches the breadth

of the audiences it seeks to serve.* Those who once mourned the passing of the old 4-H have found to their delight that it still exists in thousands of areas where boys and girls gather for club meetings, demonstrations and county fairs. Those who just as doggedly believed that 4-H could never change, happily report that it has, by providing a vast number of educational experiences, each with a highly personalized 4-H label.



A tradition of naming a former 4-H member as Secretary of Agriculture was continued with President Ronald Reagan's appointment of John R. Block, Illinois 4-H alumnus, in 1980. Briefing the secretary (second from right) on the current Extension/4-H program are from left, Anson R. Bertrand, director, Science and Education; Mary Nell Greenwood, administrator, Extension Service; and Eugene Williams, deputy administrator, 4-H-Youth, Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Throughout its eighty years, 4-H has defined itself to each new generation. The dynamics of the organization have been maintained by change and by a sense of continuity. But as professionals and volunteers have discovered and undoubtedly will need to rediscover in the future, it is not the structure, but a sense of educational purpose that creates the essence of the 4-H experience.

^{*}For the full text of the June 1981 statement of 4-H, see Appendix.

Notes on Chapter 12

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- 3. 4-H in the 70s, 1971, passim., 4-H, USDA.
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- 5. E. Dean Vaughan to John J. Pelham, October 2, 1978, 4-H, USDA.
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- 10. W. Neill Schaller to State Directors of Extension and Extension Administrators, 1890 Colleges, December 12, 1978, 4-H, USDA.

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This Is 4-H

4-H is the youth education program of the Cooperative Extension Service. This informal educational program is conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, State Land-Grant Universities, County Governments and combines the work of Federal, State and local Extension staff and volunteer leaders. Participation in the 4-H program is open to all interested youth, regardless of race, color, sex, creed, national origin, or handicap. Participants are primarily between the ages of 9 and 19 and reside in every demographic area; farm, city and in between. The success of the 4-H program is attributed to the nearly 600,000 volunteer leaders who are backed by the strong educational base of the Land-Grant University staff in every county of the nation.

4-H participants are youth taking part in programs provided as the result of action planned and initiated by Extension personnel in cooperation with volunteer leadership at the local level. This includes youth participating in programs conducted through the 1890 colleges and universities and those involved in the Expanded Food Nutrition Education Program.

Youth may participate in 4-H through a variety of program delivery modes. These include organized 4-H clubs, 4-H special interest or short-term groups, 4-H school enrichment programs, 4-H instructional TV, 4-H camping or as individual 4-H members.

The mission of 4-H is to assist youth in acquiring knowledge, developing life skills, and forming attitudes that will enable them to become self-directing, productive and contributing members of society. This mission is carried out through the involvement of parents, volunteer leaders and other adults who organize and conduct educational subject/project experience in community and family settings. These learn-by-doing experiences are supported by research and Extension functions represented by the Land-Grant Universities, 1890 Institutions and Tuskegee Institute, USDA, and cooperating counties with support from the National 4-H Council and other private support.

These youth contribute to energy conservation, environmental improvement, community service and food production, and participate in programs that aid youth employment and career decisions, health, nutrition, home improvement, and family relationships. As a result of international cooperation with many countries, 4-H is

also contributing to world understanding. In the process, 4-H youth apply leadership skills, acquire a positive self-concept and learn to respect and get along with people.

A dynamic growing organization, 4-H has expanded steadily for the past 25 years. The most recent statistics indicate that there are approximately 5 million boys and girls involved in this youth educational program of Extension. Since 1914 over 40 million youth from all States, District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, and Guam have participated in 4-H.

Addresses of State 4-H Offices

Inquiries about 4-H programs in the respective states should be directed to the Cooperative Extension Service at the appropriate address given below.

Alabama

Auburn University Duncan Hall Auburn, AL 36849

Alaska

University of Alaska Fairbanks, AK 99701

Arizona

University of Arizona College of Agriculture Tucson, AZ 85721

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Washington State University 311 Ag Phase II Pullman, WA 99164

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West Virginia University Knapp Hall, Downtown Campus Morgantown, WV 26506

Wisconsin

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Wyoming

University of Wyoming College of Agriculture University Station, Box 3354 Laramie, WY 82071

U.S. Department of Agriculture 4-H Administrative Staff Group Extension Service U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington, D.C. 20250

National 4-H Council 7100 Connecticut Avenue Chevy Chase, MD 20815

CHRONOLOGY OF 4-H

Pre-1900

Nature study program for rural youth started by Liberty Hyde Bailey, Cornell University.

Corn growing contests for farm boys introduced by Will B. Otwell in Illinois.

Scientific agricultural information brought to farm families in Farmers' Institutes by agricultural college professors.

1901-1905

Boys' agricultural club organized in Springfield Township, Ohio, by Albert B. Graham, school superintendent.

Youth agricultural clubs begun in Winnebago County, Illinois, by O. J. Kern.

Corn clubs organized in Iowa by O. H. Benson and Jesse Field. They also began use of three-leaf clover emblem for awards. The H's stood for head, heart, hands.

Demonstration work to control boll weevil initiated in Terrell, Texas, by Seaman A. Knapp.

National publicity for club work received when 8,000 Illinois boys contributed to corn exhibit at Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis.

Seed corn testing in Iowa through rag doll germination procedure promoted by Perry G. Holden, Iowa State College agronomist.

Agricultural Extension work through land-grant colleges promoted by Kenyon L. Butterfield, president, Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Boys' and girls' agricultural club organized in Keokuk County, Iowa, by School Superintendent Cap E. Miller.

Corn growing contest started in Minnesota by T. A. Erickson, Douglas County school superintendent, who later became state club leader.

1906-1910

Urban club work first reported in Kent County, Rhode Island.

Thomas M. Campbell appointed first Negro Agricultural Demonstration Agent at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

*

First reported camp for farm boys held in Missouri.

*

Federally sponsored boys' and girls' clubs first organized in Holmes County, Mississippi, by W. H. Smith, a school superintendent, later employed by the U. S. Department of Agriculture to further club work.

Jessie Field, Iowa, began baking and sewing clubs for girls.

*

Girls' canning clubs originated in Aiken County, South Carolina, by Marie Cromer, rural school teacher.

*

Country Life Commission, a distinguished group of education leaders appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt, studied the rural scene. Their report advocated practical education in farming and homemaking and extension activity by colleges.

*

Corn contest winners received first award trips to Washington, D.C., provided by private sector donors.

*

USDA field agents for demonstration work among youth were appointed—O. B. Martin for work in the South; O. H. Benson for work in the North and West.

1911-1915

The Cooperative Extension Service was created as Congress passed the Smith-Lever Act. (1914)

*

Mary E. Cresswell, Georgia, hired by USDA to supervise girls' club work, the first woman on the department's staff and the person suggesting designation, home demonstration work. (1914)

*

Four-leaf clover emblem replaced the three-leaf emblem and the fourth H was designated for health. (1911)

*

Annie Peters Hunter was appointed first Negro Home Demonstration Agent in Okfuskee County, Oklahoma. (1912)

1916-1920

Garden, canning and similar clubs started in connection with the city schools of Portland, Oregon, during World War I.

*

Gertrude Warren joined the Extension office in the U.S. Department of Agriculture and started a distinguished career spanning 35 years. (1917–1952)

Club membership, stimulated by needs of World War I, reached a half million members. (1918)

The term, 4-H Club, first appeared in a federal document, this one authored by Gertrude Warren. (1918)

Wyoming provided the first club creed in 1918. Later it was adopted as the National 4-H Club Creed.

Forty club contest winners were hosted in Chicago by Guy Noble of Armour and Company at First Annual Club Tour during International Live Stock Exposition. (1919)

National Livestock Judging Contest held at Southeastern Fair in Atlanta, Georgia. Winning Texas team earned trip to London, England, for competition with farm boys in Great Britain.

1921-1925

Businessmen and leaders of agricultural organizations established the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work with E. T. Meredith as chairman and Guy Noble as secretary. (1921)

First National 4-H Club Congress and Fourth Annual Club Tour was the designation given the 1922 event in Chicago. Selection of nation's healthiest boy and girl received national publicity.

Horace A. Moses established International 4-H Leadership Training School at the Eastern States Exposition, Springfield, Massachusetts. (1923)

Club charters were first offered by U.S. Department of Agriculture to local 4-H clubs as they organized. (1922)

First issue of the National Boys' and Girls' Club News, predecessor of National 4-H News, was published. (1923)

President Calvin Coolidge accepted honorary chairmanship of National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work, the start of a tradition followed by each succeeding United States President.

Club work started in the Territory of Hawaii with appropriation of \$10,000 by U.S. Department of Agriculture. (1923)

Four-leaf clover emblem was patented in 1924.

National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work was incorporated in the state of Illinois as a not-for-profit organization with Thomas E. Wilson as chairman. (1924)

*

The parade of delegates in the arena of the International Amphitheatre and a national 4-H dress revue were first-time highlights of the 1924 National 4-H Congress.

*

National 4-H Supply Service begun with a 4-H clover poster as its first item.

*

Growth of 4-H spreads to Great Britain, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

1926-1930

To recognize and develop junior leaders, the first National 4-H Club Camp was held in Washington, D.C., with delegates housed in tents on grounds of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. (1927)

*

National 4-H Pledge written by Otis Hall, Kansas state 4-H leader, and 4-H Motto prepared by Carrie Harrison, botanist in the Bureau of Plant Industry, USDA, approved by state leaders. (1927)

*

In connection with National 4-H Camp, state club leaders held their first conference since the 1919 meeting in Kansas City, and the first to involve leaders from both the North and South in planning the future of 4-H. (1927)

*

Club work in Canada, which started about the same time as the United States, had grown by the mid-1920s to 100,000 boys and girls in 1,000 clubs.

*

Interest in the 4-H idea in other countries was stimulated by club members from Connecticut, Michigan, Nebraska and Vermont giving method demonstrations at the World's Poultry Congress in Ottawa, Canada. (1927)

*

The *Plowing Song* and *Dreaming*, written by Fannie Buchanan of Iowa, were introduced at National 4-H Club Camp and published by the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. (1927)

*

Testimony by Maryland 4-H members and a Virginia volunteer leader impressed Congress and helped gain passage of the Capper-Ketcham Act that increased Extension funding. (1928)

*

Bureau of Indian Affairs created its own Extension Service and promoted 4-H work with American Indians.

Interest and appreciation for good music was enhanced by introduction of the first national 4-H song book in 1929.

4-H Club Sunday was an outgrowth of Rural Life Sunday first observed in 1929.

Club work was introduced to the Alaska Territory in 1930.

1931-1935

The first 4-H Club was organized in Puerto Rico in 1934.

National 4-H fellowships for young Extension professionals—one man and one woman—were started in 1931, and continued with support of the Payne Fund until 1939. Support after that was arranged by the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work.

Passage of the Bankhead-Jones Act by Congress in 1935 assured steady income for club work in spite of losses in local and state financial support.

National 4-H Club News in an effort to meet growing publication costs started accepting commercial advertising. (1935)

Land-Grant College Association established a special national committee to study club work and its future needs, directions and policies. (1935)

1936-1940

Nationally 4-H enrollment passed the million mark in 1936, as it expanded greatly during the depression thirties.

Kenneth H. Anderson, a former national 4-H fellow, joined the staff of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work in 1938 and a career of national service to 4-H lasting 39 years.

A joint committee, appointed in 1928 by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Federal Board of Vocational Education completed a memorandum of understanding in 1938, with reaffirmation in 1954, relating to programs of 4-H and vocational agriculture. The document replaced an original agreement made in 1918.

At expiration of the patent on the four-leaf clover emblem of 4-H, Congress passed a law protecting the 4-H name and emblem against misuse. (1939)

Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP) created a 4-H Subcommittee (1939).

343

Land-Grant College Association and ECOP clarified policies and established rules for relationships between Extension, National Committee and its private sector donors. (1939)

Changes in policies relating to usage of 4-H leaders' names and addresses necessitated move of *National 4-H News* to a subscription magazine. (1939)

1941 - 1945

With United States entry into World War II, 4-H responded to the needs for increased agricultural production and support of the war effort, winning plaudits for its work.

National 4-H Mobilization Week was observed annually in 1942, 1943 and 1944. The following year, and each year since, it has been observed as National 4-H Week.

Extension Service received additional public support and 4-H was recognized as one of nine Extension responsibilities in the Bankhead-Flannagan Act passed by Congress in 1945.

Extension leaders planned for the future of 4-H in the post-war world with the establishment of Ten Guideposts for the development of 4-H members.

1946-1950

After the war, interest in 4-H increased around the world. Seven English young farmers attended National 4-H Club Congress. Occupation forces began 4-H in Germany and Japan. 4-H started in Austria, Korea and other countries.

4-H gained increased public awareness and local private support with the start of a 4-H calendar program that continues today. (1947)

County 4-H club agents established their own national professional association. (1947)

Extension established the International Farm Youth Exchange (IFYE). (1948)

National 4-H Club Foundation of America was organized in 1948.

U.S.-Canadian 4-H Exchange Program began with delegates attending major national 4-H events in the respective host countries. (1948)

A Place in the Sun, a special song written by Fred Waring, in honor of 4-H clubs, was introduced on his radio show in November 1948.

A Joint Committee Report on Extension Programs, Policies and Goals, issued in 1948, made important recommendations relating to overall Extension programs, including 4-H.

First regional camp for Negro boys and girls was held at Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. (1948)

*

Extension initiated programs for older youth during a meeting held at West Virginia's Jackson's Mill State 4-H Camp. (1949)

Chevy Chase Junior College was purchased as a site for a national 4-H training center by the National 4-H Club Foundation.

The annual 4-H Donors' Conference, bringing together representatives of private sector donors to 4-H, Extension leaders and National Committee, was begun in 1948.

The first Grain Marketing Conference, predecessor of the Commodity Marketing Symposium, was held at the Chicago Board of Trade. (1950)

The 4-H Report to the Nation program, designed to utilize accomplished 4-H members in telling the 4-H story, was started in 1950 and continues to the present.

First Invitational Open House for Rural Youth Leaders of the World was held during 1950 National 4-H Camp.

1951 - 1955

First Eastern U.S. 4-H Tractor Operators' Contest held at the 1951 State Fair of Virginia. Later, the annual event was expanded to include competition in small engines and automotive and designated Eastern U.S. 4-H Engineering Event. Western event started in 1956 in Illinois.

The 4-H Story, a comprehensive history of 4-H work, authored by Franklin M. Reck, was published by the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work and The Iowa State College Press. (1951)

A major pilot project conducted in the New England States studied needs and programs for older youth.

Creation of a Division of 4-H and Young Men and Women's Programs in the U.S. Department of Agriculture gave 4-H equal status with other divisions in the Extension Service. (1952)

E. W. Aiton was named the first director of the new division of 4-H and young men and women's programs. He continued until 1960 when he advanced to assistant Extension administrator.

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A 4-H Commemorative Stamp was issued with first day covers at Springfield, Ohio, in 1952.

*

County Extension professionals participated in the First Human Relations Workshop for 4-H agents at the University of Maryland. (1952)

*

A Citizenship Improvement Study defined citizenship in 4-H and established programming guidelines. (1953)

*

The Consolidation Act of 1953, adopted by the 83rd Congress, consolidated 10 separate laws relating to the Extension Service. It also broadened the language of the original Smith-Lever Act to include all Extension Service functions such as 4-H.

*

A new National 4-H Alumni Recognition program spearheaded the search for all former 4-H'ers and their potential participation as volunteer 4-H leaders. (1953)

*

Mylo Downey of Maryland joined the federal 4-H staff in 1954 and served as division director from 1961 until retirement in 1967.

*

The 25th Anniversary of National 4-H Club Camp was observed in 1955. Two years later Camp was changed to Conference.

1956 - 1960

4-H was invited to participate in the first meeting of the President's Council on Youth Fitness. (1956)

*

A Statement of Relationships Between the Federal Extension Service, USDA, and The Girl Scouts of U.S.A. was signed in 1956. A similar statement was developed with the Boy Scouts of America the previous year.

*

Michigan State University produced the first 4-H television series—4-H TV Electrical Series. (1957)

*

Norman C. Mindrum was named director of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work upon Guy Noble's retirement. Grant A. Shrum advanced to executive director of National 4-H Club Foundation. (1958)

*

Science emphasis in all projects recommended by 4-H subcommittee. (1958)

4-

National 4-H Center opened in Chevy Chase, Maryland, with President Dwight D. Eisenhower participating in the dedication ceremonies. (1959)

*

First citizenship short course was held at the National 4-H Center at the request of Buchanan County, Iowa 4-H members. (1959)

Science in 4-H club work was studied in a national conference at Michigan State University. (1959)

*

National 4-H Club Foundation published a 4-H edition of *The American Citizens Handbook* through special arrangements with Senior Citizens of America. (1960)

*

National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work changed its name to National 4-H Service Committee. (1960)

*

Time of National 4-H Conference moved from June to April. (1960)

¢

First national forum for volunteer 4-H leaders was held at the National 4-H Center in 1960.

1961-1965

National 4-H Foundation signed its first 4-H Peace corps contract for programs in Brazil. (1961)

*

Last Regional 4-H Camp for Negroes was held in Washington D.C. (1961)

*

National 4-H Conference and Report to the Nation program had their first Black participants. Conference was last one with official meeting of state 4-H leaders. (1962)

:

Study of urban 4-H undertaken with support of the Ford Foundation in 15 of 100 metropolitan areas where 4-H was organized.

*

First Outlook Conference on Rural Youth was planned by 4-H staff, Extension Service, USDA and convened in Stillwater, Oklahoma.

*

Age requirements for 4-H members was acted upon in 1962 with change from 10-21 to 9-19 years of age, implemented in 1965.

*

Extension began a study of Science in 4-H with a grant from National Science Foundation. (1961)

*

The World Atlas of 4-H was published by the National 4-H Foundation indicating eighty-four 4-H and similar type programs in seventy-three countries. (1963) This was an expansion of a previous edition prepared by Maurice Hill, federal 4-H office, USDA.

*

Local citizenship activities and programs were enhanced by the start of Citizenship-in-Action grants. (1963)

Special youth project to reach rural low income boys and girls started with USDA funding in Arkansas. (1964)

Several documents focused on 4-H programming—4-H Club Work in Non-Farm Areas; This We Believe; Extension Youth Programs in the 20th Century; and Open the Door to 4-H—A World of Opportunity.

ECOP endorsed 4-H work in urban areas. (1965)

ECOP and its 4-H subcommittee agreed on policy to encourage participation of minorities in national 4-H events. (1965)

In International programming, the first Teen Caravan visited England and the first IFYE World Alumni Conference was held in Switzerland. (1965)

Federal 4-H division launched Operation Expansion in eight pilot states. (1965)

National 4-H Service Committee began offering, at cost, educational aids prepared by Extension-appointed developmental committees, with assistance of private sector donors.

1966-1970

First Agricultural Training Program began with Japan.

A national workshop designed to expand 4-H for disadvantaged youths in both rural and urban areas was held in Chicago. (1966)

First Western Regional 4-H Leader Forum hosted by California with R.O. Monosmith, chairman. (1967)

Second Outlook Conference on Rural Youth was planned by 4-H staff of USDA and held in Washington, D.C. (1967)

E. Dean Vaughan was appointed director of the division of 4-H and youth development in 1967 and continued in that capacity until his retirement in 1979.

The word, Club, was dropped from many 4-H designations including National 4-H Congress.

Extension published the report, A People and a Spirit. (1968)

First Southern Regional 4-H Leader Forum was held in Georgia with Tommy Walton as chairman. (1968)

*

ECOP approved procedures governing national 4-H program development committees. (1968). These were revised in 1974.

*

USDA launched an expanded food and nutrition education experimental project titled, Good Food for Better Living. (1968)

To expand the National 4-H Center and its facilities, National 4-H Foundation launched a capital fund drive in 1968.

*

In a move to bring 4-H into Washington, D.C., Congress established Federal City College as a land-grant institution and Extension Service for the District of Columbia (1968). The next year, 4-H was begun in Washington, D.C.

*

National 4-H Foundation accepted responsibility in 1968 for management of PIJR (Programa Inter-American para la Juventud Rural) headquartered in Costa Rica. Program was originally organized in 1960 through cooperation of American International Association for Economic and Social Development and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.

*

Fifty Extension directors met in Denver, Colorado, to consider special request for increased funds for 4-H. (1968)

*

Extension established a Regional Literature Center for the Northeast at Rutgers University. (1969)

*

4-H received \$7.5 million annual appropriation through Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program to carry on 4-H-type programs in nutrition in urban areas. (1969)

*

To deal with expanding efforts in the utilization of television as a teaching method, Extension created a National 4-H TV Review Board. (1969)

*

4-H subcommittee of ECOP established a standing committee to give greater consideration to long range planning, legislation and appropriations. (1969)

*

A major Staff Development and Training Program was initiated by Extension in 1970. It gained the support of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation the next year.

Ground was broken for expansion of the National 4-H Center by Howard C. Harder, chairman of CPC International and head of the expansion committee. Tricia Nixon and 4-H members. (1970)

1971-1975

Extension published 4-H in the 70's document as a guide to 4-H programming nationwide. (1971)

International Farm Youth Exchange renamed after 23 years to International Four-H Youth Exchange. (1971)

The highly successful 4-H television series, Mulligan Stew, was premiered by the Extension Service. (1972)

4-H received a \$7.5 million appropriation to do 4-H work in urban areas and in community rural development programs. (1972)

4-H started in Guam and the Virgin Islands. (1972)

Fern S. Kelley retired to her native Utah from a successful career in the 4-H division, Extension Service, USDA, that spanned 20 years, 1953-1973 and included 10 years of service as assistant director of the division.

Rhonwyn Lowry of Georgia joined the 4-H division, Extension Service, USDA, as assistant director in 1973 and continued in that position until retirement in 1979.

President Richard M. Nixon helped 4-H celebrate its 50th National 4-H Congress in Chicago. (1971)

ECOP endorsed the concept of youth participation in program development in 1972. And in 1975, it approved the new program development format for National 4-H Conference with implementation in 1977.

Secretary of Agriculture issued USDA policy statement regarding the involvement of youth in community development. (1973)

The Inter-Agency Youth Project held a national conference of the 15 largest youth serving organizations, including 4-H, and a national collaboration was formed. (1972)

First Extension Service/USDA publication based on a 1973 Internal Revenue Service ruling was issued on the Tax Exempt Status of 4-H Organizations Authorized to Use the 4-H Name and Emblem. (1975)

A National 4-H Internship Program was begun for Extension professionals, paraprofessionals and volunteer leaders.

First meeting of the Joint Study Committee of National 4-H Foundation and National 4-H Service Committee leading to ECOP approval in 1975 and the emergence of National 4-H Council in 1976. (1973)

First change from the original wording of the National 4-H Pledge adopted in 1927—and my world—was added at the close of the pledge. (1973)

4-H participation exceeded 7 million for the first time. (1974)

ECOP approved formation of the National Collegiate 4-H Organization. (1974)

First farm youth exchange program held with the Soviet Union. (1975)

The National 4-H Photo Exhibition was started in 1974 with support of Eastman Kodak Company. And the National 4-H Poster Art Exhibit was first held in 1975 with sponsorship by Coats & Clark Inc.

W. W. "Andy" Eure retired as associate director of the National 4-H Foundation after 25 years of distinguished service to the organization. (1975)

Eye Care Education Project was begun with a grant from American Optometric Association. (1975)

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation provided a grant to study and recommend nationwide community-based 4-H health education programs. (1975)

The public's perception of 4-H was surveyed for the first time in a Gallup Poll conducted during 1975. 4-H also participated in the 1978 survey.

1976-1980

Extension published ECOP approved document, 4-H in Century III, a 4-H program guide that included 28 recommendations. (1976)

4-H clubs participated fully in the nation's observance of its bicentennial, earning the plaudits of many. (1976)

Congress increased 4-H Expanded Food Nutrition Education Program funding from \$7.5 million to \$10 million and earmarked \$1.5 million for urban gardening. (1977)

National 4-H Council became operational in 1977.

*

First regional 4-H leader forum was held in the North Central Extension Region at Iowa State University with William Caldwell of Nebraska as chairman. (1977) The next year, Massachusetts hosted a regional forum in the Northeast with Merle Howes as chairman.

*

Programs for the 1978 National 4-H Dairy Cattle Judging Contest and the Annual 4-H Dairy Conference identified them as the 57th and 24th respectively.

*

Attendance of youth delegates to National 4-H Congress reached a high of 1,747 in 1978.

*

The principal buildings at the National 4-H Center were dedicated in 1979 as J. C. Penney Hall; W. K. Kellogg Hall; McCormick Hall and Firestone Hall.

*

National Association of Extension 4-H Agents served a membership in excess of 3,000 members. (1980)

*

The 50th anniversary National 4-H Conference was observed in 1980 with more than 500 alumni and friends of 4-H attending.

*

Extension 4-H launched a major energy education program and conducted a national workshop on the subject.

*

Dr. Mary Nell Greenwood was appointed Administrator, Extension Service, USDA in December 1979, the first woman to serve in that capacity.

*

Hope Daugherty of Kansas joined the national 4-H staff in 1971. In 1979 she was named acting deputy administrator, 4-H youth, and continued in that capacity until October 1980. She continues in the 4-H unit, Extension Service, USDA.

*

A record 287 educational scholarships with a total value of \$265,250 were offered winners in 1980 4-H awards programs.

*

Participants using the facilities of the National 4-H Center during 1980 totaled more than 37,300.

*

Dr. Eugene Williams, assistant Extension director in Oklahoma, was appointed deputy administrator, 4-H youth, Extension Service, USDA, October 1, 1980.

John Banning retired in 1980 completing a noteworthy career of 25 years in the 4-H staff unit of Extension Service, USDA, including nine years as assistant director of the unit.

*

A comprehensive statement, This is 4-H, describing the program and its mission, was approved by ECOP and its 4-H subcommittee in June 1981 and distributed by the 4-H unit, Extension Service, USDA. (1981)

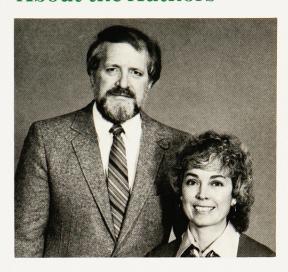
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Principal operating divisions of National 4-H Council were consolidated at its headquarters office in Chevy Chase, Maryland. (1980-81)

*

National 4-H Center management completed many improvements designed to make the Center more accessible to the handicapped including a colonnade entrance linking Firestone and McCormick Halls. (1980)

About the Authors



Dr. Thomas Wessel is professor of history and head of the Department of History and Philosophy at Montana State University, Bozeman. A graduate of Iowa State University, he earned his Master's and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Maryland. Dr. Wessel holds memberships in the Organization of American Historians, Western History Association and Agricultural History Society. He has authored numerous papers on the history of agriculture and American Indians and regularly reviews books and scholarly papers for several professional publications.

Marilyn Wessel is a former director of information for the National 4-H Foundation, one of the predecessor organizations of National 4-H Council. A graduate of Iowa State University, she is a candidate for a Master's degree in public administration at Montana State University. Her career has included serving as news director for a radio station in Bozeman, as a part-time Extension editor at MSU and as a newspaper reporter. Active in professional and community service organizations, Mrs. Wessel serves on the Montana Cooperative Extension Service Advisory Council, State Merit System Council and board of trustees of the Museum of the Rockies.

In this book, the authors have presented in an interesting and factual manner, the history and growth of 4-H spanning eight decades. The book is especially appropriate for those who have been involved in 4-H, America's largest informal youth education program.

