“Our philosophy and approach in social work is essentially an optimistic one. We think that it is worth doing something about given situations. We believe that progress can be made toward our goals by the intelligent application of knowledge. We are a dynamic profession, refusing to accept the cynicism and pessimism of some of our contemporaries.”

Benjamin E. Youngdahl, dean, 1945-1962. From the speech titled “What We Believe.”
WHAT WE BELIEVE

A HISTORY OF THE GEORGE WARREN BROWN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

1909–2007

BY CANDACE O’CONNOR

Washington University in St. Louis
FOREWORD

To best prepare for the future, we must understand our past. With its future in mind, the George Warren Brown School of Social Work recently embarked on a significant effort to understand and preserve its history. And I can think of no better person to capture the rich—and at times turbulent—past of the Brown School than Candace O’Connor. An award-winning writer and editor, Candace knows Washington University well, having completed *Beginning a Great Work: Washington University in St. Louis, 1853-2003* that was published to commemorate the University’s 150th Anniversary.

In *What We Believe*, Candace has again created a wonderful work, weaving together an intriguing account of the School. Born out of a need to respond to the societal problems of St. Louis, the Brown School tackled issues of poverty, illiteracy, child labor, crime, mental health, public health, and care for the disabled. Indeed, service to society is one of the critical benchmarks by which Washington University measures its success. This book takes you from the early roots of the School in 1909, known then as the St. Louis School of Social Economy, to its prosperity under the leadership of Dean Shanti K. Khinduka. It chronicles the Brown School’s distinctive culture and intellectual history that have helped elevate it to national prominence.

MARK S. WRIGHTON CHANCELLOR

I hope this book will be a treasure to all who have a connection to Washington University, the Brown School, and the social work profession.

You may wonder about the origins of the book’s title. *What We Believe* refers to a provocative keynote address delivered in 1952 by Benjamin E. Youngdahl, dean of the Brown School from 1945 to 1962. It was the height of McCarthyism and the field was coming under fire. Youngdahl, in an effort to distinguish social work from communism, addressed the National Conference of Social Work about the values of the profession. Important themes of courage, conviction, service to society, and the effective application of knowledge emerge in his speech. Not surprisingly, these themes run throughout the history of the Brown School.

Today, the George Warren Brown School of Social Work is primed to meet the challenges of the future. Under the visionary leadership of Dean Edward F. Lawlor, the School is launching an ambitious plan for growth and excellence. The strong tradition of service to society that remains at the very core of the Brown School will be carried forward by a devoted faculty, staff, and student body, all working together to make the world a better place.
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http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/
CHAPTER 1
THE ST. LOUIS SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY
BRIGHTENING "SHADOWED LIVES"

1909–1915
During the first years of the 20th century, visitors were awestruck by St. Louis, the fourth-largest city in the United States. They marveled at its parks and private places; they admired its burgeoning neighborhoods, fine cultural attractions, and magnificent new Washington University campus. By the millions, they toured its dazzling 1904 World’s Fair. “In short,” said one early account of St. Louis, the stranger “only sees the pomp and glitter, and splendors which large accumulations of wealth have caused to appear.”

Yet behind its prosperity, the city had a darker, grittier side. The world of widows, orphans, destitute immigrants, and forgotten handicapped. Of rickety tenements and grimy outhouses. Of black citizens, segregated by society. Of working children with little education and no hope. Of the poor, the elderly, the starving, the sick, the dying. As the same early account put it, bluntly:

“If some mighty magician, gifted with supernatural powers, should suddenly render ... opaque walls transparent, opening to the vision of every passer-by the scenes forever being enacted in the haunts of the lowly, even the old citizens of the place would themselves be appalled by the wretchedness revealed to them. ... Only a very small proportion of the citizens of St. Louis know anything of the shadowed lives of, not hundreds, but thousands of our fellow-mortals, who live, suffer, die and are at last left to moulder into indistinguishable dust in the paupers’ cemetery. ... Life to them must be one long night of sorrow.”

Some St. Louisans did care about these “shadowed lives.” Scattered around the city were orphanages, homes for the aged, hospitals, and asylums for the mentally ill. And quietly performing their heroic service were others: paid staff members and volunteers from a host of philanthropic societies, some of them founded by religious groups and others by benevolent citizens. Increasingly, these visitors to the needy were known as “social workers.”
The 1908 Annual Report of the Provident Association detailed several cases and their outcomes from throughout the year. One was titled "A Sick Colored Woman Restored to Health":

"A call came over the phone one day, requesting a visit to a sick negro woman living north of Fourteenth Street, and the nurse was dispatched at once.

"On reaching the top of the broken stairway, she found a colored woman, about thirty-eight years of age, lying on a pallet on the floor, under an opening in the wall, which was the only window. There was not even a chair to sit on, no stove even, but a smoldering fire was burning in an old tin pan which rested on a few bricks. .... The ceiling of this single, cramped room was not more than five or six feet high, so that no one but a little child could stand upright. The woman ... had been living in this squalor and degenerate state for over a year.

"When the nurse arrived, the sick woman was endeavoring to wash the face of one of her three children, using some dirty water, which had probably been used several times before.

"The nurse, seeing no possibility of the recovery of the sick woman in such surroundings, made the woman comfortable and immediately returned to the office. On her report of conditions a scrub woman was dispatched to clean up the room. A stove, a bed and bedding, chairs, dishes were sent from our warehouse ... and in less than four hours after the case was reported to us the woman and her little children were made clean and comfortable. The nurse then took charge of the case and in three weeks the woman was well and was earning a livelihood for herself and family."

St. Louis Provident Association office building.
2221 Locust Street.
The School of Social Economy occupied rooms in this building, beginning in 1910.
THE ST. LOUIS PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION EMERGES
Among the many philanthropic societies, one was preeminent: the St. Louis Provident Association. Founded in 1860, its mission was "corrective charity": aiding the poor, but not encouraging "professional pauperism," recalled its 50th anniversary annual report. "Individuals and families ... were encouraged to believe that their poverty was but a temporary condition, out of which they might rise, and that the help given was simply to put them on their feet."

By 1910, the Association had given away some $1.4 million in goods or services and investigated more than 160,000 cases. From its handsome headquarters at 2221 Locust Street, it sponsored sewing schools for girls, industrial training for boys, wood yards and coal depots employing out-of-work men, a laundry training school for women, lodges for the homeless, day nurseries, public school lunches, an "Urban League for Negroes," and bath houses. It maintained a Penny Provident Savings Bank to encourage thrift; it promoted healthier living through Pure Milk, Tuberculosis, and Tenement House Commissions. A Visiting Nurses' Department sent volunteers to homes of the sick.

It had always relied on the support of prominent St. Louisans. By the time of its 1910 anniversary, the president for several years had been Samuel Cupples and the vice president William K. Bixby — both local business leaders and philanthropists who had strong ties to Washington University. In fact, Cupples' business partner, Robert Brookings, was president of the University's board and Cupples himself was a generous donor, with two buildings to his credit. Bixby was a board member who later donated a building that housed the School of Fine Arts, along with a valuable manuscript collection.

From the start, Washington University connections had been crucial to the Provident Association's development. In 1859, the Rev. William Greenleaf Eliot — a Unitarian minister who was the University's co-founder, board president, and eventually its third chancellor — wrote a letter to the Missouri Republican newspaper, calling for community action: "Will you kindly permit me through your columns to appeal to the city authorities and the public on behalf of the Poor? The severity of the season and the scarcity of work makes their suffering greater than usual, but no public provision has yet been made for them ...".

That same December, Eliot's close friend and University board member, James Yeatman, had an experience that
stung him into action. One evening, a woman knocked on his door, claiming that her desperately ill child needed food and medicine. Yeatman handed her supplies but still couldn’t rest—so he decided to visit her home. On the way, he persuaded his neighbor, Dr. Charles A. Pope, to join him. But when they arrived, they discovered a roaring fire, “the sound of revelry,” said Walter Stevens in a 1921 account, “and a table upon which stood the beer bought with Mr. Yeatman’s charity.” Dr. Pope looked at the chubby but dirty child and proclaimed, curtly: “I prescribe soap and water.”

The next day, Yeatman invited some associates to meet with him, and the result was the formation of the Provident Association, which sent visitors—a handful of paid employees and many part-time volunteers—to see the needy and ferret out the truth. Did they really need help? How much? What would get the family back on its feet? As Yeatman said in the Association’s first annual report: “Old age, misfortune, sickness, death, intemperance, sin and improvidence, will ever make a class that demands the sympathy and aid of those more highly favored. How to render that sympathy and aid without depriving those aided of that feeling of self-respect and independence ... [is] of vast importance and practical difficulty.”

“JEALOUS AND ZEALOUS”

DEMAND CHANGE

Supplying this kind of help required skill, and in the succeeding decades the cry for trained workers began to mount around the nation. At the 1897 National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Mary E. Richmond, a Baltimore social worker, threw down the gauntlet: “We owe it to those who shall come after us that they shall be spared the groping and blundering by which we have acquired our own stock of experience. In these days of specialization, when we train our cooks, our apothecaries, our engineers, our librarians, our nurses,—when, in fact, there is a training school for almost every form of skilled service,—we have yet to establish our first training school for charity workers, or, as I prefer to call it, ‘Training School in Applied Philanthropy.’”

Settlement houses, benevolent societies, and a few universities took up the challenge. One forward-looking agency, the New York Charity Organization Society, started a program in 1898, while in 1903 the Extension Department of the University of Chicago established a training arm, the Chicago Institute of Social Science. A year later, Boston began a School for Social Workers under the auspices of Simmons College and Harvard University.
Sophia Roever Barth (c. 1876-?)

An 1897 Washington University graduate, Barth was an active social worker for much of her career. Her work in St. Louis during World War I was particularly interesting. She spent that period administering the Child Conservation Scholarship Fund of the St. Louis Board of Education, making "social investigations" of the applicants. This work was funded by two St. Louis School of Philanthropy supporters and students—Sadie Fraley Stix and Rachel Stix Michael—and encouraged by a school board member, John W. Withers, later superintendent of St. Louis public schools.

As Barth wrote later, she also took over "the teaching of six courses of the regular curriculum of the Missouri School of Social Economy so that the regular staff might be released to devote the major portion of the time to the training of Red Cross units." At the same time, she taught at Washington University "a course in Applied Sociology with special application to the possibilities of the city of Saint Louis as a social laboratory."
ANNOUNCEMENT

...OF THE...

St. Louis School of Philanthropy

FOR THE YEAR

1907

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Mr. Harvey L. Christie
Mrs. W. E. Fischel.
Dr. Thomas J. Riley.
of the University of Missouri.

ALL MEETINGS WILL BE HELD AT THE

Y. M. C. A. BUILDING.

Grand and Franklin Ave.
"The constant demand for trained workers in social service is an encouraging indication of the impression which organized charitable effort has made upon the public ... ."

_Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science_

Meanwhile, workers themselves were clamoring for change. As the _Annals_ of the American Academy of Political and Social Science declared in 1904: “The constant demand for trained workers in social service is an encouraging indication of the impression which organized charitable effort has made upon the public ... and the most hopeful thing about it is that the workers ... are themselves jealous and zealous for the uplifting of the professional standards.”

**THE ST. LOUIS SCHOOL OF PHILANTHROPY BEGINS**

In the winter of 1901-1902, some Provident Association visitors began to yearn for more instruction, so the organization launched a series of roundtable discussions focusing on problems that they faced. These proved successful, growing into biweekly conferences; public lectures also began, offered at the Central YMCA by prominent figures in charitable work. Despite its limited scope, this program quickly acquired a name: the St. Louis School of Philanthropy, the fourth school of social work in the country.

The founder of the school—as well as superintendent of the Provident Association itself—was William H. McClain, a whirlwind of benevolent activity whose 1911 obituary called him “one of the most widely known philanthropic workers in America.” He died early, worn out with doing good; not only did he support 24 other charitable organizations, but he also worked tirelessly to build up the Provident Association, turning it into “one of the model benevolent organizations of the country. Social settlement workers came to St. Louis from all parts of the country to study his methods.”

In setting up its new training program, he had the advice of a well-connected board headed by another prominent do-gooder, the Very Rev. Carroll M. Davis, dean of Christ Church Cathedral. The 17 board members came from diverse cultural backgrounds. One was Walter Sheldon, leader of the local Ethical Culture Society, while another was Rabbi Samuel Sale of Congregation Shaare Emeth; their respective agencies, the Self-Culture Hall and the United Jewish Charities, collaborated with the school on its programs.
Thomas J. Riley (1872-1931)

A social economist, Riley had received a PhD from the University of Chicago in 1904. One of his articles was "A History of the Poor Law and Poor Relief in Missouri," published by the Carnegie Institution. He was an eager proponent of the young field of social work, though he recognized that it needed more definition. He particularly advocated a focus on prevention rather than on remedial help that did not solve the underlying problem.

In a February 1910 article in the Washington University Record, Riley—who was then professor of sociology and director of the St. Louis School of Social Economy—used this analogy to illustrate his point:

"There is an old story that runs in this wise. Once upon a time there were two cities connected by a long road that ran part of the way through a mountainous country. At a sharp turn in this road there was a great precipice, so abrupt that many travelers fell over it and were badly hurt on the rocks below. So many, indeed, came to grief there that a hospital was built at that place, to care for injured wayfarers. At length some one bethought himself to build a wall at the top of the precipice; and soon the hospital went to ruin through disuse. Modern social work builds the wall instead of keeping the hospital."
Four women served on the board, including social reformer Martha Ellis Fischel. But by 1905, this young program had grown very little. Even the Annual Report of the Provident Association admitted that “it can hardly be called a ‘training school,’ but its trend and aim are to distribute knowledge, discuss methods and fit those who attend for better service.” So Sheldon invited Charles Ellwood, chairman and lone member of the Sociology Department at the University of Missouri in Columbia, to come speak. His lecture — “The Importance of Having Scientific Knowledge in Dealing with the Problems of Charity and Philanthropy” — was such a triumph that the board asked the university to cooperate with the school in expanding its operations.

Delighted, the University of Missouri appointed Thomas J. Riley, who had a PhD from the University of Chicago, as assistant professor of sociology — and as head of the school. Sheldon was aghast; he had not envisioned a take-over, merely additional help; however, McClain favored the university affiliation, and his supporters on the board prevailed. The school would now be known as the Missouri School of Philanthropy.

To fund the young school, Riley and Ellwood applied to the brand-new Russell Sage Foundation, founded in 1907 for “the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States,” said its mission statement. The foundation responded with a grant of $5,000 a year for three years — and Riley and Ellwood set to work developing the program.

**SHIFTING VENUE, IMPROVING CURRICULUM**

In February 1907, the Provident Association proudly inaugurated a formal, 15-week training program, with three hours of weekly instruction by Riley on Preventive and Remedial Philanthropy. The audience was anyone wanting “paid or voluntary work in charitable societies, social settlements, institutional churches, probation offices, compulsory attendance departments, playgrounds, welfare work in factories and stores, state, county, and municipal charitable and correctional institutions,” said one description.

That fall, the University of Missouri’s still-tiny Sociology Department got a boost with the hiring of another social economist, George B. Mangold, who would split his time with the School of Philanthropy as its assistant head. Thanks to his energetic participation, the school increased its course work to five hours a week in 1907-08; in the following year, it became a full-time, certificate-granting program. Mangold, whose PhD
"...the city best contributes the material needed by the student. Some of these studies are scarcely possible outside of a city. Poverty, crime, and vice, and the means of dealing with them, can not be studied from books alone; the student must observe the facts at first hand."

There could scarcely have been a better backdrop for the letter that reached Washington University Chancellor David F. Houston on February 18, 1909. On behalf of the School of Philanthropy board, Carroll Davis was writing to Houston, an active Episcopalian himself, to "beg the favor of an unofficial statement" regarding a possible affiliation. Promptly and cordially, Houston replied that someone had already suggested it—Roger Baldwin, assistant professor of sociology, in 1908. Then Houston, no doubt aware of the University's many ties with the school's parent, the Provident Association, agreed to an affiliation so long as the University of Missouri did not regard it "as un-nearby"—and the Russell Sage Foundation, which now raised its grant to $7,500 a year, continued its support. Such a link, he wrote, would "present to the city university an unusual opportunity to render very great service to the city and to humanity."

Only two months later, the Washington University board ratified this affiliation and promised three things: a location for the program, a professor of sociology (Riley) to direct the school, and $300 toward an assistant professor (Mangold).
An ardent reformer, Baldwin began his career in St. Louis as a sociology professor at Washington University and as director of the Self-Culture Hall of the Ethical Society, and then he added the post of chief probation officer of the St. Louis Juvenile Court, where he built up a staff of social workers and developed more humane ways of dealing with children. In 1910, he resigned from these jobs to become executive secretary of the reform-minded St. Louis Civic League. After leaving St. Louis in 1917, he founded the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 and served as its director for 30 years.

In an autobiographical sketch published in "The Civil Liberties Review," Baldwin recalled one incident. "I got some practical experience with academic freedom in the three years I taught at Washington University (1906-1909). I used the discussion period to teach sociology and dwelled on subjects on which the students had opinions — race, family, community, government, crime, poverty, and progress. For one voluntary meeting of the class I invited two Negro school principals to give their views of racial problems. The newspapers got the story and ran it under glaring headlines: "WHITE WOMEN STUDENTS FORCED TO HEAR NEGROES" and "WASHINGTON U. PROFESSOR ADVOCATES MISCEGENATION." In the fury that followed in that half-southern city my students supported me, and so did the chancellor, David F. Houston ...

who would double as the school's associate director. It would begin life in the Olivia Building at 1023 North Grand, though it soon relocated to Washington University's now-vacant School of Fine Arts building at 19th and Locust. And the school acquired more part-time instructors: Philip L. Seman, superintendent of the United Jewish Charitable and Educational Associations; Lucy H. Oppen, assistant and adviser of women, who taught the school's first methodology course; and Roger Baldwin as director of evening courses.

So in fall 1909, Washington University became the home of a new school of social work now re-titled, in more academic terms, the St. Louis School of Social Economy. This School would "give the University an opportunity to perform for the city a social service of the very highest utility and of a most practical nature," boasted the Washington University Chronicle in June 1909. And it would give some students — 16 in 1909-1910 — the opportunity for full-time work, while others could register for part-time study.

Entrance requirements were not stringent: "Graduates of a reputable college or university will be admitted without examination," said the brochure, adding that paid social workers could also be admitted to some courses. Nor was the tuition steep: $25 per school year, or $5 each for fewer than three courses a term. While certificates would be awarded for 12 hours of class time and eight hours of field work, along with an independent study project, students could also apply credits toward a bachelor's or master's degree at Washington University.

For certificate students, the School offered basic courses, such as "Preventive Philanthropy and Constructive Social Work," "Child Problems," and "Crime and the Criminal." For master's students, the classes were more rigorous, including "Social Statistics," "American Race Problems," and "Comparative Methods in Modern Charity." Special courses, featuring lecturers from the community, were also available; one on public health was taught by Dr. Albert Merrell, president of the St. Louis Pure Milk Commission.

Under Mangold's direction, the School now offered research fellowships of $200 to $500 each to university graduates "who have already demonstrated their proficiency in sociology," said the Chronicle. Soon, they had successful applicants from as far away as Minnesota, Georgia, Oregon, and Texas — one man and 10 women — among them Minnie Weiss, formerly a district nurse for Kingdom House in St. Louis. Immediately, these
Julia C. Stimson, formerly nursing superintendent and head of the Social Service Department at Harlem Hospital in New York, took over as head of the St. Louis Children's Hospital Social Service Department in October 1911. Amid this busy job, she took part-time courses at the St. Louis School of Social Economy, and in 1917 earned a master's degree in sociology with a thesis that supported the idea of national health insurance.

In the Department's first Annual Report in 1912, she described a typical day on the job:

"First, there was ... a receipt from a graduate nurse who had been engaged to nurse a little hunchback boy through a severe attack of measles ... The mother, a foolish sort of person, was utterly unable to look after him ... A few days' expert care in his own home pulled him through the worst of his trouble, and the mother, after watching the nurse ... was able to go on with his care ..."

"'Waiting in the office ... was a woman and her little 4-year-old boy. Mrs. M. is one of our old friends. Her two little girls have been under our care for a long time. One had been ... brought to the hospital and kept under surgical treatment for tuberculosis of the spine, which her mother had thought was only a little cold in her neck. This child is still wearing the celluloid jacket which supports her head and is going to make her well ..."

"Various members of the Staff were waiting to talk over special problems. One worker wanted a $5.00 loan to pay the transportation of an 18-year-old girl and a friend of the same age back to their home town. These girls were ... unused to the ways of the city and had been living for ten days without a single cooked meal ..."

"[A] 16-year-old girl with her brother and younger sisters have been taken away from a drunken father by the aid of the Juvenile Court. The other children were placed with relatives or in good homes, but this girl ... because of her responsible ways and intelligence, was admitted to the Children's Hospital to take the course for a Baby Nurse. She at this time had been in the Hospital doing excellently for about six months, happy and liked and well, and in a few months will be fitted to go out and earn her own living."

First African-American social workers in St. Louis, 1917. Under the auspices of the Provident Association, these workers were trained at the St. Louis School of Social Economy.
This School would “give the University an opportunity to perform for the city a social service of the very highest utility and of a most practical nature ... .”

*Washington University Chronicle*

St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts. This museum, located at the corner of 19th and Locust, was dedicated in 1881 and also housed the University’s School of Fine Arts. Later, it served as the home of the St. Louis School of Social Economy.

students set to work on a study of St. Louis child life covering five areas: infant mortality, institutionalized children, recreation, the problem of “feebleminded children,” and the street trades, particularly newsboys.

All the while, an active board, still headed by Davis, was overseeing the program. David Houston served from 1909 to 1912, W.H. McClain continued as secretary, and Roger Baldwin, now executive secretary of the Civic League, was a member from 1908 to 1911. Perhaps not by coincidence, several board members were also active in the Civic League, a progressive organization dedicated to community betterment. Others represented various constituencies, such as John W. Withers, soon to become superintendent of the St. Louis public schools.

Some wives loyally took part in the program. In the 1910-1911 catalog, the student list included Blanche Mills Riley, wife of Thomas, and Jennie C. McClain, wife of William. Several board members — among them Eva Perry Moore — were enrolled. A wife of a Washington University English professor, John L. Lowes, was registered, as was the wife of a psychology professor, Edgar J. Swift. Others were wealthy, charitable St. Louis women, later including Grace R. Jones, for many years
head of the St. Louis Children’s Hospital board.

Over the next two years, the School steadily increased in size; to 20 full-time and 42 part-time students in 1910-1911; then 23 and 52 in 1911-1912. "The School of Social Economy has made such a place for itself in our city that the organized charities of Saint Louis will now seldom consider anyone for positions who have not had the opportunity of the training which the school affords," said a 1911 pamphlet, which bragged that the School represented every “shade of religious and secular philanthropic interest.”

There was much to brag about. The alumni roster included Oscar Leonard of the Jewish Alliance, Caroline Bates of the Missouri Association for the Blind, Frances McNamara of the Guardian Angel Settlement, Anne Thomson of the Episcopal Orphans Home Board, Minnie Weiss of the Social Service Department of City Hospital, and Elsa Butler of Children's Hospital. William T. Cross had become secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and George A. Warfield was professor of sociology at the University of Denver. In 1912, one student received a bachelor’s degree, while six others were awarded master’s degrees — more than from any other Washington University department.

"The Milk Problem in St. Louis"

"The St. Louis School of Social Economy has made an extensive study [that] shows poor milk to be a cause of sickness and mortality ... .

"It is estimated that about one-fourth of the milk sold in St. Louis is produced within the city. Approximately 5,000 cows are kept here, in 175 dairies having from 4 to 150 cows each. Most of these cows stand in the stable month in and month out ... . In addition, many of these dairies feed 'brewer's slop'; and ... the milk and even the cream from such a dairy is a ghastly, chalky white that differentiates it instantly from country milk ... .

"In the east end of the city ... bottle-fed babies are the ones most subject to disease ... . The breast-fed baby of the alley with its many disadvantages has as good a chance for life during the first nine months as the bottle-fed baby of the avenue using cows' milk ... .

"The milk supply of St. Louis needs to be produced under clean conditions by clean milkmen, be carried to St. Louis under proper refrigeration and when retailed meet the required standards of coolness. When a woman once remarked to Dr. [noted physician Sir William] Osler that Providence had taken her baby he replied, 'Providence had nothing to do with it, it was dirty milk'; and the facts show that he was right.”
"The Newsboy of Saint Louis"

In 1910, Ira T. Tyler, a student and researcher in the St. Louis School of Social Economy, studied a third of the 1,800 local newsboys, more than half of them children of immigrants, to see what their lives were like—and how this work affected their education. Her findings showed that limits on this work, which involved children as young as nine years old, were urgently needed. "Shall the influence of an unregulated street trade..." she said in conclusion, "be our gift of citizenship to posterity? What are the compensating gains in this terrible waste of youthful opportunity?"

"The morning paper can be secured by the boy as early as 5 o'clock. The first edition of the evening paper appears at 10:30 A.M., the last at 5:30 P.M. After 3:30 o'clock the schoolboys appear in droves for the early afternoon editions. Many of them continue to sell until an hour or two after the last editions are issued. Some remain until 9 or 10 o'clock, according to their territory.

"After the Saturday evening editions are sold, many of the boys play about the streets, and as night wears on they seek entrance to the basements of office buildings, crouch close to hot air drafts, or crawl into some hallway to sleep. In mild weather they sleep in alleys, wagon yards, and under whatever shelter they may find of the river front. They generally form gangs and take turns in watching for the policeman. Those who do not stay all night come about 4:30 for the Sunday issues.

"Another group of boys accompany the 'carriers' to the publication offices between 1 and 2 o'clock, where they are kept busy folding papers until such a time in the morning as they begin to deliver them to their customers."
Almost from the start, the St. Louis School of Social Economy formed a special relationship with St. Louis Children's Hospital. A $500 relief fund, contributed by three donors, had allowed the Hospital to establish its own Social Service Department in December 1910.

The first social worker hired was Minnie D. Weiss, a graduate of the School, who recruited current students to do medical field work under her direction. Said the Hospital's 1910-1911 Annual Report: "During the ten and one-half months of her services, 592 cases were referred to her and 1331 visits were made by her and by the students of the School of Social Economy."

After Weiss, nurse Julia Stimson took over as head of the department. During her tenure, one School of Social Economy student, Berenice Marshall, served as social worker at the Washington University Hospital, supported by the Mary Institute Alumnae Association; another, Elsa Butler, was an assistant at Children's Hospital; still another, Ethel Riddle, was a "volunteer worker" at Children's and in 1916 took over as department head.

The department's work, said the Annual Report, included the following: "A girl may be discharged from the hospital to a home where she is morally exposed through the absence of the mother. The worker tries to do preventive work by arranging to have the mother stay with her children. In one case, the Provident Association ... is supporting the mother in order to protect the child."

The School's faculty was also thriving. Riley, a prolific author, wrote often in the University's Record to define the scope of social work and urge its importance in solving thorny urban problems. Its spirit, he said, is "preventive rather than remedial, social rather than individual, civic rather than sympathetic, and scientific rather than sentimental ... A new profession is being differentiated, that of the social worker."

STORM CLOUDS GATHERING

Those halcyon days did not last, however. Early in 1910, the University had embarked on a stunningly expensive effort to revamp the School of Medicine, a project that strained its finances and Houston's strength. So in fall 1911, when Davis requested a modest increase in funding, he received a quick—and negative—reply. The School, said Houston, had already cost more in rent, expenses, and administrative costs than expected. "The University, with its limited funds, will not be able to make further contributions ... this year, and so far as I can now see it will not be able to do so in the near future," he said firmly.

Riley must have decided that the handwriting was on the wall. The next spring, when the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities recruited him to become general secretary, he wrote to Houston for a final word. "I do not know what the future of the School of Social Economy will be," answered Houston. "If you decide to stay, do so with the thought that perhaps the School may not continue to exist." Riley quickly tendered his resignation, and in fall 1912 George Mangold became director, with Houston's blessing. He was devoted full-time to the School while the University's new sociology professor, Charles E. Persons, took over as part-time associate director.

Despite Riley's departure, the struggling School was not dead yet. In fact, the number of students continued to grow, though fellowship support lagged behind. Late in 1912, the School's board approached the University about a change of status: making it a department of the University, instead of a semi-independent agency. Houston, who seems to have had a soft spot for the School and its mission, agreed; perhaps he thought official status might facilitate the School's fund-raising efforts. In January 1913, he told Davis that the board had also agreed, adding the ominous proviso: "so long as the contribution from the Russell Sage Fund continues." The School's jubilant board accepted the offer, disbanded, and
reformed in a slimmed-down version as an advisory committee.

A month later, the School faced an unexpected challenge: the departure of Houston for Washington, D.C., where he became Secretary of Agriculture. Frederic A. Hall, a classicist and former dean, filled in as acting chancellor during Houston’s absence. Hall did not have Houston’s attachment to this program; he was also dealing with the new director, Mangold, who was aggressive—even abrasive—in pursuing the School’s interests. As Houston wrote warningly from Washington in 1913: “There will be constant pressure from Dr. Mangold to extend the staff and to increase the expenditure.”

**HALL VS. MANGOLD**

As months went by, that proved true: Mangold pushed for money to hire new staff members; Hall parried, gently but firmly, with limits on his authority and strict financial caps. Mangold also began insisting on an aspect of the School’s program that had thus far kept a lower profile: its emphasis on research and reform, along with more traditional casework methods. One budgetary item in 1913 was $65 for “special work on the Negro in St. Louis”; one course, which Mangold presented for approval, had
"I feel it my duty to stand by the School of Social Economy, and to see that it continues to operate." George B. Mangold

George B. Mangold (1876-1962). Mangold, a social economist, earned a master's degree from the University of Chicago and a PhD in 1906 from the University of Wisconsin before becoming associate director of the St. Louis School of Philanthropy. Later he was professor of sociology and social work at the University of Southern California. His book, Child Problems, became a standard child welfare text.
Roger Baldwin teaching an “examination of the movements toward freedom and democracy in American city life ... their relation to the world-wide industrial struggle, to socialism and other radical social programs.”

In October 1913, Mangold wrote to Hall asking the University’s board to approve the use of a room in the School for a 12-week course aimed at “the Colored Social Workers of the city, for the carrying on of a special course in social work.” This time, Hall issued a kind of rebuke, writing that he was “convinced that it would be an unwise thing to do. I therefore advise that nothing be done in the matter.” Soon there were other rebukes: “Complaint has reached me about the condition of your building,” wrote Hall to Mangold in 1913, “and I take this opportunity of saying that as Director of the School you are expected to see that the building is properly cared for ...”

In January 1914, Hall privately asked economist William Gephart, whom he had hired to re-organize the business school, to undertake a study of the School, and publicly he asked the School’s advisory committee to do the same. The results, not surprisingly, were different. With stunning bravado, the committee requested a huge increase in funds from the University: for playground worker training, among other things. In his report, Gephart agreed with the need for money, as well as better classrooms and equipment; he also liked some of the School’s research and wanted it to expand, at the expense of basic training classes. But he added a caveat that probably resonated with Hall and the University’s conservative board: Social work students should be choosing their often “very delicate” research subjects with more sensitivity for “the position which the school and its sponsor — the University — occupies in the community.”

This may not have been exactly the right moment for Mangold to write to Hall asking whether the Jewish Branch of the Socialist Party of St. Louis could rent
space in the School for a public meeting. Worse still, on January 26 the other shoe finally dropped, and the Russell Sage Foundation notified Hall that the School's grant would be reduced to $2,500 in 1914-1915, eliminated thereafter, and "the trustees ... do not expect to make any further grant to your school." In a probably vain attempt at consolation, the foundation added that "the reduction ... is not due in any way to lack of sympathy with the work of the School."

"DISCONTINUED"

From that point forward, it was not a matter of whether the end was coming, but when. After considering the two reports, Hall wrote to Mangold in March 1914 that, in deciding what he should recommend to the University trustees, he had three options: urge them to drastically increase the School's funding, suggest the School be dropped, or recommend taking "so much of the best features of the School as can be conducted in connection with the Department of Sociology. ... Were I to recommend No. 1, it is my impression that the Board would adopt No. 2 ... I therefore feel that the salvation of the proposition depends on the best solution of No. 3."

Mangold was horrified. Within days he had written to the Russell Sage
Foundation, which replied that it would not give the next year’s promised money to a sociology department — “it would be quite contrary to our policy.” He also alerted St. Louisans such as Roger Baldwin, who sent a letter of protest. In the end, a weary Hall dropped the idea.

Over the next year, the School visibly dwindled. It moved to smaller quarters in the Provident Association building at 2221 Locust Street; it was forced by the reduced Sage grant to give up offering fellowships. Yet the ebullient Mangold never lost his enthusiasm and hope. In May 1914, for example, he invited the celebrated social worker, Jane Addams of Chicago’s Hull House, to speak in St. Louis under the School’s auspices. That year, he started — on a shoestring — a social service training course for nurses. And he kept promoting the exploration of sensitive issues, telling Hall in 1914 that the School would be issuing a report on the “Industrial Condition of the Negro in St. Louis.”

In fall 1914, the University’s Board of Directors asked Hall to prepare his own report on the School, and by February 1915 it was complete. He was negative, even damming, about its academic program. Overall, he “recommended that the School of Social Economy be discontinued as a separate department of the University at the close of the present year.” The board, long itching to disband the program because of its liberal slant and modest financial drain, quickly agreed.

Since Hall remained interested in establishing a social work program under Gephart’s leadership in the business school, it seems likely that his lack of support for the School of Social Economy was at least in part a reflection on Mangold’s leadership. In a 1920 note to Hall, Gephart may have been voicing their joint sentiment when he said: “Most of the Sociology teachers have a peculiar bent in their training and to secure one with good common sense and without a whole raft of social reforms and panaceas is difficult.”

Hall passed the bad news on to Mangold in a terse, formal memo in February 1915 that left no room for hope, though he did follow up with a kinder note asking whether Mangold wished to stay on at the University as sociology professor. But Mangold remained loyal to his cause. “I feel it my duty to stand by the School of Social Economy, and to see that it continues to operate,” he wrote — and promptly sent in some invoices for new equipment.

**THE END COMES**

Somehow, Mangold and the School succeeded in limping along, without sponsorship, for the following year — and then talked the University of Missouri into
Jane Addams (1860-1935)

On May 7, 1914, Addams made an appearance at Second Baptist Church, under the auspices of the School of Social Economy. The founder of Hull House in Chicago, often called the "Mother of Social Work" in the United States, she became co-recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1931. Halvdan Koht, member of the prize committee, said of her then:

"Twice in my life ... I have had the pleasure of visiting the institution where she has been carrying on her lifework. In the poorest districts of Chicago, among Polish, Italian, Mexican, and other immigrants, she has established and maintained the vast social organization centered in Hull House. Here young and old alike, in fact all who ask, receive a helping hand whether they wish to educate themselves or to find work. When you meet Miss Addams here — be it in meeting room, workroom, or dining room — you immediately become poignantly aware that she has built a home and in it is a mother to one and all. She is not one to talk much, but her quiet, great-hearted personality inspires confidence and creates an atmosphere of goodwill which instinctively brings out the best in everyone."
"... schools of philanthropy ... are as yet feeling about for their proper place and function." Abraham Flexner

Chloe Owings (1883-1967). A graduate of the School of Social Economy, Owings went on to an illustrious career in social work and education; doing relief work during World War I; conducting research into women police officers, juvenile delinquency, and immigration; serving as dean of students at Keuka College; and working for the American Social Hygiene Society. She received Washington University’s Distinguished Alumni Award in 1961.

a second affiliation, beginning in 1916. The School — now the Missouri School of Social Economy — maintained this arrangement until spring 1924, when the rural-dominated state legislature, hunting for places to cut the budget, targeted the School. This time, it could not survive; it folded and the staff scattered. Eventually, Mangold became professor of sociology at the University of Southern California.

So in 1915, Washington University’s experiment in social work training was over, just at a time when schools were opening in other states and new educational winds were blowing nationally. Casework, not social reform, was the byword at social work conferences. Mary E. Richmond, now director of the Charity Organization Department at the Russell Sage Foundation, spoke sharply at the 1915 National Conference of Charities and Corrections. “I do wish to submit to all earnest social reformers ... these few questions: Do they realize the goal toward which social case work is really moving? Have they ever taken the trouble to discover what a useful and necessary part of social progress it is destined to become?”

And Abraham Flexner — already famous for his stinging criticism of medical education that triggered widespread reform — gave a lecture at the same conference titled “Is Social Work a Profession?” In a reflection on social work as a field, he pointed out that “schools of philanthropy ... are as yet feeling about for their proper place and function” and urged social work as a whole to become “thoroughly professional in character and scientific in method.”

Finally, George Mangold weighed in, giving a brief speech on his views of social work education. He argued for a dual curriculum, much like the one his School of Social Economy had been offering. “Unless [the student] has a knowledge of the methods of handling a case ... he cannot succeed. Furthermore, it is absolutely necessary to couple with, or develop from this line of training, a study of the causes of social abnormality, and of the magnitude of the problems with which we must deal.” Particularly important tools of the trade, he argued, were courses in statistics, psychology, and public service.

Social work education was evolving and focusing, as more schools nationally were building their own programs. Just at this exciting time, Washington University was out of the business altogether, though the Provident Association quietly and effectively continued its community work. Now, in a harbinger of things to come, two names began cropping up on its lists of supporters: George Warren Brown and his wife, Betty Bofinger Brown.
A rear house on Eighth Street, 1917. From *The Challenge of St. Louis* by George B. Mangold, director, Missouri School of Social Economy.
Just because Washington University gave up social work training in 1915 did not mean that the community’s need for social workers had in any way diminished. Many St. Louisans still lived desperate, poverty-stricken lives. In 1917, George Mangold published a book, *The Challenge of Saint Louis*, in which he ticked off a list of local “liabilities”:

“St. Louis has 21,000 illiterates. “Less than one half of the children finish the eighth grade. “More than 10,000 children are at work. “There are no proper facilities for the care of the feeble-minded. “We have a high death rate from tuberculosis. “Six per cent of our dead are buried in the potter’s field. “Probably ten per cent of our population are in poverty. “One out of every twenty persons is arrested annually ...”

Worse still, he added, was the situation of many immigrants, confined by poverty and prejudice to miserable ethnic enclaves. Of the plight of “male negro workers, at least 93 percent ... engaged in the more menial occupations, most of which offer precarious wages and scanty living. ... The negro women likewise are limited to a very narrow economic sphere. More than one half of those at work are laundresses, who go out from day to day to wash in private homes. Usually they receive one dollar and sixty cents for such service.”

Altogether, he concluded, society was left with a choice. “On one side,” said Mangold, “we have the forces that make for righteousness,” such as churches, synagogues, schools, and improvement societies. “On the other we have the evidence of sin, wickedness, misery, and vice.” The question for all St. Louisans, he said, was stark and simple: “Will righteousness prevail?”
HERBERT SPENCER HADLEY, A.B., LL.B., LL.D.

Chancellor of the University
The University “should connect itself as far as practicable with the culture and civilization of which it is a part, and should impose no cloistered existence on either student or teacher.” Herbert S. Hadley

ST. LOUIS TAKES ACTION

On a national level, social work was gradually taking shape as a field. By 1919 there were 17 schools of social work in the United States and Canada, and they affiliated in a new organization—the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work, renamed in 1920 the American Association of Schools of Social Work (AASSW), and in 1952 the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE)—that would work to establish uniform standards for education and accreditation.

All these young schools were struggling to define themselves as coherent, professional programs, just as Abraham Flexner had urged in 1915. While the new emphasis was clearly on casework, there were still many unresolved questions: Exactly what should the curriculum and fieldwork requirements be? How much focus should the schools place on public welfare versus private agency work? What role, if any, should group work play in the curriculum? Should social work be an undergraduate program, a graduate program, or both? If graduate, how long should it be? How much research should be required?

Despite these vexing issues, social work programs—most of them now affiliated with universities and not local agencies—proliferated during the decade following the end of World War I. By 1930, there were 40 across the United States. But the host universities had not yet decided how to view their new programs. Were they purely vocational schools, or were they legitimate academic programs with underpinnings in the social sciences?

Against this post-war backdrop, the Missouri School of Social Economy, by now connected to the University of Missouri at Columbia, had continued to train some social workers. Yet before it closed in 1924, local agencies had become increasingly unhappy with its program, which still favored social reform. “It was they who saw the shortcomings of the school and who insisted that if there was to be training in St. Louis, it should be in accordance with a more modern conception, and built upon a broader foundation,” said a 1927 school history. The agencies may also have felt dissatisfied with the quality of the school’s graduates, since George Mangold—now unable to offer any grant support—was casting a wide net for student recruits.

Early in 1924, a worried Provident Association convened a special committee, headed by its own board member J. Lionberger Davis, who was chairman of the Security National Bank, to consider
"... I hope that we shall not lose our sense of proportion and underrate the importance of teaching the social sciences, which must furnish the basis of all enduring human institutions." — Herbert S. Hadley

The future of social work education in St. Louis. The group was composed of prominent citizens, all members of the recently reorganized St. Louis Community Council, among them School of Medicine pediatrician Borden S. Veeder; philanthropist Rachel Stix Michael; and E.G. Steger, Provident Association general manager. All year long, this committee assiduously studied the local social work scene: conferring with agencies, meeting with University of Missouri representatives, and bringing in an expert from Chicago—Northwestern University sociologist Arthur J. Todd—to help study conditions in St. Louis. They also met repeatedly with Washington University faculty and its brand new chancellor, Herbert S. Hadley.

Hadley’s own background may have given him a natural affinity for social work. Not a scholar by training but a lawyer, he had served as a crusading prosecutor, as Missouri’s attorney general, and as governor in 1908. At his inauguration as chancellor in November 1923, he announced his goal of preparing students to become good citizens. The University, he said, "should connect itself as far as practicable with the culture and civilization of which it is a part, and should impose no cloistered existence on either student or teacher." And in 1924, he added in another speech:

"... I hope that we shall not lose our sense of proportion and underrate the importance of teaching the social sciences, which must furnish the basis of all enduring human institutions... Have we improved in our social and political relations as we have been successful in developing a civilization with material and scientific achievements?... Are the educational institutions of this and other lands doing their full part in improving those human relations and institutions which constitute the basis of civilization itself?"

Hadley demonstrated an early interest in social work by hiring Steger in spring 1925 to teach elementary social casework; the University’s Extension Department, meanwhile, offered courses in elementary, hospital, and recreational social work. Before Steger could begin, however, a formal letter of inquiry reached Hadley on December 30, 1924, from J. Lionberger Davis, asking that “Washington University establish a Chair of Applied Sociology and call a man of outstanding ability to fill it.” Proving that this request did not come as a surprise to Hadley, Davis continued:

"Such a man of high academic standing combined with wide practical experience has been difficult to find, but through your cordial and sympathetic cooperation it has been possible to obtain the

The typical home of the neglected child, 1927. From The Challenge of St. Louis by George B. Mangold, director, Missouri School of Social Economy.
Frank John Bruno was the highly respected head of the Washington University social work program from 1925 to 1945. A eulogy said that “he had a high view of social work, and a devotion to it that grew as his contribution increased.” In his leadership style, he “promoted a climate that encouraged freedom of thought and inquiry, opened up alternatives, and made responsible decisions possible.”

In its early years, social work as a field shifted and changed. Bruno described these changes, linking them to the University’s program, in a 1927 Washingtonian account:

“The Missouri School of Social Economy ... was largely conceived as an effort in the field of economics; twenty to twenty-five years ago, the problems of wealth and poverty, the making and the distribution of wealth, were the objects of concern and determined the training of the social worker. While the social worker still is equipped with such discipline as economics affords, it has ceased to play a primary function in his training or technique.

“For a time, biology, with its exact theories of heredity, threatened to supplant economics and take first place in the thinking of this new discipline; but it really never controlled the field as economics had, for the facts of life as social work saw them did not fit in well with the fatalism of much biological theory. Psychology, especially the Freudian and then the behavioristic, took a much stronger hold upon it, because so many of its phenomena yielded to their methods.

“It is one of the curious aspects of training for social work that sociology, the abstract science, the general science of human relations, never has and does not now influence directly the thinking or practice of social work to any great extent, although practically every school which is in a position to do so requires it as a prerequisite to any technical work.”

consent of Professor Frank Bruno of the University of Minnesota. ... You have explained to us the financial limitations of the University and have asked us to guarantee the sum of $7,000.00 a year for three years ... [which we are willing to guarantee.”

The deal had been done, and all that remained was consent from the board of directors. With Bruno’s arrival in view, Hadley canceled Steger’s course but engaged in a vigorous correspondence with Bruno about the courses that would be included in this new program. Clearly, Hadley was pleased by his success in recruiting Bruno, whom he called “one of the leading social workers and social service educators of the country.” A brief dust-up occurred when Walter B. Bodenhafer, chairman of the sociology department, became concerned that Bruno was being hired to replace him as chair, but Bruno genially defused the crisis by writing that “headship of the Department is not anything which I crave and I am sure relationships will be entirely satisfactory without it.”

AN “IDEALLY EQUIPPED” UNIVERSITY

Although he lacked a PhD, Bruno’s sterling experience would still have made him a favorite for the sociology position. Born in Italy to parents who emigrated to the United States, he worked his way through school, receiving a bachelor’s degree from Williams College and ministerial training at Yale University. After serving as a Congregational pastor for several years, he shifted to social work; in New York City, he worked for the Charity Organization Society and took courses at the prominent New York School of Philanthropy, where he felt drawn to Mary Richmond’s sociology-based view of social work.

From 1914 to 1925, he headed the Minneapolis Family Welfare Society while teaching at the University of Minnesota’s School of Civic and Social Work and serving for three years as acting chairman of the Department of Sociology. His salary there was larger than the one offered by Washington University; the new job, ensured for only three years, would also require some serious fund-raising. But Bruno was enthusiastic. With its strong medical school, growing law and business schools, and “splendid Liberal Arts curriculum,” including a burgeoning psychology department, “the University ... is ideally equipped to be the seat of a training course for social work,” he wrote in 1927.

“Social work in St. Louis was started as early as in any other American city. ... But St. Louis is essentially conservative, and nowhere more so than in its social work.
In his leadership style, he “promoted a climate that encouraged freedom of thought and inquiry, opened up alternatives, and made responsible decisions possible.”

*Eulogy for Frank J. Bruno*

Up to the time of the organization of the Community Council I think it would not be unjust to have called St. Louis backward with respect to the progress it had made in the mastery of social work technique in comparison with other American communities of similar size and wealth ... [but now] the Community Council has come under a leadership which is gradually but surely transforming this older conservative, more or less negative attitude into one possessing a vigorous and progressive policy. One by one the agencies are catching the vision of a new way: some because they want to; others because they are persuaded to accept it; and some, I fear, because they must. But the enlightenment is here and it is spreading. If it continues for the next ten years, social work in St. Louis will compare very favorably with anything which the country has to offer.”

**CREATING A NEW PROGRAM**

One of the first decisions to make about the new program was its academic location: within Liberal Arts, like sociology? in the business school? as a separate entity? Without funding or an institutional mandate to create an independent school, Bruno and Hadley looked about them for an existing spot. At first, Hadley considered sociology, bypassing Dean William Gephart of the business school, who had shown mixed feelings about social work in the past. But after Gephart announced his resignation in spring 1925, Hadley did a quick turn-about, hiring as his replacement Isidor Loeb, former business and public administration dean at the University of Missouri, to create a similar program at Washington University, with social work under its umbrella.

Hadley’s assistant, George Throop, broke this news rather off-handedly to
Sylvia Schukar Thea

Sylvia Schukar Thea received a bachelor's degree in social work in 1934, and then a master's degree in 1940. During her career, she worked at agencies in St. Louis and in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

"It was the 1930s—the Depression—and my sister Pearl was working at the Provident Association. I think the stories she was telling me interested me enough that I said, 'Let me get into social work.'

Bruno in a memo about a new recruitment pamphlet, and the usually mellow Bruno was horrified. "I am opposed to it," he said forthrightly. "It belongs no more in the School of Business than in the School of Medicine or in the School of Law. ... Its exact affiliation is sociology and it should either remain in Arts as part of the Department of Sociology or it should go out with sociology into a school of social work." Later in the same note, his irritation bubbled up again in replying to Throop's expressed intention of omitting the term "training course" in describing the new program. "When I saw Chancellor Hadley, he said that we could not call our course a school. Your letter now says that we cannot call it a course. It seems to me that pretty nearly drives it off the map and I don't quite understand how we are going to describe what we are doing."

In an immediate reply, Throop relented, agreeing that the program could be called a "Training Course for Social Work." As to the business school association, he tried to smooth things over, saying: "It is the intention of the Chancellor to enlarge this [School of Commerce and Administration] so that it will embrace such courses as are manifestly fit for public and social service. ... Nothing will, of course, be done until you are on the ground." Once Bruno did arrive, he worked out a compromise: The Training Course would be part of Arts & Sciences at first, with the option of affiliating with the business school later.

As to the content of the program, all public materials were very specific: the work would be "kept practical," said a February 1925 article in the Washingtonian alumni magazine, "utilizing the social agencies, both public and private, of St. Louis for field work." The initial four part-time, unpaid faculty members included Steger; Caroline Bedford, assistant general manager of the Provident Association; Edith Baker, director of St. Louis Hospital Social Service; and Elwood Street, Community Council director. Though Bruno himself—who passionately believed in the value of research in advancing social work knowledge—favored a graduate-only program, he decided that the Midwest was not ready for it. For the present, social work would be offered to undergraduates during their last two years of study and to graduate students for one year as well.

The curriculum had a single focus: casework. There were 11 classes in all, including Social Diagnosis, Social Case-work, Child Welfare, Legal Protection of the Child, and Medical Aspects of Social Work. Nationally, social work training was beginning to shift to psychiatric
origins of behavior disorders, and the program reflected this trend with a required class in Psychiatric Aspects of Social Casework. To begin with, there would be one course each in group work and research, with more to come.

**EARLY CHANGES IN THE PROGRAM**

Not long after his arrival, Bruno had a chance to meet the newly arrived business dean Isidor Loeb, and his opinion of a merger began to shift. In a June 1925 letter to Throop, he had written that: “The task of developing a training course for social workers is a full-sized man's job in itself. ... The person who has it in charge, as I understand I shall, will naturally want not only the responsibility for this but complete authority within the limits of possibility. As a part of another special school, of course, the authority cannot be complete.” But Loeb was not an authoritarian figure; further, Bruno was feeling a chill from the dean of Arts & Sciences, who regarded social work as an applied, not academic, field.

So in November 1925 he did an about-face, writing to Hadley that “In view of the greater freedom for development it would seem desirable to incorporate the Training Course into the School of Commerce and Finance...” Instead of a BA, undergraduates would receive a bachelor’s degree in public administration (BSPA), while students in the one-year master’s program would receive MSPA degrees. Years later, Bruno wrote gratefully that Loeb “welcomed the curriculum to the University setting,” providing advice “that guided the Department in the early days in which its relationship to the University was being defined.”

Meanwhile, he also had to work out a solution to the problem of “colored” applicants; to Bruno’s chagrin, they could not be admitted to the segregated University. Working around this roadblock, he arranged for these students to register officially with the University of Chicago Extension Department but take classes at the University. By 1927, some 43 black students had participated. Later, black social work students registered for extension courses in University College through the Social Planning Council; their grades were then accepted for credit by other schools. However, the AASSW recommended discontinuing this practice as discriminatory.

**BEGINNINGS**

The barebones program got off the ground in fall 1925, under Arts & Sciences for the time being. Bruno tried to set an informal tone, even asking Throop and others to drop the “professor” title in addressing
him and simply use his last name. Throop demurred. "... I have small expectation that the idea will prevail with the rest of my colleagues," he said. "There is, in fact, a very miscellaneous method of addressing prevalent at the University, Mr, Dr, Professor, and no handle at all. You had probably better be prepared for almost anything, just as we are, provided it is not decidedly abusive."

By 1927, the program — now fully in the business school — had taken a more defined shape with three areas of focus: general casework, medical social work, and recreational social work. Yet Bruno was continually patching things together, saving money where he could. The recreational classes, discontinued five years later, were taught by a physical education faculty member, Bertha Bennett, whose salary was not his responsibility. He also stressed interdisciplinary cooperation, which meant that students took courses in Arts & Sciences, the law school, and increasingly in the medical school.

Early on, he tackled the issue of continuing support for his program, applying to the Danforth family and then to the Red Cross for funding. Both rejected his appeal. In 1927, he submitted a lengthy application to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation for five-year funding: $25,000 in the first
"The task of developing a training course for social workers is a full-sized man's job in itself... ." Isidor Loeb

year, $35,000 in the second and so on, with a major endowment at the end. Bruno had exciting plans for this money: expand the curriculum to include such courses as statistics, criminal statistics, playground management, and interviewing techniques; add new members to the faculty, including Leah Feder of New York's Charity Organization Society; and establish course sequences in community, delinquency, and medical and psychiatric social work. The expanded school, however, "will not attempt to become a school of social research... [which] belongs in sociology," he said. The foundation turned him down.

Even the optimistic Bruno must have felt discouraged about social work's prospects. As director and sole faculty member, he worked a grueling schedule. In an early memo to Hadley, he said frankly that "my own teaching is now spread as thinly as I dare... My correspondence is heavy. I probably write and receive an average of nearly one hundred letters a week... ." Add to that interviewing prospective students and juggling speaking engagements, he said wearily, and "a mere statement of these duties indicates how very lightly one person can touch them all." Further, the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work refused to accredit the program, saying that it needed "an adequate teaching and supervisory staff and that one person could not develop satisfactory courses... and supervise field work as well."

Still, Bruno managed to achieve some goals. Thanks to increased community funding, he hired Feder, a doctoral student with a psychoanalytic perspective on social work, as fieldwork supervisor. He insisted that graduate students engage in rigorous thesis research. He also urged Hadley to form a diverse advisory board made up largely of the guarantors who supplied his salary, and Hadley complied. But in December 1927 Hadley died, and the University had no permanent head until Throop, a supporter of social work education who strongly favored its affiliation with the business school, was named to replace him in 1928.

As Bruno frequently reiterated, there was a clear-cut need for the program. With some 500 social workers employed in St. Louis and a turnover rate of around 25 percent per year, he wrote in 1927, "the city could absorb every graduate the Training Course is likely to send out." In its first two-and-a-half years of life, the program had a respectable 93 people taking courses, with 30 more in the summer sessions and 75 in the Extension Department. The first bachelor's degree in the program was awarded in 1926; the
"In the spring of 1928, Mrs. George Warren Brown offered to Chancellor Throop a sum of money left by her husband some years before with instructions that it be not distributed until at least five years after his death. She wished to have it used as an endowment for the Department." — Frank J. Bruno

George Warren Brown (1853-1921). Son of a New York farmer, Brown moved to St. Louis in 1873 and became a salesman for a small wholesale shoe company. After trying unsuccessfully to convince his firm to expand into shoe manufacturing, he launched his own shoe factory—which grew into Brown Shoe Company, one of the largest in the United States and the first of many others in St. Louis.

Betty Hood Bofinger Brown (1861-1934). Adopted as a four year old by the Bofinger family, Betty Hood Bofinger grew up in St. Louis and married George Warren Brown in 1885. She was deeply interested in church and civic activities; she and her husband had one son who died as an infant. Later they adopted two children.

fist master's degree in 1927. "Perhaps the supply of students is the least satisfactory aspect...," said Bruno. "For some reason not quite clear, the number is lower than one would expect." More puzzling still, only 10 to 25 percent of the graduate students came from the St. Louis area. "No one seems to know why St. Louis and Missouri do not furnish their proportion of personnel for the social services," he mused.

To underscore the need for social work training, various agencies—likely at Bruno's instigation—wrote letters of support to the University: the Saint Louis Hospital Social Service board, made up of the wives of many of the social work guardians; the Red Cross; the Jewish Federation of St. Louis; the Visiting Nurse Association of St. Louis; the St. Louis Children's Aid Society; and last, but far from least, the St. Louis Provident Association, headed by former social work faculty members E.G. Steger and Caroline Bedford. Wrote Provident Association president Samuel C. McCluney: "... the training course at Washington University is essential for the maintenance of any decent kind of social work in St. Louis."

A SUDDEN WINDFALL
But how to secure the future? The advisory committee was stalwartly gearing up for a major fund drive when lightning struck. As Bruno would put it years later, with considerably less excitement than he must have felt at the time: "In the spring of 1928, Mrs. George Warren Brown offered to Chancellor Throop a sum of money left by her husband some years before with instructions that it be not distributed until at least five years after his death. She wished to have it used as an endowment for the Department."

Exactly why Betty Hood Bofinger Brown chose to give social work this substantial sum of money—securities and real estate that would amount to more than $500,000 after the property was sold—is not clear. Her husband, Brown Shoe Company founder George Warren Brown, who had died in 1921, had been a director of the Provident Association, so he was well aware of the problems that social work education faced in St. Louis. Among her close friends were Frank V. Hammar and his wife—and Hammar was a member of the small committee that
Cohen Stern graduated from Washington University with a bachelor's degree in social work in 1934. She became a community volunteer, spending 30 years volunteering for Jewish Hospital and similar groups.

"I graduated in 1934 and, if you remember, that was the height of the Depression. I had one winter coat and three woolen dresses; we didn't wear pants then. "It was hard to find a job, and the agencies had to cut back. At the Provident Association, where I worked for a year, they were letting people go, and they also changed the caseload from 75 or 100 clients to 250. All a person could do was give out food and rent checks; at that time, you could rent a small, railroad-type apartment for just $15 per month. "On almost every corner, you could see a man selling apples for five cents apiece. It was really a sad time."

had hired Bruno, while both Hammars were members of the advisory committee.

The background of Mrs. Brown herself may provide additional clues to her interest. As young children, she and her sister were surrendered by their uncle to an orphanage, where they were adopted by Captain John N. Bofinger and his wife, Mary. All her life, Mrs. Brown was interested in projects that would benefit children: the YWCA, children's homes, the Red Cross, and a group for young girls called the "King's Daughters." In 1918, she had served as a member of the board of the Missouri School of Social Economy.

For the advisory committee, now headed by Sidney Maestre of the Mercantile Trust Co., this news must have been breathtaking. The committee quickly asked Mrs. Brown to become a committee member, which she did in 1929. The gift had no strings attached; Mrs. Brown only stipulated that the Department of Social Work be named for her husband. Isaac Orr, president of the Union Trust Co. and one of the other two Brown executors, also posed no objections. As Bruno wrote in 1945, "as Mr. Orr was intimately interested in the University as well as in social work, there were no difficult conditions." Finally, the future of social work was guaranteed.
"It was characteristic of Mr. Bruno that he was generous with his purse in helping many students whose financial stress threatened their completion of work toward the degree." An admirer.

**Forging Ahead**

At last, Bruno could relax his efforts to survive and concentrate on building the program. In 1928, he hired Grace Ferguson, a medical social worker with Indiana University Medical School, whom he had written wistfully of hiring in the Laura Spelman Rockefeller application. The following year, he hired William W. Burke, a child welfare expert, to take over courses related to administration, particularly of child welfare agencies. Next, he recruited a series of part-time medical faculty to teach the clinical observation of medicine, while psychiatrist Paul E. Kubitschek taught Psychiatric Aspects of Casework in the Extension Division. Another part-timer, Dorothy W. Burke, wife of William Burke, taught research methods.

The program, now a full-fledged department within the business school, was moving forward. With the new funding, the number of courses jumped to 15. In 1929, Bruno announced that two $350 scholarships would now be available: one in medical social work from Mrs. James C. Jones, who had co-signed the letter from the Saint Louis Hospital Social Service board asking the University to continue social work training; and the other from advisory committee member Daniel K. Catlin, whose wife was the Social Service Board secretary. At times, Bruno himself helped students quietly, said an admirer after Bruno’s death:

“It was characteristic of Mr. Bruno that he was generous with his purse in helping many students whose financial stress threatened their completion of work toward the degree. He interested the Alumni Association of the School in establishing a student loan fund to augment this resource for emergencies. Some years later, in recognition of Mr. Bruno, the Alumni Association changed the name of this fund to the Frank J. Bruno Student Loan Fund.”

Any support must have seemed especially welcome in October 1929 with the start of the Depression, which placed new demands on social workers across the nation. In St. Louis, the unemployed were suddenly selling apples on street corners; a “Hooverville” shantytown sprang up along the riverfront. At the University, the number of students soon dropped off as families could no longer afford tuition.

Bruno headed a faculty planning committee—"the most extensive one of its kind operating in this country," said the Alumni Bulletin—that selected 80 unemployed men and women to audit courses at the University, free of charge.

“Most of the older men are living on their scanty savings or with relatives. ... The
family men have been through the mill, but still have hopes for the future," said Stuart Queen, a PhD from the University of Chicago and former social worker, now a newly hired sociology professor. In 1934, with hard times continuing, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) paid the tuition for some 100 graduate students from eight states to come to St. Louis for courses in social work. "The Government ... selected the Washington University department as the training school for these workers because of its high academic standing in the Middle West," said the Bulletin.

"DEAREST DREAM AND WISH" COMES TRUE
In that same year, Mrs. Brown died, leaving another windfall to the George Warren Brown Department of Social Work — "a sum," reported the Alumni Bulletin a bit too optimistically, "which University officials hope will reach $1,000,000." Her will attached only a few requirements: that the University start a building for the department within a year after receiving the money; that the name "George Warren Brown" be carved in stone above the front door; that the remainder of her bequest be used as endowment for the department only, not for the University; and that a room be set aside for social gatherings.
Further bequests from the will of Betty Bohner Brown

"I give and bequeath to The Washington University, a corporation of the State of Missouri, the portrait of my deceased husband, George Warren Brown, and the portrait of myself, both painted by Louis Betts, to be by said The Washington University kept constantly hung and exhibited in suitable places in the building hereinafter referred to as the George Warren Brown Department of Social Work; also, to be kept in said building, the large Satsuma vase and teakwood stand in the front hall, the grandfather's clock on the front stairway, the diploma of my late husband, George Warren Brown, for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, the French desk in the west first floor front room copied from one in the Louvre, and the cabinet and small French table with three drawers in the same room."
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI

PROGRAM
on the occasion of the opening of the
GEORGE WARREN BROWN MEMORIAL HALL

January twelfth to seventeenth
Nineteen hundred and thirty seven
“This is, I believe, the first building erected in this country solely for the purpose of social work.” George Throop

Unlike the first infusion of money, this one did not come as a surprise to Bruno and Throop. A year before her death, Mrs. Brown had changed her will to leave half of her estate for this new building, and she began working with University architects Jamieson and Spearl to draft plans for its construction, which would cost around $250,000. She agreed that it could house several other departments, including history, political science, and the recently combined Department of Sociology and Anthropology, headed by Stuart Queen.

Privately, the cornerstone was laid on January 14, 1936. Then in January 1937, the hard-pressed University managed to send out 3,000 invitations to a five-day celebration of this new building, located just south of Busch Hall. Measuring 221 by 88 feet, the three-story structure contained 22 offices for instructors, eight classrooms and eight more seminar rooms, a 500-person auditorium, a library and reading room in the tower, and the second-floor memorial lounge with adjoining kitchenette that Mrs. Brown had stipulated. The basement had a smoking room for men, as well as storage space for a fast-growing collection of public documents related to public welfare.

The gala occasion reflected the pride that everyone felt in this new building. During the week, five local, state, and national welfare groups held meetings there, including the Missouri Association for Social Welfare and the AASSW. The student theatrical group Thysrus staged three plays in the new auditorium. At the dedication itself, Judge Joseph N. Ulman of Baltimore spoke about the common ground between law and social work, while Chancellor Throop gave a speech that resonated with pride:

“A beautiful and well arranged building, which Mrs. Brown saw in plan and elevation and which she characterized as the dearest dream and wish of her life, has now been made ready for occupancy. ... This is, I believe, the first building erected in this country solely for the purpose of social work. ... It is not with a flare of trumpets or high Utopian ambitions of the salvation of the human race that we essay the task that lies ahead. It is merely to do our part, soundly and sanely, in
"A beautiful and well arranged building, which Mrs. Brown saw in plan and elevation and which she characterized as the dearest dream and wish of her life, has now been made ready for occupancy." George Throop

Ruth Endicott Lewis (1896-1954). Longtime professor of medical social work, she was a leader nationally in the field, serving as president of the American Association of Medical Social Work. After her death, a resolution honoring her said that her grasp of her field was "primarily responsible for the development of medical social work at this School and for a significant contribution to its development country-wide."

MOVING FORWARD

At last, social work was thriving and Bruno had time to take on national positions. After the first Brown gift, he had taken a year-long sabbatical, which he spent at the London School of Economics and the British Museum writing an acclaimed book, The Theory of Social Work. For two years, he served as president of the AASSW and for one year as president of the National Conference of Social Work, helping to plan the federal government’s social welfare and social security program. He also was president of the Missouri Association for Social Welfare from 1938 to 1939.

Meanwhile, changes were continuing to re-shape the social work field. In 1937, the AASSW decided that social work accreditation would require a two-year master’s degree program, beginning in 1939; further, the Master of Social Work would be necessary for professional social workers. Quickly, Bruno—who had long wished for this change himself—transformed his curriculum, offering some informational courses to seniors but all the professional courses in a two-year, graduate-level program. For the first time, these graduate students received the “MSW” degree.

Even before the building was completed, the energetic Bruno continued at a brisk pace, hiring new faculty members. In 1934, he appointed medical social worker Ruth E. Lewis as an instructor and director of field practice; she became full professor in 1945. In 1938, he named psychiatrist E. Van Norman Emery as professor of social psychiatry. And in 1939, he made the most significant appointment of all when he hired Benjamin E. Youngdahl, formerly director of public welfare for the State of Minnesota, as associate professor.

Other schools had heard about the success of the Washington University social work program. In 1938, board members of some Kansas City social agencies approached Bruno about offering refresher classes for local social workers and basic courses for newcomers to the field. Bruno agreed, and until 1947 the Department had a Kansas City unit, which provided the only professional training available to social workers there; its resident director for several years was Helen Hayden, assistant professor. Later, the Department established satellite locations in outstate Missouri—Jefferson City, Canton, Poplar Bluff, and Farmington—until the World War II tire shortage...
have been necessary for teaching. I now think. Even so... they seemed to care a great deal about their students. I thought I might want to be like one in particular—Benjamin Youngdahl, a professor for whom social work and reform were a single idea. Although I never took his class, I understood what he was about. In time, we became friends.

"...I emerged from graduate school having absorbed convictions about professionalism and ethical behavior that have never left me. I learned how to counsel people in difficulty without trying to shape them to be like me. And I absorbed an optimistic, expansionist view of the future of the social work profession.

"In 1941, social work was not greatly valued among professions—a woman's profession, as my mother had said, with low pay, identified with welfare, and, in many settings, subordinate to physicians—but it was clear to our professors and so to us that we were entrusted with an irresistible engine that integrated ideas about psychotherapy, family relations, and community into a single service. These would win us a valued place in the new world we would help to make."
put an end to the project. For both programs, faculty from St. Louis, including William Burke, Katherine T. Spence, Ruth Lewis, and Benjamin Youngdahl, traveled weekly to offer classes.

All the while, students and alumni began to gather more formally to bolster the Department’s spirit. The Social Work Club, made up of graduate students, inaugurated a series of dances, teas, monthly meetings with prominent speakers, and an annual Faculty-Student banquet. Beginning in 1940, the Social Work Alumni Association started soliciting contributions for the Bruno loan fund to help needy students.

**WARTIME PROBLEMS**

With his beloved program on a firm foundation—even acquiring a national reputation—Bruno declared to Throop in 1941 that he was ready to retire. No sooner had Throop appointed a committee to select a successor than World War II began, and Bruno agreed to stay on for the duration. Enrollment dropped for a time as students reported to wartime jobs and military service. “There was agitation for placing some of the courses back on the undergraduate level,” wrote Bruno, “and by the academic year 1942-43 the Department decided to establish what has become known as the Junior Professional Curriculum and to admit students to introductory courses in the junior year, while placing several of the elementary professional courses in the senior year.” During the war, social work temporarily adopted a speeded-up curriculum compressing two years of master’s study into 15 months of very intense work.

Social work alumni were also drawn into the war effort, serving with the Red Cross, the USO, and the U.S. Employment Service, the agency responsible for staffing war industries. With the loss of agency social workers who had assisted with fieldwork, the Department’s own faculty had to take over while, at the same time, some of those faculty were leaving for war-related duty. Among them was Benjamin Youngdahl, who took a leave of absence in 1944-1945 to work for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in its Division of Displaced Persons. For this assignment, wrote Bruno later, “he was highly praised by the Army for the brilliance of his services.”

Despite wartime privations, social work managed a very respectable record by the end of 1945-1946, officially its 20th anniversary year. Altogether, the Department had granted 170 master’s degrees, and over the years these students had come from all but four or five states
"In August 1944, I was busily working on my thesis in the basement of my house because we didn’t have air-conditioning. It was very hot, as St. Louis summers could be, and I had my typewriter down there. Then one day, Frank Bruno called me into his office and said, ‘I have a proposition for you. We need a thesis supervisor, and I’ve talked with Dr. [Stuart] Queen and Dr. [William] Burke and they both thought you could do this, so I would like to offer you the job starting as soon as you finish. Of course, you have to get your degree first.’ Well, I intended to finish my thesis, that was for sure, because I didn’t want it hanging over me but I wasn’t certain about the job. I said I would have to think it over.

"Well, I thought about it and came back and said I would take it—but there was one proviso. ‘You know the St. Louis Cardinals and the St. Louis Browns are playing in the World Series this year? I have a ticket to one of the games, which is while school is on, and I have to have that day off.’ He looked at me and said: ‘Who are you going to root for?’ I said, ‘The St. Louis Browns—they are my team.’ He said, ‘Good. OK, you can have the day off.’ And that is how my career began.”

and many countries: England, Germany, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Puerto Rico, China, and Ceylon. It could point with pride to key aspects of its program, particularly its third-floor library which in 1943-1944 contained 10,000 volumes on social work and “thousands of publications,” boasted the catalog.

Its program was also growing. Now the curriculum consisted of 65 courses, only a few on the undergraduate level; there were nine full-time and 15 part-time faculty members. To receive the MSW, students had to accrue 48 units of course credit, with a research-based thesis and two months of full-time, supervised fieldwork. Tuition was $175 per term. In spring 1945, a new sequence in psychiatric social work was approved by the National Association, and in 1946 there was a sequence in group work. Further, social work faculty continued to support related programs in the community; in 1942-43, Frank Bruno, Ruth Lewis, and Stuart Queen were among the part-time faculty of the St. Louis School of Occupational and Recreational Therapy, which would soon become part of Washington University.

Further, a master’s thesis by student David Rabinowitz, which tabulated employment information for 151 social work graduates from 1939 to 1946, reported that alumni were finding success in their careers. Of the 124 employed people in this group (most of the remainder were homemakers), only two were not in social work jobs, and the rest had quickly attained responsible, often leadership, positions. Salaries were various, with two lucky alumni making more than $500 per month and two, not-so-lucky, less than $180. Men made more than women—$300 against $248—with the median salary at $253.84. Partly because of wartime attrition,
women vastly outnumbered men. The median age of the group was 34.8 years, indicating that many graduates had been employed before returning to school.

As the war wound down, Youngdahl’s absence was particularly noticeable, since he had been chosen in absentia to replace Bruno as head. Other changes were coming, too. For more than a decade, the advisory committee had been agitating for an upgraded status for social work: establishing it as an independent school within the University. Until 1945, wrote Bruno, “the time did not seem ripe for such a change. However, as the time approached when the Head of the Department would retire, the wisdom of independent status became increasingly apparent.”

Thus, in fall 1945, change was in the air, at every level. At the University, Chancellor Throop’s long tenure had come to an end in 1944, and Harry B. Wallace was the acting chancellor, with a permanent head—the distinguished Arthur Holly Compton—on the way. Like many others, Frank Bruno was calling for a new era of social justice—and this cry would soon reverberate across Washington University and the nation. As Bruno had said during his 1943 Washington University Commencement address, “The Price of Freedom”:

“The basic ideal of our new world must be respect for mankind.” Frank J. Bruno

“The basic ideal of our new world must be respect for mankind. ... We readily repeat the political formula ‘all men are created free and equal,’ and the religious formula, ‘all men are brothers,’ but the concept is so bled white of meaning by our behaviors and our ingrained attitudes that it has lost most of its significance to our ears. We can think with compassion of the starving Chinese thousands of miles away, and send food to keep them alive; but we exclude them from coming to live amongst us on equal terms with other immigrants. We freed the Negroes of our nation from slavery, but we practice racial discrimination in the affairs of daily life ....”

The newly established George Warren Brown School of Social Work would be part of this new, post-war world. Now, as its head, it had a dynamic visionary and activist, deeply committed to the principles of racial justice, poised to lead it into a new phase of growth.
By late 1945, the whole world seemed fresh and new. The bitter privations of the Depression were over; so were the horrors of World War II. Across the country, veterans were flooding onto university campuses, which seemed sure to figure prominently in America’s shining future. As Arthur Holly Compton, new Washington University chancellor, said at his gala inauguration in February 1946: “The goal before us is education for a greater destiny. Our nation is setting a pattern for the world. Here at our nation’s heart the pattern selected by Washington University can thus shape the growth of man.”

On its 20th anniversary, the University’s social work program appeared poised to further this mission, especially since it was celebrating its own new beginning. Frank Bruno, who had ably founded and led the young program, was now professor emeritus, remaining on campus to teach the history of social welfare. And his newly appointed successor was a faculty member he had hired in 1939: his good friend, fellow Minnesotan—and in some ways polar opposite—Benjamin E. Youngdahl.

Dynamic and pragmatic, Youngdahl represented a giant culture shift from the quiet, philosophical Bruno. He came from a large family, and a number of his brothers were liberal move and shakers: Reuben was pastor of Mount Olivet Church in Minneapolis, the largest Lutheran church in the world; Luther was a reform-minded governor of Minnesota; and Oscar was a U.S. Congressman.

A graduate of Gustavus Adolphus College with a master’s degree in economics from Columbia University in 1923, Benjamin Youngdahl had spent his career fighting for social change, first as a public school principal and superintendent and then as administrator of a large Minnesota public welfare agency. From 1923 to 1933, he was a professor of sociology at Gustavus Adolphus.

As a faculty member at Washington University, he had already demonstrated his leadership ability. He had served as president of the Missouri Association of Public Welfare and had nearly become president of the American Association of Social Workers, a post he declined for a year-long leave to work with war refugees. At the National Conference of Social Work meeting in spring 1944, he was a major figure and program chair.

“Demand for his service as a speaker, a leader of institutes and studies, has been
Mary Taussig Hall

Mary Taussig Tompkins Hall, a St. Louisan by birth, graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1933 and worked for a time at Hull House in Chicago as secretary to Jane Addams, who suggested that she get a graduate degree in social work. She received her MSW degree from GWB in 1938, and for her thesis she did a study of impoverished tiff miners and their children in the Missouri Bootheel. A lifelong activist in the fields of civil rights, peace, and hunger, she later served on the Missouri Children's Code Commission and was a founder of the Child Welfare Service Union.

"My mother, Florence Taussig, was a suffragist and active in the International League for Peace and Freedom in St. Louis. She was a great fighter for all kinds of causes. My father, Frederick Taussig, was a doctor, who often saw patients for free. Why did I go to the social work school? I guess I just grew up knowing that is the kind of thing you did. You just don't sit back and sip tea. You have to do something.

"We all respected Frank Bruno and thought he was a great dean, but he believed in research and having those volumes up on the shelf. Dean Benjamin Youngdahl inspired me to become an activist. He wanted me to go out and do research in the field, then go to Jefferson City and do something about the problem.

"When I visited the tiff-mining families, we would have a cup of soup together. You didn't have meat, potato, and vegetable; you had soup. Their little children were quite a sight. Tiff was a white substance that was found on the surface of the earth; three- and four-year-olds would pick up the little pieces, bigger children would pick up the bigger ones, and then they put them all in sacks and took them in to weigh. The whole family mined together.

"One of my favorite people was Leona Evans [one of the first black students at GWB]. We worked together later, and I remember that we had to place a black child; his uncle, who lived in the country, said he would take him. We drove an hour south of St. Louis to see where this child was living. We asked where he was going to school. We thought he'd be going to the regular school in town. But no, we were told he would be going to the school out there — a little one-room schoolhouse in the middle of the fields, taught by one teacher. It was segregation, you see, and there must be a million stories like that."

far greater during the five years he was with us than he could possibly meet," wrote Bruno in 1944.

Bruno was largely responsible for Youngdahl's appointment as dean, making an impassioned case to Harry Brookings Wallace, who served briefly as acting chancellor after George Throop's resignation and before Compton's arrival.

"In the five years that Mr. Youngdahl was here, he demonstrated his capacity as a brilliant and stimulating teacher. ... Mr. Youngdahl at once captured the imagination and the personal acceptance of our staff and there would be a unanimous approval of his appointment," continued Bruno in his 1944 letter.

The timing of this request was curious, coming as soon as Throop was gone — and Richard F. Jones, dean of graduate studies, revealed the reason in a 1944 letter to Wallace. "I happen to know that Dr. Throop was not favorably disposed toward the appointment of Professor Youngdahl because of his lack of academic training," wrote Jones, adding that he himself approved, though he wished Youngdahl's "academic training had been somewhat more extensive."

During the war, a search committee — Jones, Bruno, Stuart Queen, and William Stead, the capable business dean who had succeeded Isidor Loeb — had hunted for Bruno's successor. On several trips east, however, Bruno had found all viable candidates engaged in war work, and "to find a suitable head for the new school on the outside would necessitate postponing an appointment until after the war," added Jones.

So Bruno hung on for the duration, though it is likely that securing Youngdahl as his successor was never far from his mind. As Jones added, "during the time when the committee ... was seeking Professor Bruno's successor, Dean Stead, Professor Bruno, and Professor Queen regretted very much that Chancellor Throop would not appoint Professor Youngdahl." Later, Bruno himself declared that Youngdahl had been "the best person whom we considered during these three or four years." With Throop's departure, the time was ripe for a reconsideration.

Leona Evans, 1953. Among the earliest African-American graduates of the School of Social Work, Evans, MSW '49, had already been engaged in a successful social work career before becoming a student. Among her accomplishments was helping to organize and develop the Nursery Foundation, the first interracial nursery in St. Louis. She was also a pioneer in recruiting black foster and adoptive families.
The School had earned its independence by winning local, national, even international recognition. ... Among its peers, it was lagging behind ...

A NEW SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
Thanks to Bruno's persuasiveness, Youngdahl would serve as dean — not just department head — of the newly created George Warren Brown School of Social Work. The advisory committee was thrilled, expressing "satisfaction that the change which ... might have been made at least 10 years ago is now in process," wrote Bruno. He, too, had lobbied repeatedly for this change while Throop was chancellor but had gotten nowhere. As he noted in a 1945 reminiscence, "The usual response has been that there would be nothing gained immediately by such a change of auspices."

With Throop gone, it was time to revisit this matter as well — but at first Wallace wanted no part of making such a large decision. As the social work faculty minutes said in October 1944, "Mr. Bruno announced that Dean Stead is in agreement with the idea. ... Acting Chancellor Wallace refuses to discuss the matter, however, since he feels such a decision should be made by the new Chancellor."

A month later, Wallace had somehow reversed course and was ready to take this recommendation to the Board of Directors. In a letter promoting this change, Bruno highlighted several reasons carefully calculated to appeal to the Board. The School, he said, had earned its independence by winning local, national, even international recognition. It was also rich enough, with a large endowment. Among its peers, it was lagging behind, since 34 other social work programs were organized as schools and only eight as departments. Further, it had effectively been independent for years, having "enjoyed in fact a large measure of freedom" under Stead's benign regime. Finally — and how could a financially minded board argue with this? — the prestige attached to such a change would appeal to prospective students and faculty, as well as "potential givers of large
sums of money." Wallace and the board quickly capitulated.

Another part of Bruno's request would prove impossible to sell, though it would foreshadow change in years to come. He asked for authority to grant "the degree of Doctor of Social Work as a professional degree rather than a doctorate built upon academic criteria." This course of study would require six years after the bachelor's degree: two years of professional experience, one year of classes, and preparation of a research-based thesis. By adopting this plan, Washington University would be setting itself apart from "the two or three schools now giving the degree ... pretty much on the same basis as the Doctor of Philosophy, namely after three years of graduate work." His goal was rather a "distinctly professional project, something that will train men and women to make outstanding contributions to the field."

Not surprisingly, the academically minded Richard Jones disagreed strongly with this proposal. "Professor Bruno himself states that only two or three schools are now offering it," he wrote, "and that on a different basis from the one on which he wishes the degree to be given. In other words, he wishes to introduce an innovation, which, I think, should be more thoroughly considered and
discussed." When Bruno drafted a formal "ordinance" establishing the School, he omitted his PhD proposal. On December 12, 1944, the ordinance was approved by the Board and the George Warren Brown School of Social Work, minus a doctoral program, was at last a reality.

**BENJAMIN YOUNGDAHL BEGINS**

Just as Benjamin Youngdahl took the reins in September 1945, enrollment began to burgeon. In the second semester of 1942-1943, social work had mustered only 28 full-time professional students; 31 in the first semester of 1944-1945. By spring 1946, there were 135 students: 61 full-time graduate students, 35 part-timers, and five registered for thesis work only; in addition, 34 students were following the Junior Curriculum, which would end in 1952. "In all probability," wrote Youngdahl in a 1946 letter to the alumni, "our limitations for the fall semester will not be the number of qualified applicants but rather the field work placements that we are able to arrange." To expand those opportunities, the School established its own fieldwork units in the St. Louis County Hospital, the City Sanitarium, the Division of Welfare, and the Washington University Clinics, while some 30 other agencies took students under their supervision.

What's more, he added in a 1946 letter to Compton, the student body "always has been cosmopolitan, [but] is becoming even more so." The School had routinely enrolled a couple of foreign students each year, but in 1946-1947 there were a few from Hawaii; several from Puerto Rico; and three Chinese students given scholarships by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the same agency that Youngdahl had served during the war. Throughout the School, many students received financial aid—from the Provident Association, the U.S. Public Health Service, the Family Service Society, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, GI benefits, and others—often with the proviso that they would join the agency after graduation. Tuition in 1945-1946 was $240 per year.

These students were entering a professional world begging for their services. While the scope of the need was hard to...
Homer C. Bishop (1912-2007)

A well-respected expert on group work, Bishop, MSW '48, joined the GWB faculty in 1946, became associate professor in 1952, and left in 1961 to become executive director of the Federation of Settlements in Columbus, Ohio. "I knew both Frank Bruno and Benjamin Youngdahl, and they were very different. Frank Bruno was a kindly, effective teacher from the 'old school.' He taught from Mary Richmond's book. His basic training was theology, but he practiced in the social welfare area for years. Benjamin Youngdahl had a master's in economics and was a very efficient, hard-driving teacher. He had taught public welfare — and had experience in that field in Minnesota — and that was the basis for his work.

"For the kinds of growth and development that were needed in the School, Ben Youngdahl was probably more effective, and he did strengthen the School in public welfare and community organization. But Frank Bruno was my favorite of all over the years. He was a nice guy, who was interested in teaching the basic orientation to social work students, primarily in casework."

quantify, "the field can absorb as many competent social workers as the schools can train in the next several decades," said a School faculty report. The rapid expansion of public agencies during the Depression was one cause; another was the creation of new jobs — such as veterans' services, job counseling, mental health services, and industrial or union social work — by the war and its aftermath. The immediate task for the School, continued the faculty, "is to supply as many [social work graduates] as possible for positions of leadership and supervision through a curriculum based closely on developments in the field and job requirements."

Amid this period of exciting growth, the School paused to acknowledge the past. In January 1946, the advisory committee — now formally known as the Citizens' Advisory Committee to distinguish it from a Professional Advisory Committee that helped define course work — held a tea for several hundred people to honor Bruno and the 20th anniversary of social work at Washington University. At Commencement ceremonies the following June, Frank Bruno received an honorary LLD degree because, said the citation, he "is one of the creators and pioneers in social work.... Tolerant and sympathetic to the needs of people everywhere, he not only teaches methods and principles of democracy; he lives them as well."

To carry on his work, they needed new faculty, and quickly. Mary Hester, formerly executive secretary of Family and Children's Service of Ann Arbor, Michigan, became an assistant professor, handling case work, while Margaret Schutz, a newly minted MSW, was a thesis supervisor. Homer C. Bishop was back from the Army to head a small but strong new group work sequence, which mostly attracted social work professionals in the community. In 1946, Youngdahl announced that the brilliant Louis Towley, yet another Minnesotan and formerly a visiting professor, would teach social action; a dozen years later, he served as acting dean for two months while
Louis H. Trowley (1904-1959). A Minnesota native, Trowley had served in various social welfare positions before joining GWB as a visiting professor in 1944-1945, associate professor in 1946, and professor from 1951 until his death. He was acting dean from October to December 1958. Trowley was an energetic teacher and colleague. He “was an intellectual giant,” said one eulogist. “Few teachers, on his own campus or anywhere, were his equal in the classroom.”

Youngdahl underwent surgery. Alongside him were new part-timers, including Rudolph Danstedt, executive secretary of the Social Planning Council, and Samuel Gerson, executive director of the Jewish Federation. Even by the standards of the time, salaries were modest: Youngdahl made $7,000 and Bishop $3,200, with old-timers Ruth E. Lewis receiving $4,800 and William W. Burke $4,500.

A Freudian-based casework approach was the central theme of the GWB program during Youngdahl’s tenure; it was also the mainstream of social work education nationally. During his tenure as dean, Frank Bruno had predicted this trend when he wrote: “Psychology, especially the Freudian and then the behavioristic, took a much stronger hold upon [the field], because so many of its phenomena yielded to their methods.” While the Freudian view—that personality is shaped by childhood experience—dominated in most social work schools, a few held to the theory of Otto Rank, who believed that at the root of most personal-
Students were introduced to Freudian ideas as early as the first semester, in a course on psychoanalytic approaches to social work taught by E. Van Norman Emery.

"TRANSITION AND CHANGE"

"The academic year 1945-46 has been one of transition and change," wrote Youngdahl in May 1946, with considerable understatement. He had begun to tackle the curriculum — consisting of 65 courses, a few on the undergraduate but most on the graduate level — which needed immediate adjustment. In another move toward uniformity among programs, the American Association of Schools of Social Work (AASSW) had set a new requirement in 1944. During the first year of graduate study all programs should offer their students eight content areas (known as the "Basic Eight"): medical, psychiatric, administrative, public welfare, casework research, casework methodology, group work, and community organization. Specializing in a particular population, setting, or social problem would wait until the second year.

"GWB," as the School was now known informally, had not previously been able to develop such areas of specialization. Medical social work, anchored by Ruth Lewis, was an exception; it was, wrote Ralph Pumphrey later, "one of the best specializations in the country in this field." Right away, Youngdahl formed...
After complaints from medical associations, the National nurses joined the movement to demand recognition for social work. Charlotte Fowler's Common Human Needs concept was influential in establishing a broader, more comprehensive approach to health care.

Demonstration of psycho-drama as therapeutic technique, 1951. Alumni meeting at the St. Louis State Hospital, where a psycho-drama group was conducted by caseworker Nancy Strickland, MSW '49.

faculty committees to look into curricular change, and in his May letter to alumni, he had news to report. “You will note suggested sequences in each of the major specializations and also a number of new courses: The Social and Psychological Implications of the Psychoses, Social Planning in an Urban Area, Public Relations and Interpretation, Social Action, Administration of Private Social Agencies, and several new courses in the group work sequence.” His special target, however, was psychiatric social work. While the AASSW did approve the School’s psychiatric curriculum in 1945, thanks largely to the efforts of faculty member Margaret Williams, he wanted to build the program further with training grants from the new, well-funded National Institute of Mental Health, created in 1947.

Youngdahl lost no time getting in line, inviting to campus late in 1946 a representative from the U.S. Public Health Service, the agency administering the U.S. Mental Health Act. Acting on the visitor’s advice, Youngdahl applied in March 1947 for nearly $30,000 to expand the current training program with new staff, field placements, student stipends, and equipment. Good news came the
following January, when the School was awarded the first in a series of NIMH grants, and Margaret Williams was named to the advisory committee for the grant program. By 1949, the School was receiving nearly $33,000 a year for psychiatric social work, including eight scholarships of $1,600 each.

To map GWB’s future, Youngdahl initiated an intense faculty planning effort for the 1947 to 1957 period, and by January 1947 they had a consensus, detailed in a document sent to Chancellor Compton. First, it called for controlled growth to a maximum size of 200 students—the most that Brown Hall could hold. Privately, Youngdahl was lobbying Compton for the exclusive use of the building, which still housed other departments. Second, the plan envisioned an expansion of fieldwork to meet the needs of this larger student body. At that moment, GWB was already working to develop specialized placements at the Menninger Clinic and the Winter Veterans Hospital, both in Kansas; the new Child Guidance Clinic being developed at the University; and the Bliss Psychopathic Hospital in St. Louis; as well as centers in rural counties near St. Louis. Third, the document reiterated Youngdahl’s desire to offer a doctorate in social work and to strengthen research overall, with the possibility of publishing exceptional papers.

In another piece of the plan, faculty members stressed the importance of the leadership roles they were taking in local agencies and national organizations. Ruth Lewis was on the board of the AASSW; William Burke had helped create the Missouri State Department of Public Health and Welfare; Louis Towsley lectured at frequent institutes; and Youngdahl himself was the most active of all. Eventually, he would serve as president of the AASSW from 1947-1948, president of the American Association of Social Workers from 1951-1953, and president of the National Conference of Social Work, beginning in 1955.

Altogether, the School was bustling. Adding to the activity was the Social Work Alumni Club, dormant from 1943 to 1945, which came to life again with Merle Kramer, AB ’40, MSW ’42, as its first postwar president. Beginning with a reception in 1945 to welcome Youngdahl, they took on a range of new functions: revitalizing the annual alumni dinner, organizing an annual lecture series, starting chapters in other cities. A student Social Work Club also formed, which planned the student-faculty Thursday lunches.
“Social work seeks two things for people: economic well-being and the deeper source of happiness that is self-realization.”

10-year strategic plan

Annual Dinner of the Social Work Alumni Association, 1949. Dean Youngdahl (sitting) chats with Mrs. Leona Evans (to his right), one of the early African-American students.
To Youngdahl’s frustration, one key element was lacking during this busy, prosperous time. An old friend of Roger Baldwin, who ardently supported civil liberties himself, he was deeply disturbed that Washington University did not accept black students, and he began campaigning ever more vociferously to reverse that policy. Almost as soon as he arrived in 1945, he spoke with Joyce Stearns, Compton’s assistant, to press for their admission to social work. Frank Bruno and the faculty had long been of the same mind: They had first made a formal request for integration in the late 1930s.

Others were joining Youngdahl in his cry for change. In mid-1946, the Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis urged area ministers to write to Washington University board members, and many complied, including some from neighboring congregations. “No longer is the issue just a moral one,” wrote a minister from nearby Delmar Baptist Church. “Now it has become a question as to whether or not Washington University will espouse the real cause of democracy which it claims to uphold.... The Negro youth who fought in World War II and who have now returned to find that the democracy they fought to maintain is not for them, have just cause for bitterness.”

But Compton did not act, and in October 1946 Youngdahl wrote that the social work faculty “unanimously and vigorously approves” of admitting black students to graduate training in fall 1947. Overwhelmingly, he added, the students agreed; that spring, the Social Work Club had passed resolutions calling for an end to race-based entrance requirements.

“I do want to point out,” he concluded, “that here in the School of Social Work we are placed in a particularly vulnerable position insofar as we teach our students to be objective in human relations and to value the human personality as such.”

As Compton continued to struggle with this issue, Youngdahl kept up the pressure, arguing repeatedly — and more vocally than any other dean — that GWB had an obligation to train black social workers, who were in short supply nationally. Youngdahl found an ally in Stuart Queen, now dean of the College of Liberal Arts,
"I was one of the first black students at Washington University, and yet I felt welcome there."

Ruth Greene Richardson

who wrote that the "acceptance of negroes in our School of Social Work, Graduate School, and University College ... would contribute in an important way to the lessening of inter-racial tensions." However, in November 1946, Youngdahl told his faculty that the chancellor had "suggested that ... the question should be allowed to rest for the time being."

In May 1947, Youngdahl wrote his most detailed letter yet, marshalling a number of critical arguments. He pointed out that Missouri was woefully short of professional social work education for black students; while Saint Louis University had begun admitting blacks, that school had no approved psychiatric curriculum and no group work sequence. Within the black community, he said, there was a great need for social work help. The Missouri Department of Health and Welfare had 3,485 general relief cases, 45 percent of them involving black clients. But that same department employed only one black casework supervisor, five junior supervisors, and no case workers — primarily because the caseworker position required at least one semester of graduate work.

Still nothing happened. That October, Youngdahl wrote a new memo reiterating many of the same points but taking a more impatient tone. "I am writing to bring to your attention again ..." he began emphatically, requesting a decision before January 1. In conclusion, he said with new firmness, "I trust that the matter might be brought up formally at an early meeting of the Corporation Board."

This time, he had his wish: In December 1947 the board granted approval for Social Work to admit black students, beginning in fall 1948. Thus, GWB became the first school on the Hilltop Campus, and the second overall after the School of Medicine, to adopt this policy. A jubilant Youngdahl could not wait until fall 1948 to act; in his spring 1948 newsletter, he announced that: "Two [Negroes] are now registered ... both from St. Louis and on leave from agencies where they have worked in a professional capacity. A Negro Advisory Committee has been formed and is proving most cooperative." By the next fall, there were eight black graduate students: Clastine Alexander, Leona Evans, Ruth C. Greene,
"... acceptance of negroes in our School of Social Work, Graduate School, and University College would contribute in an important way to the lessening of inter-racial tensions." — Stuart Queen

Lily Holland, Mary McClain, Clara Allen Matory, Labertha Reddick, and Fredda Witherspoon.

When Washington University finally admitted blacks to all divisions in 1952, GWB already had a number of black MSW graduates. In June 1949, Youngdahl wrote to Compton that "there will be three Negroes among the sixty-six persons to whom we expect to grant Master of Social Work degrees next week. These will be the first degrees granted to Negroes under our new regulations." Another note boasted about the quality of the black students admitted — two of whom had substantial scholarships from the Urban League and the U.S. Public Health Service — and about the positive effects of integration. "Not only [has it] brought no difficulties, but has had a healthy effect on our student body," he said.

BEGINNING A DOCTORAL PROGRAM

The student body was continuing to grow and thrive. In 1949, the Hatchet reported that social work enrollment had increased 40 percent over the last two years. The 1951 Hatchet added that there had been a rise in the number of male students over the past year. "Approximately forty-five percent of the students are men now, compared to last year's thirty-eight percent. ... The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics concluded that there are only two major fields with a shortage of manpower. These two fields are health and social work." Through 1952, the School had awarded degrees to 520 graduates, who routinely received five or more job offers right away.

The life of GWB was not all hard work, however. Brown Hall Lounge continued to be a focal point of School life, with Thursday lunches, afternoon coffee, and frequent games of bridge. At Christmas time, there was always a party; in the late spring, a banquet; and throughout the year several dances. During the early 1950s, the Social Work Club began sponsoring "Show Me Social Work," a three-day program for college students who might be interested in the profession.

"Training students to help those who can't help themselves," was the School's motto, and new faculty were needed to carry out this mission, including Sidney Zimbalist, who arrived in 1948 to take charge of thesis supervision and some research courses. Then in the spring 1951 Alumni Letter Youngdahl announced, in an article titled "A Step Forward," that "the School is adding a faculty member whose whole responsibility will be independent research. The School has believed for some time that a school of social work should make possible on a..."
Dean Youngdahl with some of the first black students at GWB, 1961.
William McAllister and Mary McClain McAllister

William McAllister received his bachelor's degree from Tennessee State University in 1947, and then his MSW in group work from GWB in 1951 while working as youth director at the Pine Street YMCA in St. Louis. After completing his degree, he spent his entire 42-year career with the YMCA, rising to become vice president and chief operations officer for the YMCA Retirement Fund. He received the Distinguished Alumni Award in 2007.

His wife, Mary McClain McAllister, a native of Colorado, received her bachelor's degree from Wilberforce University; she and her husband met at GWB, where she finished her MSW degree in 1951, also in group work. She went on to a series of social work, teaching, and reading specialist positions. The McAllisters were among the first group of African-American students admitted to GWB.

WM: "Everybody had to take a class from E. Van Norman Emery, because it had to do with Freud and this was a Freudian school. That was where I met her."

MM: "It was the Psychodynamics of Personality Development and Its Disturbances."

WM: "He lectured the whole time and gave us a big thick list of references, five pages single-spaced, that you were supposed to read. There was no way you were going to read all that. What people did: We found five or six others and assigned portions of the reading to each one, and then we would meet at night and everybody would tell what he read. That was the only way to get the whole thing done."

MM: "We liked the dean, Benjamin Youngdahl. He had convictions that he held to. He said he was not going to stay here if they did not admit black people."

WM: "The kind of decisions he made on everything were first-rate. He was a person you could approach, and he would listen and be compassionate. Once a year, you would get interviewed individually. He would sit down and review what you did and tell you how you were doing from his point of view."

MM: "My husband's thesis was selected to represent Washington University in a national competition at Brown University, and he won third place in 1951."

WM: "I never felt any discrimination here. We had both been to other schools, but mainly the School of Social Work was a little different. Did Benjamin Youngdahl set a tone? He definitely did."

University of Michigan. If only the advisory committee could guarantee $5,000 a year for the next five years, he said, Youngdahl might stay and extend the School's "very interesting program of research."

Only six months later, a new faculty member arrived on campus: William E. Gordon, a University of Minnesota PhD in quantitative biology with a specialty in ecology, who had shifted into social work education. As his 1990 obituary read: "He was among the first scholars to introduce the ecological framework into social work thinking, believing that the central focus in social work should be the interaction between the person and the environment."

When he joined the faculty in July 1951 as professor of research—pointedly not professor of social work—only seven schools nationwide offered any kind of post-MSW training. But Gordon had a professional, and idealistic, commitment
to his task. As he said in a 1962 speech, "Social Work Science: Fiction or Reality?":

"Social work science is largely a fiction at this time, though a very interesting one. I have no doubt, however, that it can become a reality if we work at it. ... I have been convinced for several years that social work has an essential contribution which it is professionally responsible to make to the urgent problem of man's self-perspective. ... For social work's voice to be heard and to know whereof it speaks requires a science that adequately and powerfully captures its high regard for man and its latent insights concerning his behavior and development."

The Doctorate of Social Work (DSW) program that he established did emphasize research as a field of practice, though practical work was important, too: Candidates for the doctorate had to have three years of professional experience after the two-year MSW, and preferably some background in social sciences and biology. Originally, Gordon's goal was to prepare students for research and administrative roles in national government and agency work; yet, over time, most graduates became faculty members themselves.

Brown Lounge, 1952. A focal point of social life, Brown Hall Lounge was the location of regular lunches and coffees.
William E. Gordon (1911-1990). For his contributions to the field of social work education, Gordon received much recognition, including the Distinguished Faculty Award from Washington University in 1977, a resolution of appreciation from the National Association of Social Workers in 1978, and a special issue honoring him in the Journal of Social Service Research in 1979. His name was also given to a GWB research fellowship and named professorship.
"For social work's voice to be heard and to know whereof it speaks requires a science that adequately and powerfully captures its high regard for man and its latent insights concerning his behavior and development."  William E. Gordon

CELEBRATION AND REFLECTION
In 1953, Washington University marked its 100th anniversary, and GWB celebrated its own milestone — 25 years of growth since Betty B. Brown's first munificent gift — with a gala dinner on March 13. Louis Towley opened a series of toasts, to Frank Bruno, the Browns, the graduates, the donors and advisory committees, community agencies that had provided fieldwork training, and the administration and board of the University who had "set a University community tone of academic stimulation and freedom." Then the main speaker, Ralph F. Fuchs — a former Washington University law professor, now at Indiana University — took as his topic, "Our Clients in Mid-Century: Welfare in the Modern State," placing social work in the context of government changes and pointing out the threat to civil liberties posed by U.S. Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

Fuchs, a friend of Youngdahl, was well aware of the academic emphasis at GWB. As Ralph Pumphrey wrote later, "Although [Fuchs] recognized that social workers had played major roles in the formulation and development of the Social Security Act, the National Mental Health Act, and other new programs, the function of social work as a profession implied in his speech was limited to direct personal adjustment services provided by caseworkers and group workers." National figures such as U.S. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and Works Progress Administration (WPA) head Harry Hopkins, both former social workers, "were referred to as having 'transcended social work,'" he said.

Nationally, social work education was in flux and the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE), the successor organization to the AASSW, was concerned about the curricular differences among programs. In 1952, it adopted a strict new curriculum policy designed to standardize education nationally. GWB, content with its own course work, did not comply until 1960 — two years before Youngdahl's retirement and,
“Students were to become ‘generic social workers,’ capable of moving into a wide range of employment opportunities. True, they were expected to choose among the methodological sequences — casework, group work, community organization — which the particular school might offer.”

Ralph Pumphrey

Ironically, two years before a 1962 CSWE curriculum statement recommended a less regimented approach.

In the 1960 curriculum, “specializations were frowned upon,” said Pumphrey, who arrived on campus with his wife Muriel after Towley’s sudden death in 1959. “Students were to become ‘generic social workers,’ capable of moving into a wide range of employment opportunities. True, they were expected to choose among the methodological sequences — casework, group work, community organization — which the particular school might offer. However, at GWB it resulted in a curriculum which was a rigid straightjacket, a source of discomfort to faculty, students, and field agencies alike; yet it was to dominate the program of the School for the next ten years. In hindsight, it might have been better if the School could have held out another two years until the new, and somewhat more flexible, curriculum statement was adopted.”

In 1955, the Alumni Newsletter announced another, less sweeping adjustment: two semesters of research would now be required, one in the second semester and the other in the third. While statistics was no longer an entrance requirement, it would be covered in the research courses. “There is a belief or faith,” said Youngdahl, tongue in cheek, about the unpopular course, “that this will show statistics as a natural and essential tool in social work research.” Although students could still choose to write a thesis, most continued to do group projects.

The old, comfortable culture of the School was changed forever by a series of early deaths among key faculty members, all longtime pillars of the program. In addition to Towley, E. Van Norman Emery died in 1953; Ruth Lewis in 1954; Helen Hayden in 1956; William Burke in 1957; and Hilde Hochwald in 1958. In that same year, Stuart Queen, professor of sociology since 1932, retired; in 1961, Homer Bishop, who resigned to take a position in Ohio, was replaced by associate professor Hans Falck.

The relationship with the University administration was changing as well. Arthur Holly Compton, with whom Youngdahl had forged a cordial relationship, was stepping down, replaced by Chancellor Ethan Shepley. On the University’s board, a new subcommittee formed to oversee the School of Social Work; David P. Wohl, the founder of Wohl Shoe Company, was its first head.
Ralph (1908-1997) and Muriel Pumphrey (1910-2000).

Following the death of Louis Towlsey, Youngdahl recruited Ralph Pumphrey — with a PhD from Yale in history and a degree from the New York School of Social Work — as an associate professor in 1959; he became a full professor in 1964. His wife, Muriel, who had a doctorate in social welfare from Columbia University, became associate, then acting, director of the Social Science Institute at the University. Together, they wrote *The Heritage of American Social Work*, published in 1961.
THE 1960S BEGIN

Despite the chafing curriculum and the untimely deaths of his colleagues, Youngdahl was looking forward to his 1962 retirement with a solid record of success. At its 1950-1951 peak, full-time enrollment had reached 142, with 40 to 50 part-time students, and by June 1961 the School was also graduating a record five doctoral students. Although graduate registrations had dropped in the early 1950s, as G.I. benefits ended and the Korean War began, there was hope for a brighter future. To reach their optimal enrollment of 150 master’s and six to 10 doctoral candidates, GWB had organized an active recruitment effort including brochures, alumni outreach, and high school and college visits. The depleted faculty was hiring new members, including Dorrice Pirtle, MSW ’53, in 1955, the Pumphreys, and Jane Stearns, DSW ’61, in 1962.

For the most part, the financial news was good. In the late 1950s, the Russell Sage Foundation, which had aided the School of Social Economy some 50 years earlier, funded the recruitment of a social scientist to help give social work
ways to make ends meet in 1961, he
wrote in a 1967 report for the

camper's report to the school's

in the school's annual report. He

these reports and the school's

his suggestions for improving

the school's administration.

The school was divided into

four departments: sciences and

social sciences.

The school's administration

the school's financial problems

by focusing on the school's

student body's needs. During

the 1965-66 school year, the

school's enrollment was

1966-1967. The school's
data shows that the school's

1965-66. The school's

1965-66. The school's

1965-66. The school's

1965-66. The school's

1965-66. The school's

1965-66. The school's
David Cronin

David Cronin, MSW '60, received his doctorate from Saint Louis University. After seven years with the Illinois Department of Mental Health, he returned to Saint Louis University as an assistant professor. Over time, he headed the admissions and financial aid office, ran continuing education and the Thursday Lecture Series, directed the computing facility and video center; coordinated the dual-degree programs, and received 14 child-welfare grants. Two of his largest projects were facilitating the Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies and directing Goldfarb Hall construction and Brown Hall renovation.

"When I reflect on who was in Brown Hall when I was a student, there weren't that many people in administration. The first floor had some classrooms and one office for a social work professor, Louis Towley, who was in a wheelchair. All the others were for political science and sociology, and they also had the basement. The building really had four levels, but the social work faculty was mainly on the second and third floors; their offices were in what is the library today.

"At that time, we probably had around 35 percent men in our class, including some veterans from the Korean War. One student, I recall, was blind. The School was always interested in a very diverse population, though later that came to mean mostly racial diversity. Having students from a mix of backgrounds sensitized us to differences and was good for us.

"A few teachers stand out from those years. Mary Hester was sharp, and outside class she was an engaging person who would help you make sense of things. Alex Kaplan, a psychoanalyst, was a good teacher, and Margo Schutz was an excellent thesis adviser. Homer Bishop who taught group work, was funny and down to earth, yet knew his material well.

"What used to drive me bananas was that we used the case study method, because the theory behind social work practice at that time was weak. Social science knowledge did not begin to impact social work education until the mid-60s, and from my perspective as a young student the case study method lacked grounding in research. However, people with practical experience used to love it, because they could rely on anecdotal descriptions of things."
"Challenge in Crisis."
This booklet, published in 1962, describes the role of social work in society. "In this anxious world, social work holds to the ancient belief that man can choose good over evil and that with proper opportunities and incentives there is no foreseeable limit to the progress which he can make. To forward this effort social work dedicates its knowledge and skills."

reported that the School was once again petitioning the U.S. Public Health Service, source of so many grants in the past, to provide federal funds for trainees who would be added to the faculty as "beginning teachers" with part-time teaching responsibilities.

He convinced Chancellor Shepley to refund the $48,000 cost of the Brown Hall stage and auditorium — built in 1936 with Betty B. Brown’s money at the administration’s behest — to the GWB endowment fund.

In the 1961 Annual Report, he reserved the last section for a paragraph he called "Dreams." Although his alumni consisted of traditionally underpaid social workers, he still hoped that another Betty Bofinger Brown might be out there, ready to finance a major expansion. "For some years now, we have been dreaming about a plan whereby the School would set up its own social agency... an over-all agency, including both casework services and group work services. It would be staffed by highly competent people who would keep particularly good records which would in turn be the basis for solid research. This is a dream we have had which can only be implemented by rather substantial sums of money."

Even without this infusion, the 1961 Hatchet could still boast that GWB is "one of the leading professional schools in the country." But Youngdahl would soon be gone, and hard times — political, cultural, financial, and academic — were coming that would rock both the University and the School of Social Work."
Social work deans, 1968.
Wayne Vasey (left), Ralph Garber (center), and Benjamin E. Youngdahl (right) at a reception for Ralph Garber.
CHAPTER 4
BREAKING "THE BONDS OF INSTITUTIONAL HABIT"
WAYNE VASEY AND RALPH GARBER

1963–1973
Hubert H. Humphrey (1911-1978)

In his Washington University lecture in October 1965— the first Benjamin E. Youngdahl lecture— Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said, in part:

“As I was preparing this lecture and thinking of my old friend Ben Youngdahl, there came to my mind the well-known lines of the British poet Stephen Spender:

'I think continually of those who were truly great. The names of those who in their lives fought for life, Who wore at their hearts the fire's center ... Born of the sun they traveled a short while toward the sun, And left the vivid air signed with their honor.'

“As I leaf through the many addresses and papers Ben Youngdahl has presented in his professional field, I find again and again the depth of his belief in the dignity of man.

“In 1949, Ben Youngdahl wrote: ‘A recipient of public assistance is still a citizen and a person with all the rights and dignity given to all people in our democracy.'

“In 1950, he said: ‘Regardless of what programs we espouse or administer, the end result in our minds is always the person, supreme, divine.'

“In 1963, he sounded a note of impatience. He said: ‘It's about time we shake loose from the time-worn assumption that people who are compelled to receive public assistance are necessarily immoral or weak.'

“The words of Ben Youngdahl have been words of common sense and responsibility—and concern for his fellow man. They have been words taking into account the fact that, in our complex modern society, the individual is precious.'
In 1962, Benjamin Youngdahl stepped down as dean, but as a new member of the faculty he was not gone—and as the School’s revered elder statesman he was certainly not forgotten. During his 17 years of leadership, 757 students had earned MSW degrees and 12 had received DSW degrees. Whenever Youngdahl lectured in other states, grateful graduates were always ready to hold luncheons or dinners in his honor. Nationally, too, he had a splendid reputation. In May 1963, he received the coveted Florina Lasker Award from the National Conference on Social Welfare (NCSW) for his outstanding contributions to social work, particularly in the area of civil rights.

Back at home, various groups were showering end-of-career honors upon him. A committee led by Frances Kopp and Margaret Schutz solicited donations to establish the Benjamin E. Youngdahl Lecture Fund; other alumni contributions made possible an oil portrait. Chancellor Carl Tolman, who served briefly as successor to Ethan A.H. Shepley, held a giant reception at his home in Youngdahl’s honor.

Perhaps the most exciting event of all was the first Benjamin E. Youngdahl Lecture, given at Washington University on October 28, 1965, by a well-known speaker: Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, a fellow Minnesotan and old Youngdahl family friend. He and Youngdahl shared an interest in public welfare and equal opportunity; under President Lyndon B. Johnson, Humphrey was chairman of a cabinet group that managed government civil rights activities and honorary chairman of the national advisory council for Johnson’s new “War on Poverty” program.

During his talk, Humphrey was eloquent in his defense of government welfare programs, then under attack, aimed at “reinforc[ing] the fragile structure of the Negro family,” he said, “particularly by opening up more and better jobs for Negro men.” He praised Youngdahl as a “prophet” for insisting that welfare recipients deserved respect. “The gospel of human dignity which you have been preaching these many years ... even for ‘the last, the lost, and the least,’ as you like to say, has not fallen on deaf ears,” he said. “It has been the foundation stone of the society we Americans are building today.”

Outside the Field House, where the lecture took place, trouble was brewing. Two opposing groups—some 40 students protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam and a larger group backing it—picketed before the talk. Then, in the middle of
Humphrey’s lecture, the anti-war contingent returned, chanting: “End the war in Vietnam, bring the troops home.” A few weeks later, Thomas H. Eliot, named the University’s chancellor in 1963, criticized the demonstrators, saying: “... on a vigorous campus, there is and must be much healthy skepticism and much challenging of ideas. But we can be skeptical without being suspicious. We can be challenging without being hostile.”

A challenging and sometimes hostile period had begun at Washington University and other campuses nationwide in which domestic issues were often overshadowed by foreign policy, especially the burgeoning war in Vietnam. By 1966, when Youngdahl left St. Louis, the old campus rules — governing course requirements, student rights, faculty discourse, and general civility — were changing. Within a few years, everything seemed up for grabs, and from 1962 to 1972, the School of Social Work was caught up in the fray.

A NEW DEAN ARRIVES

During the early years of this confusing period, the new dean was Wayne Vasey, formerly dean at the social work schools of the University of Iowa and Rutgers University. Early in his career Vasey had worked in social welfare agencies; social policy and planning related to public welfare was still his primary interest. In 1961, he served as a consultant to a committee on public welfare named by Secretary Abraham Ribicoff of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Their landmark report was the underpinning for the 1962 social service amendments to the Social Security Act.

He was chosen for the GWB job toward the end of 1961 by a committee that included William Gordon as chairman, Marion Bunch from psychology, Lewis E. Hahn from philosophy, Mary Hester, and Ralph Pumphrey. Vasey’s appointment was supposed to become effective on July 1, 1962, but a mildly impatient letter from Chancellor Eliot...
informed his associate provost that Vasey “has gone to South America and will not arrive here until early September.”

When Vasey did arrive, he was well received, personally liked for his sense of humor and talent as a raconteur. Professionally, he brought with him national social work connections, including past or present board memberships in the Family Service Association of America, the American Public Welfare Association, and the NASW. In 1961 and 1962, he had appeared before House and Senate committees as an expert witness on pending welfare legislation, and recently he had served as a delegate to two White House conferences, one on youth and one on aging.

Two months after his arrival, GWB published its first issue of Brown Studies, a successor publication to the earlier Summary of Research. This journal, dedicated to Youngdahl, included articles chosen by an editorial board headed by longtime faculty member Peggy E. Wood and written by faculty, alumni, even students. Its purpose, wrote Vasey in the 1963 edition, was to showcase diverse ideas from “a profession straining to break the bonds of institutional habit and sometimes stultifying tradition.”

Vasey also began to tackle the perennial problem of enrollment — and here the news was disturbing. In 1962-1963, the numbers started out strong, with 113 master’s and 12 DSW candidates. But that spring, applications were down, and attrition among current students was unusually high, with 12 failures. Other students had dropped out and still others were proceeding “at their own risk.” Clearly, the admissions process needed some retooling.

CURRICULUM DEBATES BEGIN

Those problems, however, were modest compared to the looming issue of curriculum reform, which Vasey had referred to obliquely in his remark about “stultifying tradition.” With the War on Poverty as a backdrop, many in social
work education were wondering why, wrote Pumphrey, social work "had not eliminated poverty, nor even cured the problems of the poor." Students might be better prepared to meet these problems, he added, "if the curriculum had included more about administration, community organization, regional planning, economic development, social policy, and the like."

The GWB curriculum, however, consisted entirely of required courses with no room for electives — and each requirement was the province of a faculty member who had little incentive to admit that his or her course could become optional. "The pressure for change was mounting ... [yet] to respond to such pressures is not easy. An institution, like a train or ship, has inertia and momentum which cannot be dissipated easily," said Pumphrey.

In 1963, the faculty began discussing curricular change at their regular meetings, deciding — with unwarranted optimism — that it would be complete by fall 1964. Meanwhile, they debated which priorities to list in a long-range planning document. Should the School expand in size? Should a community organization sequence be added? Did the doctoral program need change? What about electives in the second-year program?

Richard J. Parvis (1916-2008)

Parvis, who received an MSW degree from Wayne State University School of Social Work in 1954, was from 1943-1959 the executive director of a settlement home in Bridgeport, Connecticut; of a neighborhood center in Kansas City; and a settlement house in Minnesota. From 1959 to 1961 he worked for the CSWE as a social work consultant and member of the India Project; then from 1961-64, again for the CSWE, as an adviser to the Northern Rhodesia Ministry of Social Welfare. When he came to GWB, he built its international program.

"One day I walked into the admissions office at GWB and saw interesting postage stamps on letters from different countries in the wastebasket. The director said I could have them because they just threw them out — they didn’t bother with ‘international stuff.’ I took them and went to the dean, and that policy changed overnight. The next thing I knew they were saying, ‘Parvis, why don’t you do something about this?’"

"Here is what I did: All the applications that caught my attention would receive from me a personal, hand-written note sent via airmail. Years later, I talked to some students and asked why they had come to GWB. They said that by the time they had heard from the other schools they had written to, who sent printed material by sea mail, they had already been accepted and were on their way to GWB. Also, I sent a personalized note.

"When students came, we would take care of them. If need be, I would put them up somewhere. If they needed blankets, I would give them blankets from my own home. If they had a catastrophe — for example, once the ceiling collapsed on a couple of students and almost killed them — I took care of them from that moment on."
OUTSIDE INTERESTS

True to his interest in social policy, Wayne Vasey was increasingly becoming involved in local and national affairs: chairing a task force to improve services in the deteriorating Pruitt-Igoe projects; testifying in September 1963 before the Employment and Manpower subcommittee of the U.S. Senate; giving institutes in Kansas and Colorado. “Dean Vasey has been on the State Conference circuit,” reported one alumni newsletter. While Vasey was in St. Louis, said a later Post-Dispatch article, he “devoted considerable time to social welfare problems.”

In late 1963, he took charge of an interdisciplinary faculty committee to head a new University initiative: the Yalem Center, located in the former YMHA-YWHA building at Union and Enright in the city’s troubled West End neighborhood. Chancellor Eliot announced that it would “bring the resources of the university to bear on the human problems of an area.” Vasey was enthusiastic. “I cherish the hope that as we discover potential leadership among the younger people here, we’ll ... take them all the way ... into a scholarship program at the University,” he wrote in May 1964.

That year, some things were going well, including new grants from the
A Winter 1964 Washington University Magazine article featured Joe Rulo, MSW '60, a social worker under supervisor Ralph Koeppke, MSW '53, at Kingdom House, a settlement house southeast of Union Station in St. Louis. Once a tough kid himself, Rulo had had the encouragement of Koeppke at the Caroline Mission as he grew up, attended college, and finished his education at GWB.

Regarding his Washington University education, Rulo said: "I'd be useless without it. They [his professors] taught me two things: that there's a scientific approach to social work and that there's an art to it, too."

In his job, he worked with clients from five to 60 in age, but especially with boys at risk for skipping school and getting in trouble. "Last Christmas eve," said the article, "the final preparations for his own family's holiday were interrupted when he had to rush out at 11 p.m. to investigate the knifing of three of his older Kingdom House boys. After trips to the homes of the boys involved, to the hospital, and to neighborhood hangouts to seek the facts, he returned home at 4 o'clock Christmas morning."

NIMH, HEW, and Children's Bureau. Soon Vasey engineered several interdisciplinary electives in law and social work — among them Family Law and Systems of Legal Control of Socially Deviant Behavior — that students in both schools could take. With the strong admissions effort of the past year, including the annual "Career Day," enrollment was up, and summer institutes were proving successful, sometimes with such nationally known speakers as Leontyne Young or Elizabeth Elmer. A tuition increase for 1964-1965 brought the annual fee to $1,475.

Faculty recruitment was in progress, and Vasey scored a coup in hiring Richard Parvis, a veteran of projects in Northern Rhodesia and India, who created a community development sequence, headed the Yalem program, and attracted international students. With Gladys ("Jill") Hill, BSEd '43, MSW '53, Parvis initiated a certificate-granting "Community Workers Training Program in Community Development" for residents of poor, urban neighborhoods. Ronda Connaway joined the faculty after receiving her DSW in 1964, and in 1965 so did Elizabeth Williamson, who became a mainstay in student admissions. Another major addition was Aaron Rosen, hired to teach in the doctoral program; he became
"I cherish the hope that as we discover potential leadership among the younger people here, we'll ... take them all the way ... into a scholarship program at the University."

Chancellor Thomas H. Eliot

Richard Lawrence (1926-1982).
Associate dean under Wayne Vasey. Lawrence served as acting dean during Vasey's year-long leave of absence.

had accepted, for one year. ... I would not be delighted a bit, if I thought that you were going to stay away from us for more than a year!"

In the absence of Vasey, who expected to return on June 1, the acting dean was Richard Lawrence, associate dean of the School, who took charge of curriculum planning. Faculty meetings were still consumed with debates. One motion, proposed by Pumphrey, passed: an agreement to build the curriculum "around an evolving core of required content plus some elective content." The faculty agreed to let students choose their own practicum placements, a decision reinforced by a 1960-era, federally funded study, undertaken by Margaret Schutz and William Gordon, showing no difference in how students learned with faculty- or agency-based field instruction.

MOVING FORWARD
Wayne Vasey was not back by June 1, but he returned in September 1965 to find the discussions continuing, still at a glacial pace. By spring 1966, the faculty was inching toward adopting the community development sequence — but only for a trial period of a year — though they did end the traditional thesis requirement in 1965-1966. Vasey acknowledged the existence of faculty differences. "Faculty
members still struggle with the problem of preparing students for the exercise of skill and for the development and expression of knowledge,” he said in the fall 1966 alumni publication. “They still find the time and the energy to disagree on the specifics of this task, but this is what makes a university community a stimulating place.”

Now students began asking for a stronger voice in decision-making; a Student Curriculum Committee, headed by Bonnie Goler and Phyllis Stutzman, wrote papers on such matters as field placement or repetitive material in first-year classes. A year later, GWB students spearheaded a successful effort to establish a national organization, the National Federation of Student Social Workers (NFSSW), under the leadership of Jack Brazill, MSW ’68, and a committee of others.

That fall, the CSWE was planning a rigorous, 10-year accreditation review, and Vasey warned the faculty to prepare the self-study materials well. Meanwhile, he was a keynote speaker at the NCSW’s annual forum, held late in May, with a theme of “Social Welfare’s Role in Economic Growth.” At the end of the meeting, Vasey was named the organization’s national president-elect, with a term beginning in mid-1967.

“... on a vigorous campus, there is and must be much healthy skepticism and much challenging of ideas. But we can be skeptical without being suspicious. We can be challenging without being hostile.” Chancellor Thomas H. Eliot
ACCREDITATION AND ITS AFTERMATH

Outside the School, the Vietnam War was expanding, and so were student protests. At GWB, students expressed their growing concern over world events by inviting speakers on controversial issues to the Thursday Brown Lounge lunches.

Inside the School, everyone was gearing up for the accreditation visit, scheduled for early November 1966, with team members from Brandeis, Tulane, and the University of Chicago. At the same time, academic reform remained high on the faculty agenda, with members offering position papers to support various stands: Morris S. Wortman, for example, submitted one in staunch opposition to grades.

In late November, after the accreditation review had ended, Vasey began exhorting the faculty more firmly than ever to move ahead with an evaluation of course content. “As you know, I have never agreed with a tight program which allowed little time for individual inquiry or choice of electives ...,” he wrote, with some asperity, to the faculty. “I think that we ought to be thinking ... in terms of richness and development of the student into a self-motivated learner, rather than as a respondent to a mass of material which we, in our own academic wisdom, impose upon him.”

Perhaps his conversations with the accreditation team had stung him into taking such a tone. In January, the team announced, in a letter to Chancellor Eliot, that GWB had passed the review process. However, that good news was tempered by a report that contained a spate of criticisms. Not surprisingly, one key problem stood out: curriculum change. As the report said: “the School stands in need of a well-integrated conception of its classroom curriculum with ... opportunities for individual students to pursue special interests.” Most of the faculty wanted change, so “why has change not occurred?”

For Vasey, another criticism struck still closer to home. “The current dean is very active in national affairs. ... Active service to local and national communities is frequently provided at some cost to internal considerations ...” Irately, the faculty retorted: “The way our Dean spends his time is irrelevant to the report. What is relevant is performance as such along with performance and standards of the school, provided the JOB gets done.”

In a letter to Chancellor Eliot, who received a copy of the report, Vasey complained that the evaluating team “did not at any point discuss developments of the past few years or plans for the future.” He added, in self-defense: “It certainly would not have been good administration
Bernarda "Bernie" Wong was born in Hong Kong at the end of World War II; she received her MSW from GWB in 1968. In 1976, she founded the Chinese American Service League (CASL) in Chicago; today, it is the largest social service agency in the Midwest for Chinese-American youth, families, job-seekers, and the elderly, with an annual budget of $7.8 million.

"On our lunch hour, the die-hard bridge players would dash out of class and go straight to Brown Lounge, maybe munching a sandwich on the side, and just play Bridge. I didn't know anything about Bridge at that time, so I would just stand behind and watch them play. Then my friend Jo and I, who were both dating guys who were very good in Bridge, decided that we wanted to learn how to play. Maybe we thought we could get into the Bridge crowd at lunch.

"We took a class at one of the local high schools, and we didn't learn a thing!

"There was a really old lady teaching it, and she wrote something on the blackboard about finesse and whatever. We didn't even know those terms. Half of the class was practice, and we just suffered through that part because the instructor would walk around—and when she got close we would feel really nervous.

"In the end, we never got into the Bridge crowd, but taking that class got me a few brownie points with my boyfriend, who is now my husband."
"The deanship of a school of the size and importance of George Warren Brown is a full-time responsibility and requires complete concentration of energy and effort to the tasks of leadership and management." — Wayne Vasey

for me to have tried to force a design of my own on what is already a good and competent faculty and School. Instead, I chose the slower but more effective strategy of development through active collaboration with faculty.

But Eliot was dismayed by what he read. In a chilly memo to Vasey, written in January 1967, Eliot reported that the evaluators had spoken to him about problems, particularly in curriculum and classroom teaching. "They had the impression that the administration and faculty of the School were well aware of these problems, but had not come up with any ready solution," he wrote, unhappily. "The general impression that I got was that they felt that the School had not kept pace with the developments of the last ten years in social work education, which they told me had been very extensive and rapid." He asked Vasey to meet with him and the provost in the near future.

Within two months of Eliot's letter, Vasey had accepted a teaching job at the University of Michigan School of Social Work, to begin in January 1968. He wanted, he said publicly, "to concentrate on writing and teaching." In another statement, Vasey admitted, in effect, that the evaluators had been right. "The deanship of a school of the size and importance of George Warren Brown is a full-time responsibility and requires complete concentration of energy and effort to the tasks of leadership and management. It has been increasingly difficult for me to carry other roles that seem, at least to me, to be of some considerable significance." While Chancellor Eliot made no public comment on Vasey's departure, Provost George E. Fake praised him for having "served the university and the St. Louis community very capably and unselfishly."

WAITING FOR A NEW HEAD

For a few months yet, Vasey remained the dean, but by April 1967 the University had named a search committee: Robert Salisbury from political science as its chairman; William Gordon, Ralph Pumphrey, Aaron Rosen, and Jane Stearns from social work; Frank Miller from law; and Richard DeCharmes from education and psychology. They were to begin right away, for making a good choice would be "terribly important to the School," said the memo appointing them, adding that the selection criteria should include entrepreneurial ability, interest in a close interaction with the social sciences, and experience at a top social work school — but not GWB.

Meanwhile, there was a new area of substantial change: the research-focused
doctoral program, long run by William Gordon. Dissatisfied with the program, Vasey had found an ally in Aaron Rosen, who had come to GWB to teach doctoral students. Already, Rosen had provided the social science expertise required by the NIMH grants that had flowed into the School, supplying funds to more than 50 percent of doctoral students.

Now Vasey asked Rosen to write a new proposal for NIMH doctoral training funds—usually the job of the program chair. In effect, Rosen was taking over the program, with plans for change taken in part from his doctoral experience at the University of Michigan. By September 1967, Gordon had moved into teaching, writing, and research, and Rosen was in charge. That October, Rosen successfully requested a redistribution of doctoral credit hours: fewer in required courses or dissertation hours and more in electives or courses from other departments.

Nationally, the emphasis in social work was shifting toward urban social problems and education in social reform. At the annual NCSW conference in Dallas, the theme was “Humanizing the City,” and President Whitney M. Young, Jr., also executive director of the National Urban League, pointed to “the magnitude of the urban crisis” in America. “Our major cities are in trouble,” he said, “scarred by slums and ghettos and threatened by racial strife.”

Increasingly, trouble was also the watchword of GWB faculty meetings, as members debated which courses to include in a common core. “The meeting almost immediately bogged down in trying to deal with procedural questions of how to go about discussing and determining the core,” said the September 7, 1967 minutes. To break the stalemate, Vasey devised a list of content committees—admissions, doctoral, editorial, field instruction, administrative, institutes, library, recruitment, social, and student records and assigned members to them himself.

In December, weeks before Vasey’s departure, the faculty finally made
Ralph Garber

Formerly assistant dean and professor at Rutgers University, Garber, who had a doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, became dean at GWB in 1968. He left to become dean at Rutgers, and in 1977 he joined the social work faculty at the University of Toronto, serving as dean and professor from 1977-1988 and professor until 1990.

“…One day the head of the student activist group and I went in my car to a community meeting to explain why the Washington University students were upset. The two of us met the challenges from Creve Coeur matrons and business people from Clayton, and we came down on the same side: defending student activism. We both valued the University’s role in providing a forum through which we could express our disagreements with the government.

“When we returned to the University, we headed for my parking space. Earlier, the student had asked why I had such a privilege, and I told him it was reserved for me because I was in and out so frequently. Now we found that it was occupied by someone else—and the student was indignant! He voiced his displeasure at such thoughtlessness. I guess his revolt was not against authority, but authoritarian actions.”

progress, approving several electives for second-semester MSW students, including a seminar in fundamental concepts, offered by Margaret Schutz and William Gordon; a course on international social welfare — one of the first such collaborations nationally between two schools of social work — jointly proposed by Parvis and Shanti Khinduka of Saint Louis University for students of both schools; and a course in the economics of social policy, listed with the economics department. Further, students could now take some courses in other schools of the University and have them count toward the MSW. With no new dean in view, the faculty named Jane Stearns — already the stalwart head of the Curriculum Committee — as interim dean, with a faculty committee to assist her.

RALPH GARBER ARRIVES

As Vasey prepared to leave, he was feted at a December 1967 dinner that featured guest speaker Herman D. Stein, CSWE president, and the unveiling of a Wayne Vasey Student Aid Fund of the Alumni Association. Meanwhile, the search committee was trying to attract prospects: Joseph Vigilante, dean of the School of Social Work at Adelphi University; Scott Briar, MSW ’52, a faculty member in the School of Social Welfare at the University of California, Berkeley; and Walter Kindelsperger, one of the three accreditation process reviewers.
“We are caught in a challenging struggle to design an educational program that will fit the demands of rapidly changing needs of social work practice.” Jane A. Stearns

In 1967-1968, the School suddenly had a total of 188 students; among the master’s candidates, 110 were women and 67 were men. “This [male] enrollment is especially striking against the background of today’s events,” said the alumni newsletter. “Some eligible male students are in the armed forces or are in draft status.” There was also an influx of new faculty. As Hans Falck left, Hazel Taylor, Archie Hanlan, Doris Phillips, and Mildred Mitchell arrived, with Patricia Drew moving to a full-time position. Evelyn Perlstein, MSW ’50, faculty member since 1954, now became director of student relations and later developed an important sequence in family therapy, one of the first in the United States.

For the weary faculty, said Jane Stearns, there was no “coasting” during this interregnum. “We are caught in a challenging struggle to design an educational program that will fit the demands of rapidly changing needs of social work practice,” she wrote, adding that a new complication had arisen: “The decision to draft graduate students into the Armed Forces has been reacted to with grave concern by our Faculty. ... The drafting of graduate students of social work constitutes a serious manpower drain in a critical area.”

Into this difficult situation came Ralph Garber, brought to the attention of the search committee by Aaron Rosen, who met him at a national conference. The two had seen eye-to-eye on a progressive, interdisciplinary approach to social work; like Rosen, Garber favored using empirical evidence, based on research into successful social work practice, to shape social work education. A native of Canada who had received his MSW from McGill University School of Social Work and his DSW in 1963 from the University of Pennsylvania, Garber had previously been professor and assistant dean for social work at Rutgers Graduate School of Social Work.

Why did he come? “I had been an assistant dean for four years, and in a way you might say that I wanted to be Hertz instead of Avis,” he said in the Jewish Light. As a member of the CSWE curriculum committee, he added, he had a special interest in curriculum development, so he wanted to work with GWB in its slow-moving effort, which was beginning to attract comment nationally. Still, he was optimistic, even cheerful. “Garber brought a sparkling personality to the deanship,” wrote Pumphrey later.

The University offered a warm greeting with a special convocation, three months after his August 1968 arrival. There Garber gave a major address: “From Legitimacy to Potency—Social Work in the Next Decade,” a talk reprinted in Brown Studies.
**EARLY EFFORTS**

When Garber came to GWB, he planned to urge faculty toward more social work research and scholarship. “My experience at Rutgers in getting practitioners and academic staff who were primarily field instructors to begin publishing and initiating their own research had considerable success,” he says now. “I was also looking forward to an activist role for the faculty with ... state and region-wide actions on behalf of social causes.” Since his own specialty had been group work, he hoped to give that area more emphasis. Finally, he was eager to introduce interdisciplinary degrees with other Washington University departments and schools to reinforce Social Work’s ties around the campus.

At this point, the School had various areas of strength: a 1967–1968 total of 13 tenured or tenure-track faculty with many part-timers; 220 students all told; a library with some 15,000 volumes; and an endowment income of $203,350 per year. The School offered a range of scholarships—some of them named for Henry V. Putzel, Sr., Helen E. Hayden, William Burke, and the City Advisory Committee — and loan funds named for Ruth Endicott Lewis, Frank J. Bruno, Wayne Vasey, and Edna Hawley Seamon.

Apart from the ongoing curriculum woes, other areas caused grave concern,
money chief among them. With the receipt of a new Child Welfare Facility grant, nearly half the School’s income came from federal grants, one-fifth from endowment funds, and three-tenths from tuition. But that was not enough. For the second year in a row, GWB was running a large deficit, which would soon gobble up the School’s carefully amassed reserve fund. At a faculty meeting, Garber elaborated on this news in still more chilling terms. The federal funds that supplied so much help would be dwindling, he said, and the University was providing no back-up support — in fact, it was charging for services under the reserve system.

**BLACK STUDENT RECRUITMENT**

On January 29, 1969, Garber convened “the first annual Faculty-Student Conference” on curriculum redesign, which attracted 240 participants. During the three-day event, 15 discussion groups met, then presented recommendations at a final session. The meeting clearly supported major change, said the alumni newsletter, including content more relevant to practice, improved instruction, a higher bar for student performance, and extensive use of electives. There were also surprises, such as a student proposal for a better evaluation process in field instruction. But Ronda Connaway praised student participation, however rowdy.

“While … students in some schools of social work have been demonstrating (or sitting-in or picketing), GWB students have been actively involved in the affairs of the School … ” Ronda Connaway

“While … students in some schools of social work have been demonstrating (or sitting-in or picketing), GWB students have been actively involved in the affairs of the School,” she wrote. Garber charged two faculty teams and one student team with undertaking a curriculum redesign.

Another goal emerged from the conference. As Garber put it, the School would focus on “the acceptance of students whose prior preparation and resources are circumstantially less than adequate and who may need an extended period of study to make up the educational deficiency.” An *ad hoc* faculty committee, headed by Jane Stearns, proposed a new three-year Extended Master’s Program to give such students the chance to move through the program more slowly.

That spring, the University’s Black Students Caucus approached the Recruitment Committee, under Evelyn Perlstine, with a broader plan: Shift the focus to black students as a group and admit 20 more by fall 1969. Scholarship funds, travel money for recruitment efforts, and a salary for a black faculty coordinator would also be needed. The committee, and then the faculty, voted to endorse these proposals, and over the next several years the School succeeded in significantly increasing the enrollment of black students.
CURRICULUM, AGAIN

In May 1969, the faculty did its annual review of the dean and "a substantial majority" voted to retain Ralph Garber, said the faculty minutes. But a more contentious period was coming, ushered in by the events of spring 1969 in which a faculty-student committee produced a "Proposal on Aspects of Student Learning." One controversial element was a new appeals procedure for a failing grade, and William Gordon protested that: "This procedure will essentially eliminate failing. This I regard as a serious abandonment of both educational and professional standards ..." Gordon was also opposed to some of the curriculum ideas devised at a May 22 conference. In a letter, he accused GWB of buying "unreservedly into the current market of confusion" in the tumultuous field of social work education, by heading down a path of too many electives and too little direction for students.

Still, by fall 1969 the efforts of the three teams had yielded a more open curriculum, in which the byword was individualization. First-semester students could now choose some electives, while second-year students could pick more than half of their courses. All faculty members now belonged to either of two departments or content areas: Human Behavior and Practice, headed by Ronda Connaway;
For several years, GWB students and faculty had been working to help Missouri's impoverished Bootheel area. In 1971, Richard Male—on leave from GWB's master's program—moved to Hayti, Missouri, to head the Missouri Delta Ecumenical Ministry (MDEM), a social action agency working to develop programs that would help the poor.

"MDEM is one of the largest coalitions of churches operating in the rural United States," he said in a 1972 talk. "We do not give anything away, but try to help people develop the spirit to work hard and to risk themselves. ... We listen to the problems and needs of the poor and assist them in building organizations in the area of economic development, health care, housing, minority businesses, legal services, and welfare rights. ... Our goal at MDEM is to work ourselves out of jobs."

MDEM's first project was an agricultural co-op that grew to include 350 families. As a second project, MDEM built a shopping center co-op in Howardville, Missouri, operated by former sharecroppers.

and Social Policy and Practice, headed by Archie Hanlan. From other University departments, students could select from 23 electives and even take mini-courses in areas of special interest; they could also choose their own practicum assignment.

New faculty were putting these ideas into effect. While Elsie Huseman was retiring after nearly 25 years, Ronald Feldman arrived in 1969 from the School for Social Welfare at the University of California, Berkeley; in the same year, David Katz came to teach in the Human Behavior department; Jack A. Kirkland was hired a year later to teach in the Social Policy and Practice Division, developing research interests in such areas as the African-American family, urban issues, international social and economic development, and multicultural education; and Robert L. Pierce, MSW '69, PhD '71, continued on after graduating as faculty member and director of the Regional Child Welfare Training Center.

GWB graduates were carrying what they learned into the community. One of Pierce's students, Phyllis Rozansky, MSW '74, was a founder and first executive director of the Family Resource Center, an agency dedicated to preventing and treating child abuse; GWB alumni served as board members, and students did practica at the Center. Another University alumnus, George Eberle, Jr., MSW '59, went on to spend more than 40 years as chief executive officer of Grace Hill Neighborhood Services, building it from a small, neighborhood facility into a comprehensive agency and national model for helping the urban poor. Eberle himself served as a part-time GWB faculty member, and he welcomed student placements, as well as faculty research projects.

Existing faculty also took on new roles. Faculty member Peggy Wood, who celebrated 25 years of service in 1971, served as assistant dean and chair of admissions. Veteran teacher Dorrience Pirtle, joined by others, among them Nancy Carroll, began moving the School toward a focus on women in the curriculum. Pirtle also became a mentor to younger women on the faculty, including Janice W. Wetzel, who later served as dean of Adelphi University's School of Social Work.
Jack A. Kirkland. Now an associate professor, with an MSW from Syracuse University, he is interested in issues related to the African-American family and has research interests in such areas as urban affairs, international social and economic development, and multicultural education.

Meanwhile, some improvements were underway, mostly behind the scenes. In collaboration with Ralph Morrow, the dean of the Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, Aaron Rosen converted the DSW program into a PhD program, under the authority of Arts & Sciences, in 1968. Instead of an exclusively social work degree, it would be an interdisciplinary, research-focused degree that drew from five different social and behavioral science departments. It pioneered several new features, among them three semesters of required research practicum that gave doctoral students practical experience in preparation for their dissertation research.

Under Garber's leadership, social outreach was also occurring through several School-affiliated programs: the federally funded Social Conflict Resolution Action Program (SCRAP), which targeted a poor St. Louis neighborhood; a street academy for high school drop-outs; a social...
Phyllis Bigpond

Before attending GWB, Bigpond, MSW '72, worked with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the San Carlos Apache reservation. Afterwards, she worked briefly at San Carlos again; then at Arizona State University; for the Phoenix Indian Center; as field office director for Save the Children; with the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona; and finally, since 2000, as the executive director of Denver Indian Family Resource Center.

"I was the only American Indian student at GWB at the time, and it was a new experience to move to St. Louis, to a city. I had left a job that was on a reservation, and as a child in Oklahoma, I had lived in a small rural community. When I was an undergraduate, I had considered going on for a master's in social work, but I worked for nine years first. Meanwhile, I talked with social workers to learn more about the profession and happened to meet one who had gone to GWB, which she highly recommended.

"I felt a little intimidated when I first came; it took me halfway through the semester before I had really determined that I could make it through the program. I did find people who helped me become oriented, and I participated in things and made friends. Few of my fellow students had worked in Indian communities, so we had discussions about my experiences. In my second year, I did a summer fieldwork block placement in Oklahoma at the Riverside Indian School. It was a new approach — I gained background I wouldn't have had otherwise.

"When I first heard that GWB was setting up the Kathryn Buder Center, it was amazing to me, but a very positive thing. I have been really pleased to see the number of Indian students who have gone through that program and are now doing social work that is focused on American Indian issues at both service and policy levels."

services center in the First Congressional District; a day care and community center in Wellston, designed with assistance from social work/architecture students and run by local residents.

In a 1969 report to alumni, Garber characterized all these changes as "bright patches of sunshine," but admitted there was still "an impending drought in financial resources due to federal cutbacks in aid." The NIMH and the Children's Bureau continued to prove good sources, providing three grants worth some $278,000.

And there was happy financial news after all: At the October 1969 faculty meeting, Garber announced that the 1969-1970 school year was beginning without a deficit; University administrators had also agreed to assess only a "paper cost" for the courses taken outside of GWB.

One other bright spot appeared, which all of Garber's predecessors would have cheered. After years of hoping and hinting, the School got its wish, and political science — the last non-social work occupant of Brown Hall — finally moved out.

OTHER NEW STEPS

The following year began with a February 1970 lecture, part of the Benjamin E. Youngdahl series, given by Walter L. Walker of the University of Chicago on "Social Work Practice and the Aspirations of Black People: Are They Compatible?"

Over the coming months, Garber stressed another kind of compatibility: a joint degree JD/MSW program between social work and law, the first of its kind in the country, followed by others in architecture/social work and in education/social work. In 1971, the faculty also approved joint offerings with the Saint Louis University School of Social Service.

GWB was reaching out in other directions, too. Thanks to the efforts of Aaron Rosen, the School forged a tie with the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work of The Hebrew University in Israel. "At present," said a September 1970 article in the Alumni News, "plans are underway to establish off-campus teaching centers in New Mexico and South Dakota that are affiliated with the University's School of Social Work." In addition, Garber made overtures to seminars, including Eden and Seminex (the Lutheran "Seminary in Exile").
But the curriculum disputes were not over. For one thing, wrote Pumphrey, students "continued to resist the dwindling number of mandated courses"; for another, there were simmering disputes among faculty members, who began to feel embittered toward each another and toward Garber's leadership. A further bone of contention was school governance. With students and faculty each wanting a large measure of control, the two groups worked out a compromise in which curriculum, student resources, and learning resources were all placed under standing committees with half faculty and half student representation. Over time, as the original student members changed, the new student cadre wanted to increase its share of power. "Operations of the standing committees ground to a halt," wrote Pumphrey.
Garber, ever optimistic, had plans for the future, including “a one-year master’s degree in social work” and the development of a “practice doctorate.”

In a new vote of confidence the faculty split, with the majority favoring Garber’s continued leadership; five members, mostly senior professors, were in the minority that wanted change. They were “well-intentioned,” says Garber now, but “didn’t share my vision which was admittedly populist and eclectic and interdisciplinary.” With the Washington University administration now actively concerned about the direction of the School, Garber resigned in January 1973 to return, this time as dean, to Rutgers University.

Almost immediately, Chancellor William Danforth named Ronald A. Feldman as acting dean, amid a time of turmoil and recrimination in which some faculty left. GWB seemed to be “on the verge of disintegration,” wrote Pumphrey. “... The faculty found it difficult to mobilize to face the task of shaping the future.” Feldman valiantly held the School together while a search committee hunted for a dean. That would not be an easy task; whispers of the GWB problems had spread throughout the national social work community. The School needed a major rebuilding — and who would do it?
Ronald A. Feldman

Feldman, who had a PhD from the University of Michigan, joined the GWB faculty in 1969 as an associate professor of social work. His research interests included an NIMH-funded study, undertaken for the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency; research on family conflict; and on social values of professional social workers in the U.S. and in Turkey. He became acting dean of GWB in 1973, serving until 1974. Afterwards, he took a five-year leave of absence to direct a new Center for the Study of Youth Development at Boys Town, Nebraska, and then spent a sabbatical year in England. He received the University's Distinguished Faculty Award in 1984.

"I remember receiving a phone call in 1973 from the chancellor, Bill Danforth. I didn't even know he was aware of my existence, but here he was inviting me to be acting dean. That was a complete surprise. And it turned out to be one of the most—maybe the most—eventful happening in my entire career: one that shaped me, guided me, and moved me into academic administration. After leaving Washington University in 1985, I went to Columbia University, where I was associate dean for one year and then dean for 15 years. I decided to step down after meeting the goals I had set for the school, especially raising funds for a new $75 million building, the first ever built for the school.

"Now I'm director of an endowed research center called the Center for the Study of Social Work Practice, Dean Emeritus, and the Ruth Harris Ottman Centennial Professor for the Advancement of Social Work Education. I still am a full-time faculty member. Bill Danforth remains one of my favorite persons in the whole world and is the leader whom I respect most in all of higher education. None of these things would have happened if it hadn't been for him."
Dedicated in 1998, Goldfarb Hall, along with Brown Hall, houses Washington University's growing social work program.
CHAPTER 5
“AN INSPIRING ACADEMIC LEADER”
SHANTI K. KHINDUKA

1974–2003
“His personal and intellectual integrity, calm and considered weighing of alternatives, and soft-spoken interpersonal style were among the qualities that endeared him to us then, and which persist to this day.” Aaron Rosen
In 1973, a newly appointed search committee, headed by James W. Davis of Washington University’s political science department, began to look nationally for a new dean to head the George Warren Brown School of Social Work. It was not an easy task. In the wake of the dissension that had split the School, two committee members were not on speaking terms, and various constituencies had differing agendas. Everyone wanted a peacemaker and strong leader, but some University administrators, eager to enhance the quality of the program, were pressing the committee to find a social work figure with a long record of research.

Meanwhile, GWB was carrying on under the interim leadership of Ronald Feldman, who managed some steps forward. The School added courses in delinquency, health care delivery, and social gerontology; it instituted a part-time option and the “3-2 Program,” in which qualified undergraduates could enter the MSW program after their junior year. As Ronda Connaway left, new faculty — Martin Bloom and William Butterfield, who became associate dean — arrived. “The past months at GWB have been both eventful and enjoyable ones,” wrote Feldman mildly, in the Summer 1974 newsletter. “Faculty, students, and staff have worked together to further develop and implement the innovative social work curriculum that has been a GWB hallmark.”

Yet some faculty members were already preparing to confront the new dean on that very issue. In a May 1974 memo, Nancy K. Carroll proposed a new structure for the School based on areas of concentration, since “the organization ... around two departments — Human Behavior and Practice and Social Policy and Practice — is no longer functional, if indeed it ever was.” Further, she added in a second letter, “our present curriculum, which includes no required courses and is principally an aggregation of course offerings planned by individual faculty members, is significantly lacking in coherence, logic and an underlying sense of order.”

“Individualized education,” as the School had called its wide-open curriculum, was not working, declared Carroll; and her views were echoed by others. With some 300 students to oversee, this labor-intensive system was unwieldy. “This School does not now, and is not likely ever to have, the resources needed to mount and monitor 300 unique and idiosyncratic educational programs,” she continued. Worse, said William Gordon
after a 1974 survey, some abler candidates might be turning down GWB in part because they were concerned about classroom teaching. "Content was often thought to be superficial and elementary and not relevant. ... Teachers reflected too little expectations of students, gave too little help in organizing content and had too low standards set for learning," Gordon wrote.

On top of all that, said Martin Bloom, the physical plant needed work. Brown Hall classrooms "lack many essential acoustical properties and some lack proper lighting," he said. "Compared to the beautiful exterior, the interior looks dingy and unappealing—a poor image for social workers."

"THE SCHOOL WILL PROSPER ... UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP"

In February 1974, Feldman announced that a new dean had been selected: Shanti Kumar Khinduka, professor and assistant dean of social work at nearby Saint Louis University. Recommended unanimously by the search committee, he was warmly approved by the faculty, by Chancellor William Danforth, and by an enthusiastic group of alumni. During his interview, he had told the relieved committee that "I would want to be the dean of the whole school, not of one faction," he recalls. And they were impressed: "His personal and intellectual integrity, calm and considered weighing of alternatives, and soft-spoken interpersonal style were among the qualities that endeared him to us then, and which persist to this day," remembers Aaron Rosen, a committee member.

But they had come close to losing him. When Jim Davis first contacted him in spring 1973, on the advice of Aaron Rosen and Dean Arnold Gurin of Brandeis, Khinduka had just taken a year-long leave to travel to Calcutta, India, where he would try out a role as founding director of the Kothari Centre for Environmental Research and visiting professor at the Indian Institute of Management. Still, Davis persuaded him to talk before leaving; then, when Khinduka returned after two months, Davis called again. Soon Khinduka was meeting with administrators and committee members including Rosen and Edward Schwartz, social work faculty on different sides during the Garber period, who described the School's problems honestly. Khinduka accepted the position and agreed to start in July 1974.

"Dr. Khinduka ... is a man who is well-known for his wisdom, integrity, and vision," wrote Feldman to alumni, prophetically. "Moreover, [he] has earned a well-deserved reputation for his many scholarly contributions to social work
William Butterfield and David Cronin. For nearly 25 years, Butterfield (left) served GWB as an able administrator and faculty member. A strong advocate of student interests, he chaired the PhD program and the curriculum committees, leading efforts in curriculum reform. When he retired in 1996, Dean Khinduka said of him: "Bill Butterfield has been one of the builders of GWB. There is no area that has not benefited from his constructive contribution."

education and for his administrative capabilities. Although he comes to GWB with a strong national reputation, he also brings an intimate working knowledge of the ... St. Louis metropolitan area. Without question, The School of Social Work will continue to prosper under his skilled leadership."

TURNING A NEW PAGE

In the summer 1975 newsletter, one year after he assumed leadership, Khinduka spoke to alumni about the challenges ahead. Change magazine had recently ranked GWB among the top 10 social work schools nationally, yet the School's reaction, said Khinduka, "was one of relief, not of rapture," because of "the sobering realization that the School would have to continually improve its program in order to retain its position of leadership. ... There is a confident recognition of our standing in the field, but there is also a healthy dissatisfaction with many of our deficiencies."

Early in Khinduka's tenure, the faculty and students had aired their thoughts about these deficiencies at a January 1975 retreat, which inaugurated a period of self-examination. Separating into task forces, they discussed ways to develop a competency-based curriculum that offered a gamut of electives and practicum choices but also solid core content. "A major challenge at our School is maintaining the balance between student choice and School requirements," said one report.

In 1976, this process culminated in a three-part plan to achieve such a balance. First, the School would require core content within four broad areas: scientific perspectives, micro-social theories and social work practice, macro-social theories and practice, and professional perspectives. In addition, students could choose one of three "concentrations"—direct practice, community and social development, and
social administration and policy—or a narrower track within one of them. Finally, they could create a specialization, which cut across concentrations to focus on a social problem, population, or intervention.

At last there was some resolution to the curriculum debates that had plagued the School for so long. Of course, this new plan would not remain static: “New courses will be added, many existing ones may be discontinued—all in response to the changing resource/need configuration in the School and the field,” said the 1976 report. Yet they had made a start.

50TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
In 1975, while these curriculum discussions were going on, GWB was marking one important milestone with the awarding of its 2,000th MSW degree and looking forward to another: its 50th anniversary. The School and the Alumni Association, headed by Konda Richardson O’Farrell, MSW ’65, collaborated on the celebration, which took place in May 1976 amid University activities marking the nation’s bicentennial.

In honor of the occasion, the School planned a conference, “Trends and Issues in Social Work Practice,” featuring such speakers as Dr. J. Scott Briar, MSW ’52, social work dean at the University of Washington; Homer C. Bishop, MSW ’48, now of Hull House; and banquet speaker Alvin L. Schorr, MSW ’43, general secretary of the Community Service Society of New York City, the largest U.S. voluntary society, whose talk was titled “Scarce Resources and Fair Shares.” Capping off the successful event was Chancellor William H. Danforth’s announcement of the Bettie Bofinger Brown Professorship in Social Policy, which GWB would fill after a national search.

In 1975-1976, the School had other reasons to celebrate: a joint MBA/MSW program, some refurbishing of Brown Hall, a new GWB reserve loan fund for students, and a series of distinguished visiting professors. The first-year MSW class included 164 new students, 145 full-time and 19 part-time, while the PhD program had eight new students, for a total of 33. One portent of a future problem was a complaint in fall 1975 by the Social Work Black Caucus that the curriculum was deficient in the “needs and views of minorities,” that the School needed more black students, and that its current count of two full-time black faculty members was “inexcusable.”
Aaron Rosen

Rosen received an MS in social work from Columbia University School of Social Work in 1960, an MA in psychology from the University of Michigan in 1962, and a PhD in social work and psychology from the University of Michigan in 1963. From 1963 to 1965, he was on the faculty of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel. He joined GWB as an assistant professor in 1965, and in 1967 he was asked to head the doctoral program. With faculty support, he revised and replaced the DSW program with the present interdisciplinary PhD degree program in 1968, and then chaired the PhD program from 1967 to 1978. After leaving in 1982 to direct the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work at Hebrew University, he returned in 1990 as the Barbara A. Bailey Professor of Social Work.

"In 1973, after Dean Ralph Garber resigned, I was appointed by Chancellor Danforth to serve on the search committee for a new dean. Later that year, flying to a conference on the east coast, I struck up a conversation with the person seated next to me. As we talked, I found out that he was a faculty member at the Saint Louis University School of Social Work; his name was Shanti Khinduka, an assistant dean at that school; and he was headed to the same conference that I was. We soon engaged in a most interesting and stimulating conversation—about social work education in general, and more specifically about the role and mission of a school of social work in the profession and in the university. I was impressed both with his ideas and with their clear, straightforward, yet gentle articulation.

"When our dean's search committee was assembling potential candidates I brought up his name. After reviewing many good and deserving candidates he was the person we chose. At that time in the School, after a period of internal fragmentation and conflict, faculty members were really concerned about the direction of the School. People wanted unambiguous leadership, someone they could trust, and someone who would support their work. I can safely say that they found those qualities in Shanti."

"He is a great, soft-spoken, and wise leader, and no wonder that under his leadership the School flourished. The position of the School today is a testimony to his success."
RECRUITMENT AND CHANGE

Just as Khinduka came to the deanship, a number of faculty members were departing, among them Jane Stearns and Nancy Carroll in 1975. Ronald Feldman took an extended leave, while Aaron Rosen left the faculty from 1982 to 1990 to direct the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Over the next few years, several others of the old guard—faculty who were part of the turbulent 1962-1972 decade—retired: Ralph Pumphey, Edward Schwartz, Dorriece Pirtle, William Gordon, and Evelyn Perlstein. Morris Wortman, MSW ’39, and Virginia Holmes Turner, MSW ’55, DSW ’62, died. These departures opened the door to a wave of recruitment, which allowed Khinduka to reshape the School.

In 1975, he added Robert Wintersmith, MSW ’65, a Brandeis PhD, and two years later Larry Davis, a PhD from Michigan, who would become a key faculty member. More junior faculty came as well, hired without tenure but also with PhD degrees: Duncan Lindsey, a specialist in children and social policy; Paul H. Stuart and Eloise (“Lee”) Rathbone-McCuan in 1976; Anne (“Ricky”) Fortune in 1977; and John Rimmer and Rita Numerof in 1979.

An important hire in 1978 was David Gillespie, who would provide transformative leadership of the doctoral program and would also become the leading American social work scholar in the area of disaster preparedness and response.

Three others were particularly stellar recruits. In 1976, Khinduka persuaded Martha N. Ozawa, a specialist in social welfare programs and issues related to older adults, women, and children, to come as a full professor. In 1985, she was named the Bettie Bofinger Brown Professor and later established her own center, the Martha N. Ozawa Center for Social Policy Studies, to help Asian governments make policy decisions through research information. A year after this hiring, Khinduka added Enola Proctor, a protégé of Aaron Rosen, who had earned her PhD at GWB. In coming years, she would focus on mental health research and evidence-based practice as the underpinning of social work education; like Ozawa, she earned an endowed professorship and established an innovative center. Finally,
Martha N. Ozawa

Martha N. Ozawa, the Bettie Bofinger Brown Distinguished Professor of Social Policy, received her PhD in social welfare from the University of Wisconsin. She came to GWB in 1976 from Portland State University, and has earned a broad reputation for her policy analysis of social welfare programs and issues related to older adults, women, and children. She is the founder and director of the Martha N. Ozawa Center for Social Policy Studies, aimed at assisting Asian governments and communities in making informed policy decisions. Among her many honors are the University's Distinguished Faculty Award in 1988 and the 2007 Distinguished Achievement Award from the Society for Social Work and Research.

“When I was recruited by Shanti Khinduka, he took a gamble on me and gave me tenure right away, even though I had only published 16 articles. In a sense, ever since then I have been trying to live up to that, which has created a mutual admiration society: He wanted to be the best dean in the country, and I wanted to be one of the best professors.

“What made him a great dean? First, capability. He had an encyclopedic memory. He was soft-spoken, but he knew exactly what was going on, and he also gave you encouragement; he appreciated what you were doing. I think he was good in fostering the potential of people to go higher. He was very fortunate to have someone like David Cronin as his assistant. He was also successful in recruiting the first generation of strong, research-oriented women faculty members.”
“Shanti’s values were always known to us, but he was never directive. He exercised a quiet leadership. We respected him, and we were trying to move in the direction he wanted to go.”

Michael Sherraden

In 1979, he recruited Michael Sherraden, a newly minted PhD from Michigan; he was awarded his own endowed professorship, wrote a ground-breaking book, started a large center, and did internationally recognized work on social policy, especially asset building, civic engagement, and productive aging.

On the staff side, he also made signal choices, including David Cronin, MSW ’60, with a PhD from Saint Louis University, as assistant dean and director of the practicum, and Helen Graber, as associate practicum director. Immediately, they began the process of fence-mending with local agencies, upset that GWB students—who were still choosing their own field placements—were not better monitored by their school. Michael Powell came in 1979 to direct the Learning Resources Center and revamp the library.

THE 1977 ACCREDITATION

With a review by the Commission on Accreditation of the CSWE looming in late January 1977, the faculty undertook the laborious process of drafting the required self-study documents. Site visitors—all social work experts—came from the University of Southern California, Case-Western Reserve University, and the University of Denver. “You can count on [their report] being very critical,” wrote
Michael Sherraden

Sherraden, who received his PhD in social work and psychology from the University of Michigan, came to GWB in 1979 and has since done pioneering work in asset-building for low-income people. His seminal 1991 book, *Assets and the Poor: A New American Welfare Policy*, outlined his plan for Individual Development Accounts (IDAs), in which the government and private sector match the savings of the poor. He founded and now directs the Center for Social Development (CSD); he chaired the GWB doctoral program from 1995 to 2000. The Benjamin E. Youngdahl Professor of Social Development since 1992, he received the University’s Distinguished Faculty Award in 1999 and the Arthur Holly Compton Faculty Achievement Award in 2006.

“Shanti’s values were always known to us, but he was never directive. He exercised a quiet leadership. We respected him, and we were trying to move in the direction he wanted to go. In all the years that he was my dean, he never once questioned what I was doing — though sometimes I might have needed a little questioning! I presume he treated all faculty members the same way. “CSD was Shanti’s idea. He was nudging me to start a research center, and we finally began in 1994. Of course, Shanti was a careful financial manager, and he didn’t give us much budget to start with — we had to generate our own resources. Within a few months, we had our first funding, and the Center has been fortunate to have resources ever since. Today, we work with scholars at the Brown School and elsewhere, have 10 or more full-time staff, employ 30 or more graduate students on research projects, and operate projects of about $2.5 million in annual revenue. CSD research has influenced federal and state policies in the United States, and in many other countries. The idea that the poor, like other people, should accumulate assets is now almost commonplace, and IDAs and other asset-building policies are widespread.

“CSD also plays a leadership role in civic service research. I had some background in this area during the 1980s, and in 2001 the Ford Foundation said, ‘We want you to return to research on civic service; we need a body of knowledge.’ Since then, CSD has supported dozens of international research projects, held five or more international conferences, published special journal issues and books on this topic, and served as a global database on civic service research. This work is now headed by Amanda Moore McBride, who will make important contributions in the years ahead.”

Khinduka, just before their arrival, “each school gets some bouquets and some brickbats — I only hope it is a balanced report.”

In late March, the results came back, to general dismay. The Commission threatened to place GWB on probation, primarily because it was not in compliance with mandatory standards, set by the CSWE in 1954, governing minority content in the core curriculum; the School was also said to have an inadequate number of black faculty and students. “There is little evidence of any planned curricular efforts in assuring the assignment of minority content,” said the report, which demanded “further commitment.”

In response, the faculty went to work incorporating content on minorities and women into the curriculum, especially the core courses. At the same time, GWB mounted a vigorous “show cause” challenge to the CSWE decision and reached out to the St. Louis chapter of the National Association of Black Social Workers for help in addressing the report’s concerns. That December, a telegram reached Khinduka from the Commission’s office: “Probationary status rescinded. Accredited status of the School of Social Work reaffirmed for maximum allowable period to November 1987.”

The crisis was over, but Khinduka
Charita Castro

Castro, MSW '99, received her doctorate in public policy from George Washington University in 2007, with a dissertation titled "Child Farmworkers in Philippine Agriculture: Researching Injury Hazards for Working Children in the Context of International Labor Standards and United States Foreign Policy." After GWB, she worked for the U.S. government: first, through the Presidential Management Fellowship program, at the U.S. Census Bureau where she focused on data related to means-tested programs and welfare reform; then in the U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor and Human Trafficking, where she is now Division Chief of Operations and Research.

"My parents came from the Philippines, and my exposure to poverty during visits to the country as a child planted the seed for me to work on international and domestic child welfare issues. At GWB I was one of the "Betties": I received a scholarship through the Bettie Schroth Johnson Program in Social Service Management."

"As a student, I remember sitting in Dr. Michael Sherraden's policy class when he showed us a video of Frances Perkins, former U.S. Secretary of Labor, who was the first woman ever appointed to the President's cabinet. Today, I have a very special connection to Frances Perkins, a social worker like me. As I know from watching that documentary, she was one of the key agents of reform for abolishing child labor in the United States. Every day now, I go into the Department of Labor building—called the 'Frances Perkins' building—to work on child labor issues myself. And whenever I go there, I'm reminded of that first time I stepped into social work class hoping to make a difference through my work, whether through research, policy, or practice."

Child labor issues are so important, and my job has given me the opportunity to travel the world to visit with and learn from former working children. When you think about the effects of poverty on families and children, sending children to work is one of its harshest consequences. Some of these children are in the worst forms of child labor: prostitution, bonded labor, child soldiers. In the area of human rights, these violations against children are probably some of the most egregious things that can happen."

**The 1980s Begin**

With the start of the 1980s, the School was heading into a decade in which the rapid growth of the 1970s would sputter. Although GWB had existed since 1925, "more than one third of all its graduates received their degrees in the past five years," noted Khinduka in his 1979 annual report. The number of minority students was up and so was the number of students over 30. By 1980, the School had awarded its 3,000th MSW degree; by 1984, its 100th doctorate.

But beginning in 1981, the presidency of Ronald Reagan heralded a difficult period for social work education, as the government launched welfare reform efforts and, more generally, created an unfavorable climate for social policies aimed at supporting the needy. In the midst of this national trend, the federal government cut training and research grants, social work admissions declined drastically, and the job market tightened for social workers. Some schools threatened to close, while the survival of others,

resolved that this kind of problem would never arise again. Before future accreditation reviews, he invited practice teams to visit who were tougher than the actual site visitors. He studied the CSWE standards; he became a member of the accreditation commission himself and a regular site visitor for other social work schools, in order to stay abreast of the latest activities in the field.

At the same time, the School was undertaking new ventures. The Learning Resources Center opened, continuing education institutes for alumni took place, and in fall 1977 GWB produced the first issue of a quarterly, the *Journal of Social Service Research*, featuring empirically based research articles.

They also received a welcome piece of news: the *Journal of Education for Social Work* ranked GWB faculty as the second most productive in scholarship within five major journals from 1972-1976.


Millstone, who received a bachelor of science in architectural engineering in 1927 from the University, is a St. Louis philanthropist, civic leader, and founder of Millstone Construction Co. A contributor of scholarship aid to GWB, he received the Dean's Medal in 2000.
including GWB — still operating as an independent fiscal unit within the University, under the reserve system — depended on careful money management.

During these lean times, Khinduka proceeded cautiously, relying on frugality to avoid deficits, achieve a balanced budget, and even add to the School’s endowment. To hold down expenses, he strictly limited the size of the faculty and made a strong push to attract donors from the School’s 3,000 alumni. Since tuition revenues accounted for up to 70 percent of the school’s income, retaining this revenue stream was critical, but in 1981-1982 Khinduka worried that “the overall enrollment, as in several other social work schools, was the lowest in the last ten years.”

**SURVIVAL, STABILITY, AND GROWTH**

What to do? One impediment for many students was the cost of social work education, so Khinduka began seeking donors to fund scholarships — a need that he called in 1983 the School’s “most pressing priority.” From one newsletter to the next, he traced the happy results: 10 new scholarships in 1981-1982, including one to honor retiring Jewish Federation Vice President David Rabino-vitz, MSW ‘47; five in 1982-1983, with one to honor Elizabeth R. Williamson and another for William E. Gordon. In

1986, Bettie and James L. Johnson, Jr. established the highly successful Bettie Schroth Johnson Program in Social Service Management, which would fund a procession of students known affectionately as “the Betties”; in 1987, 10 minority fellowships were created. In addition, some scholarships honored beloved former faculty, including Dorriece Pirtle and Mary Schulte.

The first in a series of advisory bodies, staffed by prominent St. Louisans, met to offer assistance. In 1980, as part of the Commission on the Future of Washington University, a Social Work Task Force convened under James Johnson’s leadership; their recommendations led to the hiring of Carol N. Doelling as a full-time placement officer for GWB — the first among U.S. social work schools — and a strong contributor to *Links*, the GWB alumni publication. One major result of the Commission’s work was a University-wide fundraising campaign, the Alliance for Washington University, which aimed to raise $300 million overall and $6.25 million for GWB. In the end, it only succeeded in realizing a small fraction of the social work goal.

All the while, Khinduka encouraged the faculty’s scholarly productivity, which had “reached new heights,” he wrote in an annual report. “More books were written by the faculty in 1982 than
in any other year in the entire history of
the School.” Journal articles, addresses,
and book chapters “were both numerous
and significant,” he added. This emphasis
was a key feature of his tenure, says Enola
Proctor today. He “wisely read the land-
scape and knew that social work’s stature
as a profession and its potential impact as
a field rested in large part on the strength
of its knowledge base … He did strategic
recruitment to bring people with research
skills on board among the faculty.”

Khinduka believed that research
provided the underpinning necessary
for sound policy decisions. “In social
work, unless one is careful, posturing and
rhetoric can creep in under the mask of
advocacy and idealism and displace care-
fully fashioned policy options,” he said in
1995. “In a field that deals so intimately
with the lives of real people, we need to
be especially sure that what we know
and what we do is based in logic and
supported by hard evidence.”

But that meant taking a close look
at existing faculty members, especially
junior faculty, to assess their scholarly
potential — and, in the process, GWB
denied tenure to several young recruits,
while others resigned. From that point,
Khinduka focused on hiring scholars
whose research interests would unques-
tionably make them “tenurable” — and
for the most part, the people he hired did
receive tenure and stay. Still, a few promi-
nent faculty departed over the years,
among them Larry Davis, to become dean
at the University of Pittsburgh, and Letha
Chadiha, to return to Michigan.

FORWARD STEPS IN THE MID-1980S
In fall 1981, GWB was the U.S. social
work school that attracted the greatest
number of international students —
23 that year from countries around the
globe — thanks largely to the unces-
sing efforts of Richard Farvis, who was

International enrollment
rises, 1986. During Dean
Khinduka’s tenure the num-
ber of international students
grew. Two early students
were Ada Mui and William
Wong, both from Hong Kong.
Social work computing facility. In 1983, GWB opened a new computing facility. Chancellor William H. Danforth, along with students and staff, watched a demonstration of a new computer being used to access information about social work field placements.

overseas admissions coordinator and secretary general of the Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development. On Parvis’s retirement in 1987, Shanti Khinduka called him “one of the true internationalists in social work education.” With help from the Barbara A. Bailey Program on International Social Welfare, the School hosted international conferences, including one in 1987 on aging issues in the U.S. and Japan.

Despite the hard times, there were other signs of progress. A social work computing facility opened in 1983, adjacent to the library. Ronald Feldman returned from his leave, and in 1985 the School’s 60th anniversary conference took place: “Toward Excellence and Effectiveness in Social Work Practice.”

Starting in 1983, a faculty task force, headed by Enola Proctor and Michael Sherraden, began looking again at the MSW curriculum, recently expanded with a specialization in management. Two years later, their diligence resulted in a solid MSW curriculum that remained largely in place for the rest of Khinduka’s tenure, with foundation content and five areas of concentration: health care, mental health, gerontology, children and youth services, and social and economic development.

Lectures continued to enhance campus life. A Thursday Lecture Series sponsored colloquia with such speakers as State Sen. Harriet Woods and former U.S. Sen. Thomas Eagleton. The Benjamin E. Youngdahl Lectures in Social
Policy invited such guests as Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, head of the Department of Health and Human Services; and Michael Harrington, author of *The Other America*, a seminal book about poverty in America.

As Washington University created National Councils for each of its schools, GWB gained its own 18-member National Council in 1987 under chairman Edwin S. Jones, a University trustee and retired chief executive officer of First Union Bancorporation; later, Richard L. Ford, managing general partner of Gateway Associates LP, took his place. Right away, the group focused on the School’s marketing needs, setting up important sub-committees on recruitment and corporate contacts.

With the financial situation easing, in part because of these efforts, a wave of recruitment in the late 1980s brought in Nancy R. Vosler, with an interest in social welfare and family policies, while J.P.X. Paiva, an international social development specialist, was appointed scholar in residence. In 1988, Therese J. Dent became director of field education, and Mark R. Rank — whose research interests focused on poverty, inequality, and social justice — moved over from the sociology department in 1989.

Two faculty members who became especially successful in garnering important research grants also joined the School. One was Nancy Morrow-Howell, who would become a leading national figure in productive aging and aging services; she would later chair the gerontology concentration, as well as the doctoral program. Wendy Auslander MSW ’79, PhD ’86 — arrived to coordinate the new health care concentration; over time, she would do important research on the impact of diabetes and other chronic health conditions, and she would also work closely with the medical school faculty.

In 1986, another valuable new faculty member joined GWB: Arlene Rubin...
Stiffman, MSW ’78, PhD ’80, one of the first to arrive with post-doctoral training, in her case from the University’s Department of Psychiatry. She also became among the first social work faculty to receive NIH research funding. Early on, she won a $1.5 million grant from the NIMH for a study of AIDS-related behavior changes in high-risk youth, and later she would conduct research in such varied settings as schools, child welfare clinics, and juvenile justice centers.

“SPRINGING INTO THE ’90S”
As the 1980s ended, student enrollment started to rise, and by 1990 it was higher than it had been for a decade. Students were engaged in planning for the future; some even organized a professional development conference, “Springing into the ’90s.” Overall, the social work climate was improving with new research funds and an increase in jobs; in 1990, the School kicked off its first Corporate Intern Program. In 1991, GWB took a major fiscal step forward when it hired David Jolley as its first director of development and alumni relations, and in 1992 it recruited another valuable staff member: Elizabeth George, who developed and coordinated the student recruitment efforts, and also administered the scholarship program.
Over time, the academic quality of the students was improving, though the applicant pool was always affected by the cost of a private education in a traditionally low-paid profession. Financially, students had more scholarship help available with 12 new scholarships in 1989-1990 alone, and a part-time option remained available, with courses on weekends and evenings. Yet as their indebtedness continued to mount, students became more tuition conscious, adopting a consumer-type mentality. Meanwhile, the student body was more culturally diverse with a growing number of international and minority students.

All the while, says Shanti Khinduka, “idealism did not decline. While students were becoming more debt-ridden and more conscious of the tuition they had to pay, that did not dim their commitment to social change and social development.” They signed petitions and traveled to Jefferson City to lobby for important issues, always protesting racism and discrimination, while advocating for the rights of the poor and the forgotten.

“A DEAN’S DEAN”
By now, Khinduka was well established, with a 20th anniversary celebration of his deanship in the offing. Precise and detailed in his work, he was at the same
"Social work practice will need to be more evidence-based, more linked to specific outcomes in the community.”

Shanti Khinduka

Khinduka was selected by Chancellor Mark S. Wrighton in 1998 to co-chair the new Center for Aging, a cross-disciplinary collaboration formed to address issues related to aging. He had also become a major figure in social work nationally. Active with the NASW, the CSWE, and the National Association of Deans and Directors of Schools of Social Work, he was a founding member, and later president, of the Inter-university Consortium of International Social Development. He was also a key founder of the St. Louis Group, an association of social work deans at research-oriented universities who wished to promote the role of research in the social work profession and in social work education.

From GWB, the University, and social work colleagues nationally, Khinduka had received numerous awards. In 1996, he received one of many national honors: The President’s Award for Excellence in Social Work Education from the NASW. The Family Support Network gave him their Guardian Angel Award in 2004, the School of Social Work at the University of Southern California presented him with the Los Amigos de la Humanidad Distinguished Educator Award in 1998, and Washington University gave him its prestigious Distinguished Faculty Award in 2006.
“Rather than simply alleviating short-term suffering, we must focus our efforts on helping people learn to help themselves, on building the internal capabilities and capacities of the individuals, families and communities that we serve.”  Shanti Khinduka
George Eberle. A student of Homer Bishop at GWB, George Eberle, MSW ’59, learned skills that helped him build a successful program over more than 40 years at Grace Hill Neighborhood Services, turning it into one of the major social agencies of its kind in the nation. He received the 1988 Distinguished Alumnus Award from GWB, the 1994 Distinguished Alumni Award from Washington University, and the honorary doctor of humanities degree in 1997.

His prudent fiscal management had been spectacularly successful, as had his determination to strengthen the formerly weak ties with the School’s alumni. By 1995, the School had built the endowment, at $5 million when he began, to an extraordinary $36 million. In financial, research, and academic terms, it was thriving: A 1991 study showed that GWB faculty were the most published in the country from 1977-1987; and in the mid-1990s, GWB tied for second most prestigious social work school in the nation.

Khinduka had successfully stressed a number of themes that re-defined the George Warren Brown School of Social Work: a strong emphasis on faculty and doctoral student research, international development and international relationships, and interdisciplinary collaboration. Within the next decade, “evidence-based practice” would become the watchword of the School, thanks to the efforts of Enola Proctor, associate dean for research. “Social work practice will need to be more evidence-based, more linked to specific positive outcomes in the community,” said Khinduka in 2000. “Rather than simply alleviating short-term suffering, we must focus our efforts on helping people learn to help themselves, on building the internal capabilities and capacities of the individuals, families, and communities that we serve.”

“Shanti Khinduka is one of the stars of Washington University,” said former Chancellor William H. Danforth at a November 1994 celebration of Khinduka’s 20 years of leadership. “Deans tell me that he is the ‘dean’s dean,’” added Enola Proctor. “Other deans turn to him for advice, and he mentors them in the same way he mentors his faculty.”

A FIVE-YEAR LOOK AHEAD

In December 1990, following an in-depth strategic planning process headed by Michael Sherraden, the faculty unanimously approved a challenging five-year plan, and the Social Work National Council added its enthusiastic support. “The overall quality of GWB’s MSW and PhD programs is excellent,” said the report. “No major change in direction or
As a student, Wendy Fishman Jaffe, MSW '95, did her concentration practicum at the Jewish Federation, and then worked there as an endowment associate after graduation. Next, she became director of member services for the Metropolitan Association for Philanthropy; today, she is executive director of the Trio Foundation of St. Louis.

"When I was first admitted to GWB, I received a scholarship for half the tuition, so I was still facing about $30,000 in loans over two years, and I was really scared. Although I was fairly certain I wasn’t going to come here, I attended the open house in spring 1993 and, during that incredibly busy event, Elizabeth George, the admissions director, sat with me for a good hour and listened to my worries. She helped me consider the opportunities that would be open to me and shared her own experience, which included student loans and a subsequent successful career. I couldn’t believe she took all that time just with me! That was my real introduction to GWB, and I always felt that kind of attention, caring, and focus on the students. It set the stage for my experience while I was there.

"When I had been in school for a month, one of our professors reviewed the NASW code of ethics with us. I remember being completely blown away and saying: ‘This is it – this is everything that I have always believed in.’ Since then, I have never for a second looked back on coming to St. Louis or getting this degree. Elizabeth George was right. It has opened many doors for me personally and professionally, and I feel that I got so much out of it."

content is indicated. Our objectives are enhanced excellence and planned, rather than haphazard, growth.”

The plan consisted of six major elements. In the area of students, it proposed increasing the size of the PhD program from five students per year to 10 by the mid-1990s; the MSW enrollment would grow by five and then by four percent annually, with special attention to the recruitment of minority and international students and to attracting more scholarship help. Per student, the average indebtedness for the previous year was $22,000, said the plan.

Faculty was the second area, with a goal of adding eight new members over the next five years for a total of 26, and two endowed professorships. In program innovations, the plan targeted a post-doctoral program and a Professional Skills Development Center. In addition, it proposed forging closer ties to the University and to the community, as GWB had begun recently by establishing a Dean’s Professional Advisory Committee to gather input from social agency executives. Finally, but crucially, it stressed that the School needed more space.

The St. Louis Group.

Members of the St. Louis Group, an association of social work deans at research-oriented universities, met at GWB to discuss the role of research in social work. Edward F. Lawlor, a new dean at the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration, participated in this important gathering.
“This is it — this is everything that I have always believed in.” Wendy Fishman Jaffe

MEETING THE FACULTY GOALS

In 1991, GWB was already moving toward its faculty goals with the addition of Shanta Pandey and Gautam N. Yadama, both with PhDs from Case-Western Reserve University, and F. Brett Drake, a child welfare expert. Aaron Rosen rejoined the full-time faculty after serving from 1990-1992 as the Barbara A. Bailey Visiting Professor. In January 1994, two additions were Curtis McMillen, a specialist in mental health services for child welfare clients, particularly youth leaving foster care, and David E. Pollio.

In 1995, James Herbert Williams, who became associate dean for academic affairs in 2002, came on board; a specialist in the development of youth and families, he worked with three north St. Louis neighborhoods to help residents develop leadership skills through the Sustainable Neighborhoods Initiative. In 1998, he also chaired a multi-university, interdisciplinary Urban Family and Community Development Program, founded in part with $225,000 from the Danforth Foundation, aimed at helping community workers get the advanced training they need. Next came Melissa Jonson-Reid and Matthew Howard in 1997, and John Bricout and Tonya Edmond in 1999.

Gradually, the School was also developing an impressive list of endowed professorships — the largest of any social work school in the nation. In 1992, Michael Sherraden was named the Benjamin E. Youngdahl Professor of Social Development; in 1995, Enola Proctor became the Frank J. Bruno Professor of Social Work Research. Within the decade following Sherraden's appointment, the School named Aaron Rosen in 1998, Arlene R. Stifelman in 2001, and then Wendy Auslander in 2007 as the Barbara A. Bailey Professor of Social Work; and Larry Davis and then James Herbert Williams as the E. Desmond Lee Professor of Racial and Ethnic Diversity. Still later, Nancy Morrow-Howell became the Ralph and Muriel Pumphrey Professor of Social Work.

Were faculty, as well as students and staff, active in the community? “The ivory tower is not the most suitable abode for social work faculty,” said Khinduka in 1994. A year before, he had formed a faculty task force on community service, chaired by faculty member Robert L. Pierce, a specialist in abused and neglected children and the child welfare system, and charged with assessing the extent of GWB community involvement. The group found a growing culture of service but recommended still more efforts to help.

Meanwhile, David Cronin had spearheaded an effort known as “Project
Collaboration," funded by a five-year grant. This program included curriculum development, new opportunities nationally for GWB graduates to pursue child welfare careers, and a faculty/staff exchange program with the Missouri Division of Family Services (DFS).

A BURGEONING DOCTORAL PROGRAM
Under Khinduka's leadership and a succession of talented chairs—following Rosen, they would eventually include William Butterfield, David Gillespie, Enola Proctor, Michael Sherraden, Nancy Morrow-Howell, and Wendy Auslander—the interdisciplinary doctoral program was strong and growing. Its identity was now firmly established as a research-oriented program, and its reputation had grown. Through the years, the number of doctoral students had more than doubled, and the program "is now poised to become one of the most important suppliers of academic and research leaders in social work," said Khinduka in 2001.

Strong support from GWB faculty and the others in the University—particularly graduate deans Ralph Morrow,
Chancellor Mark S. Wrighton (far right) with faculty holding chaired professorships.

By November 2001, GWB had six faculty with named professorships: (from left) Exola K. Proctor, James Herbert Williams, Martha Ozawa, Shantil K. Khinduka, Michael Sherraden, and Arlene Stifflman.
... the program “is now poised to become one of the most important suppliers of academic and research leaders in social work.” Shanti Khinduka
Edward Wilson, and Robert Thach — had contributed to its success. Thanks to grants generated by such faculty as Arlene Stiffman and Wendy Auslander, doctoral students had many research practicum opportunities; and Martha Ozawa was an active mentor. Financial aid for these students also increased dramatically, as did their opportunities to present papers at professional conferences, while the number of funded research projects expanded. One stipend funded a student to work as an editorial assistant for the Journal of Social Service Research.

The interdisciplinary nature of the program continued to gain in importance, as new connections developed between GWB and the School of Medicine. Faculty members — particularly Enola Proctor, Arlene Stiffman, Wendy Auslander, and Nancy Morrow-Howell — began working closely with medical school faculty, and fruitful research collaborations developed.

CENTERS TAKE ROOT

In some ways, the 1990s became the “decade of the centers,” as several major research centers with a national or international focus were established at GWB. The first, inaugurated in November 1990 at a gala ceremony, was the Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies, the only training and research center of its kind in the United States. That is focused on American Indians.

The Center, directed originally by Dana Wilson Klar, MSW, JD ‘89, and in 1996 by Eddie F. Brown, had been funded by Kathryn Marie Buder, who had a deep interest in American Indian education; David Cronin and Harriet K. Switzer were instrumental in its creation. Its goal was to prepare its students for leadership roles in which they would benefit other American Indians, and over time it also sponsored research on American Indian issues related to social work.

Then in 1993, the NIMH awarded GWB a $3.75 million, five-year grant to found the nation’s first Center for Mental Health Services Research (CMHSR) — and the first research center funded by the NIMH in a school of social work — with mental health specialist Enola Proctor as its director and Arlene Stiffman as associate director. This grant provided support for new projects, consultation with national experts, staff to support pilot studies, and a host of research proposals, including a 1995 grant to offer post-doctoral training. At renewal time, the NIMH awarded $2.2 million to the Center for five more years of research. New faculty, such as Melissa Jonson-Reid, Patricia Kohl, Curtis McMillen, Ramesh Raghavan, Tonya E. Edmond, Peter Hoymand, and
Luis H. Zayas, were drawn to the School in part because of its reputation for mental health services research.

This new Center's research was intended to focus on providing effective and accessible mental health services, particularly for such high-risk populations as children, adolescents, the mentally ill, minorities, and people living in poverty. Over the years, it showed remarkable results: 86 externally funded grants launched through the School with $70 million in direct funding, six post-doctoral students trained, and four cores working actively on operations and research. "In partnership with agencies, the impact of our research has grown tremendously and because of that the results we are able to achieve really do have the capacity to improve care," says Proctor today. Along with Shanti Khinduka, she would also serve on the board of the Institute for the Advancement of Social Work Research, a group founded in 1993 to strengthen social work research resources in the area of mental health.

Only a year after the CMHSR came to life, so did another important center: The Center for Social Development (CSD), directed by Michael Sherraden, which began life without an initial grant but developed substantial resources over time. Its purpose was to investigate ways of enabling the poor to develop through innovative ideas in education and job training, housing, health care, youth development, civic engagement, and productive aging. From the outset, its primary focus was on asset building, the subject of Sherraden's 1991 ground-breaking book, *Assets and the Poor: A New American Welfare Policy*, which outlined a plan to match savings through individual development accounts (IDAs) that could be used for education, small business development, or home ownership.
Native American Pow Wows.
Each year the Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies and the American Indian Student Association host a Pow Wow to celebrate and share Native American heritage and traditions.
In 2001, the CSD launched the Global Service Institute (GSI) with a two-year, $3 million grant from the Ford Foundation, which was interested in expanding work that Sherraden had done in the 1980s on civic service. The goal of the GSI would be to research and promote civilian service worldwide, in the process creating an international information network on service. Over time, other centers also emerged. The Co-morbidity and Addictions Center was established in 2000 under Arlene Stiffman — the first U.S. social work research development center funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA).

**70TH ANNIVERSARY**

In 1995, GWB celebrated its 70th anniversary by awarding its 5,000th MSW degree and noting that it had graduates in every state and 42 countries. Since the 60th anniversary, the School had created 59 new scholarships and completed most of its five-year plan ahead of schedule — so quickly, in fact, that the School formulated an even more ambitious 15-year plan. That October GWB hosted a major conference, co-chaired by David Cronin and Alice Tourville, MSW ’86, titled “Innovations in Social Work” — a topic that Khinduka believed was of critical importance to the future of the field.

At the anniversary banquet, they awarded the first three Dean’s Medals to friends of the School: Kathryn M. Buder, for her support of the Buder Center; scholarship donors James Lee Johnson, Jr. and Bettie Schroth Johnson, who had served, respectively, on the Social Work Task Force and on the Social Work National Council; and Roma Broida Wittcoff, BSBA ’45, donor, trustee, and Social Work National Council member, who had helped with the School’s strategic plan.

Khinduka used this occasion to remind the audience of the School’s underlying values. “The School will advocate social justice and will remind all students of this commitment. GWB will not compromise its excellence or fall prey to political correctness. It will seek every opportunity to cooperate with other disciplines,” said Khinduka.
The keynote speaker for the dedication of Goldfarb Hall, in fall 1998, was Mario Cuomo, former Democratic governor of New York state. He said, in part: "A senator from Illinois asked for $5 billion of the budget for the public schools. The answer was: 'We can't afford it.' And we are passing a budget that gives us the biggest capital gains cut in years.

'Am I mad? Is there something deranged about me? Have I been at this game too long? Have I seen too much in the streets of New York? Have I been affected by the point of irrationality by seeing little children who I know are hungry in the streets of these ghettos, by seeing toddlers who are surrounded by pimps and prostitutes and every kind of defacement and degradation, who become used to the sound of gunfire before they have ever heard an orchestra? Am I getting somehow carried away here? There is something terribly wrong with a country that allows this to happen. But you don't hear about this, and you don't read about this; it's not fashionable to talk about these people...

'That's why this dedication and your renewed commitment to work for social conscience, social welfare, and social justice is so timely and so admirable.'

A NEW BUILDING

In fall 1992, Brown Lounge had a major facelift, and in that same year a building committee headed by Arlene R. Stiffman began considering GWB's need for expansion as part of the University's Project 21 strategic planning initiative. With increased enrollment, the School was bursting at the seams, and some programs had moved to satellite offices on West Campus and in the former Prince Hall. At first, the School proposed to add a wing to Brown Hall, but instead a more exciting solution emerged thanks to philanthropist Alvin Goldfarb, whose late wife was Jeanette Rudman Goldfarb, MSW '36. With his $3 million donation, coupled with gifts from his friends and others, the School was able to erect a new four-story building, Goldfarb Hall, which was built in parallel to Brown Hall along Forsyth Boulevard and dedicated in May 1998, with former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo as the keynote speaker.

The $13 million building, designed by Kallman, McKinnell & Wood Architects of Boston, was constructed of pink granite and limestone to match Brown Hall.
Inside, it had classrooms, offices, meeting space, and seminar rooms, all equipped with sophisticated technology; the Buder Center, CSD, and the CMHSR had suites in the building. Outside, an enclosed courtyard—made possible by a gift from Stanley and Lucy Lopata—was formed by the intersection of the two buildings; they were connected by a bridge, given by Sima Needleman, MSW ’74. David Cronin took charge of the building process, and then managed a $2.5 million renovation of Brown Hall, including a major remodeling of the library, completed in 1999.

Mark S. Wrighton, who had succeeded William Danforth as Washington University chancellor in 1995, summed up the importance of the School at the Goldfarb Hall groundbreaking ceremony. "Service to society is one of the important benchmarks by which Washington University measures its success, and the School of Social Work is clearly a campus leader in this regard," Wrighton said. "George Warren Brown plays an important role in reaching out to the needs of society, and it is well-deserving of support for these efforts, both from the Washington University community and beyond."

Mark R. Rank, 2006. A GSB faculty member since 1989, Rank was named the first Herbert S. Hadley Professor of Social Welfare in December 2003. His research, including his newest book, One Nation, Underprivileged: Why American Poverty Affects Us All, deals with poverty, inequality, and social justice. He received the University's Distinguished Faculty Award in 1995.
FINANCIAL IMPROVEMENTS

By the late 1990s, the financial situation of the School had improved substantially with new donors and corporate help. In 1996, an anonymous donor pledged a matching $1 million challenge grant. Then in 1998, GWB received $5 million, part of a $100 million pledge to the University from the Danforth Foundation aimed at endowing programs that would strengthen the School’s involvement in social issues affecting St. Louis.

In 1998, tied for a first-place ranking among social work schools nationwide, GWB embarked on an ambitious new fund-raising effort. Along with the rest of the University, the School participated in the $1 billion Campaign for Washington University, which had a GWB target of $26 million. Helped by the Social Work National Council, the campaign was a major success.

Other donations made possible new programs and endowed professorships. In 2003, the School received an anonymous gift of $1 million, which it used to fund a new Technical Assistance Program, later re-named the Alliance for Building Capacity (ABC), led by Barbara Levin; this program would help St. Louis not-for-profits build organizational capacity. Luis H. Zayas, who joined the faculty in 2002, became the first Shanti K. Khinduka...
Needleman, MSW '74, a medical social worker, worked at Jewish Hospital from 1976 to 1992, then in private practice until her 1999 retirement. She has served on the GWB National Council since 1993; on the board of the Alumni Association from 1991 to 2001; and as its president from 1993-1995. In 2000, she was instrumental in forming the Alumni Association's "Healing Racism" discussion group for alumni, faculty, students, and staff. She received the Dean's Medal in 2006 and the President's Award in 2001.

"My 35-year history with GWB was primarily during the time of Dean Shanti Khinduka, under whose leadership the School rose to world prominence because of his high standards of excellence. Also, I have been fortunate to witness the transition to our very accomplished new dean, Eddie Lawlor, another giant in the field of social work research and education."

"The School became part of my life in September 1972 when I was 32 years old, married, with two children. I was a little apprehensive about going back to school because of my family responsibilities and because it was 10 years since I had been a student, so I chose to go part-time the first semester. But Prof. Ronald Feldman's course, "Human Behavior Relating to Groups," was so stimulating that I moved to full-time the next semester.

"In a Women's Studies course with Dorrice Pirtle, I read Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, which opened my eyes to the dilemma of middle-class women in the 1970s. I remember feeling that Friedan had written the book about me! Two other courses — one on medical social work taught by Donna King and a "Psychology of Aging" seminar, taught by Martha Storandt of the Department of Psychology — stand out as being important in my future work. When I received my diploma, it was among the first signed by the new dean, Shanti Khinduka, in December 1974.

"After graduating, I worked in the Social Work Department of Jewish Hospital in the Obstetrics-Gynecology service for 16 years, eight of them in the new In-vitro Fertilization (IVF) Program, the first in Missouri. I remember researching infertility, the IVF procedure, and other options in case IVF failed. Later, I wrote a paper on the role of a social worker in an infertility clinic and sent it out to two journals, not expecting it to be returned several times for revisions."

"Luckily, about that time, the School was celebrating its 60th Anniversary, and at a dinner I talked to my former professor, David Gillespie. He offered to read the paper and give me his opinion; after he read it, he said it was 'eminently publishable' and not to give up. That encouragement was all I needed to continue. The paper was published in the Spring 1987 issue of Health and Social Work and was one of the highlights in my career."

Distinguished Professor of Social Work, a chair established in Khinduka's honor by anonymous donors. Mark Rank was named the first Herbert S. Hadley Professor of Social Welfare in 2003.

The School also participated in the scholarly life of social work education nationally. In 2002, the Society for Social Work and Research, in conjunction with GWB, established an annual lectureship to honor the lifetime achievement of revered faculty member Aaron Rosen. The first lecture in the series, "Evidence-Based Practice: Challenges and Promises," was given by Rosen himself.

NEW MILLENNIUM

As the new millennium began, GWB had extraordinary things to celebrate: its annual ranking among the top three schools of social work nationally, its solid curriculum, and its reputation for cutting-edge research. Still the national leader among social work schools in attracting international students, it now offered 15 international scholarships, and in 2001 it began hosting Open Society Institute fellows from Central Asia. Its endowment had risen from $5 million in 1974 to a 2004 total of $103 million.

Beside Khinduka, its devoted faculty, and its staff, the School had others to thank for its success, including its cadre of alumni. Two other supporters were William and Elizabeth Danforth, honored in 1999 with the GWB Dean's Medal in recognition of their service to the School. The Danforths were dedicated to "a life devoted to service, to altruism, and to compassion for the unfortunate and the underdog," said Khinduka later.

In October 2000, GWB held a major event marking its 75th anniversary, including a conference titled "Framing Social Work Agendas for the Future." As part of the festivities, an exhibit of
Yadama (center), associate professor and a leading researcher in social and economic development, serves as GWB's liaison with the Open Society Institute, which helps educate social work professionals in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Library renovation, 1999.
Under the leadership of David Cronin, GWB undertook a major renovation of Brown Hall, including the library.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch editorial cartoons depicting areas of concern to social work were mounted at GWB; it later traveled to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. A film series showed movies from the previous 75 years that had raised awareness of important social issues.

The faculty, still focused on research, grew larger with the recruitment of Peter S. Hovmand, Carolyn Lesorogol, Stephanie C. Boddie, Michelle Putnam, and Yunju Nam. In 2004, Amanda Moore McBride, MSW '95, PhD '03, also arrived, with an interest in issues related to civic engagement and civic service, as well as international service and global citizenship. More and more, the School focused on establishing community partnerships with agencies such as the United Way, local boards such as MERS/Goodwill, and programs such as Operation Safe Streets.
On April 3, 2004, former Chancellor William H. Danforth made these remarks at a reception for Shanti Khinduka, retiring from the deanship after 30 years of service:

"Not long ago I visited Seattle and met the father of Bill Gates. When asked about his son, he answered, 'How did I know he would grow up to be Bill Gates?'

"I might say the same thing about our honoree. How did any of us know in 1974 when he joined Washington University that he was going to turn out to be Shanti Khinduka, Washington University's longest-serving and most successful dean, and certainly the most beloved dean in the history of our University or perhaps all of American higher education? Great deans are respected—but beloved? Most people would think that a beloved dean would be an oxymoron. The words 'dean' and 'beloved' normally don't go together. But then Shanti is not a normal dean or a normal person: Shanti is unique. How did any of us know that he would turn out to lead his school into the top ranks of schools of social work or that he would become the most respected social work dean in the nation? How did we know that we would all come to admire him extravagantly?

"Of course, the answer is that I didn't know. Maybe Jim Davis, who chaired the very perceptive dean search committee, knew. In retrospect, it was one of the most successful search committees in the history of Washington University. They knew that Shanti had a strong academic record and administrative experience, but I doubt that even they knew he would turn out to be the Shanti Khinduka that we know and love today.

"Over the years, I have thought a lot about academic leadership and how one identifies academic leadership. One never really knows how someone will work out. Usually the person himself or herself doesn't really know. Maybe Shanti did not know who he would turn out to be. But it is worth looking back and asking, 'How could one have known? How could Jim Davis and his colleagues come up with such a wonderful academic leader?'

"Shanti was well trained, intelligent, and a good scholar, but that is a given, something that is true of all deans appointed at great universities. Social work, of course, is special. Social work is a moral profession, a profession that attracts people dedicated to helping those in our society who most need help, and Shanti is a social worker, a moral person who thinks and acts in accordance with the highest standards of the profession. And Shanti is a moral leader.

"Parenthetically, I think that the greatest leadership is always moral leadership. Shanti, as I imagine all social workers do, that the world is not what it should be. Life is not fair; too many suffer. But Shanti, like a great social worker, is what Peter Medawar has called 'a meliorist,' which he defines as 'one who believes that the world can be improved by finding out what is wrong with it and then taking steps to put it right.'

"Shanti's commitment has been to the noble task of building a school where people can devote themselves to finding out what is wrong and how to take steps to put it right and to educating those who will, like themselves, give their lives to make the world better. And Shanti is always at it working quietly, modestly, and very effectively for the well-being of GWB. While others may strive for personal gain, or reputation, or glory, Shanti strives effectively to serve his faculty and his students and the ideals of his school and of his university. And we trust him and follow him, for Shanti is honest and straightforward and gentle and kind and fair. And he is good will personified.

"I have to mention one other important characteristic. Shanti thinks about tomorrow as well as about today. More than any dean I have known, he builds for the long term. What he, with the help of the faculty and staff of GWB, have built, will last. He steps down with this great school in wonderful shape.

"We did not know when Shanti joined us how fortunate we were to have such a wonderful friend and colleague and such an inspiring academic leader. Nor did we know how important his character would be and how that character would play out in his leadership.

"Shanti's arrival was a great day for Washington University and I have not even said a word about how fortunate we were that when Shanti came, Mano came too. We have been doubly blessed. Thank you, Mano, and thank you, Shanti."
"We did not know when Shanti joined us how fortunate we were to have such a wonderful friend and colleague and such an inspiring academic leader. Nor did we know how important his character would be and how that character would play out in his leadership." — William H. Danforth

**KHINDUKA ANNOUNCES HIS RETIREMENT**

In April 2001, Dean Shanti Khinduka was awarded another honor when he was installed as the inaugural George Warren Brown Distinguished University Professor. On that occasion, he gave a major lecture, "Musings on Social Work and Social Work Education," in which he summed up his 27-year career at Washington University, calling it "the most rewarding part of my professional life ... And, in my judgment ... there is no better place of work for a social work dean and professor." While naming problems in social work education, he also praised its successes and exhorted schools to create cultures conducive to interdisciplinary collaboration, as well as international recruitment. Finally, he discussed the role of social work in advocating for the needy:

"By the very nature of our mission, social workers challenge many of society's widely held priorities. ... When others blame the downtrodden themselves for their misfortunes, we point to the unfairness of our dominant institutions. When others celebrate the unprecedented prosperity of this nation, we draw attention to the unconscionable poverty in our midst. ... Social workers can thus aspire to become the conscience of a society, but hardly ever its cheerleader. Our psychic
income comes not from being counted among the elite, the powerful, the popular, or the glamorous set. It comes from knowing that we have done our bit in wiping a human tear, in serving a child or a frail elderly, in organizing people for empowerment, in fighting injustice, in occasionally winning a skirmish or two on behalf of human dignity.”

In fall 2003, Khinduka announced his plans to retire on June 30, 2004, after 30 years as dean. His tenure had been the longest of any other dean then serving at Washington University and one of the longest of any social work dean in the nation. From around the University, the city, the country—even the world—accolades poured in for his accomplishments.

“Shanti Khinduka has led the School of Social Work brilliantly,” said Chancellor Mark Wrighton. “In addition to the crucial role he has had in the development of this School, he has provided incomparable leadership to the social work profession both nationally and internationally.”

“Shanti Khinduka is the embodiment of the values and ideals of the social work profession,” said Dr. Dolores Baja-Lasán, MSW '59, chancellor of the Philippine Women's University. “He is a globally acknowledged expert in the practice and teaching of social work and social development.”

On April 3, 2004, a dinner at The Sheldon, attended by more than 300 alumni, friends, faculty, staff, and other deans, honored Khinduka for his exceptional service. Later, Chancellor Wrighton announced that some 700 alumni and friends had created a substantial fund, in Khinduka's name, to help GWB students who wished to finish their practicum studies in another country. Among a number of national awards, Khinduka received a Significant Lifetime Achievement Award from the CSWE.

Khinduka would stay on, retaining his named chair, to teach social work students. But as a search committee, headed by Enola Proctor, convened to hunt for a new dean, everyone wondered the same thing: How on earth could they ever replace him?
Shanti K. Khinduka, dean of GWB from 1974 to 2004 and the George Warren Brown Distinguished University Professor, received one master’s degree in social work from Lucknow University in India and another from the University of Southern California, and then a doctorate from Brandeis University. Author of more than three dozen articles and editor of three books, he is a leading figure in social work education nationally and has received numerous awards, including the President’s Award for Excellence in Social Work Education from the NASW in 1996 and the 2004 Significant Lifetime Achievement in Social Work Education Award from the CSWE.

“In the future, there will be challenges for social work education. How will we recruit talented students to a field that has low salaries and low status, and to a school with high tuition? What about the perceived tension between research and social action? As we become part of the mainstream, do we lose our passionate commitment to social justice? It is sometimes dysfunctional just to be a critic without a feasible alternative program. The School will have to be constantly watching itself; it will have to be adaptable.

“I think the biggest challenge for social work education is one of ‘rigor and relevance.’ The rigor is the quality of scholarship, research, and the evidence on which we base our recommendations, our interventions, our policy approaches. The relevance is: Are we seeing what is happening in the community to poor people, to immigrants, to people with incurable diseases, to strangers, to racial minorities, to single mothers, to children, to the aged? Part of the relevance is: Can we be innovative? Innovation is now central to being relevant.

“At the School level, one of the challenges is to have the reputation that will attract faculty and students. Higher education puts a premium on reputation. As much as we criticize the current obsession with rankings, in the final analysis it is our reputation that will bring us the best students, the best faculty and resources, and the esteem of the community and the University. To win support and keep a good reputation is an ongoing challenge.

“In the larger scheme of things, there are the vicissitudes of the welfare state. What is the division of responsibility among the state, the market, the family, and the individual for meeting essential human needs? That’s the big question in the European and American public policy arena, and the process of globalization is sharpening it; we don’t know what role the state, corporations, faith-based organizations, private charities, individuals, and families will have in the future. Those are the unknowns.

“This School will not justify its existence if it does not remain the champion of equality, fairness, and social justice. Without that, we should change our name and not be a school of social work.”
Social entrepreneurship.
As part of her practicum at the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture in Nigeria, MSW student Woo Jin Jung (left) helps women and youth manage and maintain agricultural products used to support themselves and their families.
CHAPTER 6
“SOCIAL IMPACT”
EDWARD F. LAWLER

2004–2007
The 14-member search committee, headed by Enola Proctor, faced a doubly daunting challenge. Replacing an almost legendary dean, after a record 30-year tenure, was hard enough. But they also suspected that the candidates they would most wish to consider had successful careers already and were not likely to apply. They would have to survey the full range of known social work leaders — and, when they found the one they wanted, they would have to do some persuading.

As this committee was convening, Edward F. Lawlor was in his second term as dean at a competing institution, the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration (SSA), where he had been a faculty member since 1985. Before that, he had earned a PhD from the Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare at Brandeis University, and then had spent five years as a research associate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

In his own scholarship, Lawlor was nationally known for his work in the area of health policy, with special expertise in Medicare and health care reform. He had recently published a groundbreaking book, *Redesigning the Medicare Contract: Politics, Markets, and Agency*, which presented Medicare as a social contract between society and its neediest members. He was also the founding editor of a quarterly journal, *Public Policy and Aging Report*.

Just as interesting to the search committee was Lawlor's record of creating innovative partnerships between his school and community organizations: for example, the Chicago Public Schools, to develop a new model of social work practice; and Chicago's Community Development Associates Inc., to give SSA a greater role as a community partner. He had been active in the community himself, serving from 1993-2000 as founding director of the Chicago Health Policy Research Council and for a decade as the secretary of the Chicago Board of Health. When Gov. Rod Blagojevich was preparing to take office, Lawlor served as vice chair of his Social Service Transition Committee.

Finally, he also had experience and interest in an area that was a longtime focus of GWB: forging international alliances. In 1996, Lawlor had directed...
Enola Proctor, PhD '78, joined the faculty in 1977 and began a stellar career as a researcher, teacher of doctoral students, and champion of evidence-based social work practice. She served as chair of the School's doctoral program from 1989 to 1995; in 1993, she became director of the newly established Center for Mental Health Services Research, funded by the NIMH. She was named the Frank J. Bruno Professor of Social Work Research in 1995. Among her many awards are the University's Distinguished Faculty Award in 1992 and the NASW Presidential Award for Excellence in Social Work Research in 1994. She also chaired the search committee that recruited Dean Edward F. Lawlor.

"Shanti had the well-earned reputation as the dean of deans, and our school had made tremendous strides under his leadership. Some people actually wondered 'Where do we go from here?'; but we had undergone a long-range planning process in which we did some careful thinking, so we knew that we would not be complacent, that there were greater heights to achieve. We engaged in our own assessment: We had listening sessions with faculty and staff, with the school’s external constituencies, the dean’s Professional Advisory Committee, members of our National Council, the University administration. We got a lot of input about the kind of leadership we needed for the next, even greater, decade of our School, and we set out to find the best leader in the field.

"It was tough, but we were relentless in our pursuit of people, putting ourselves on their radar screen, not relying on them to find us. In short, we went after people. In the end, we had a terrific pool of people whom we had intrigued by our vision, the energy of our faculty, the goals of our School, and our thirst to have an even greater impact. Finally, things sorted themselves out, we knew our leader when we found him, and we made a unanimous choice."

the Romania-Chicago Health Management Partnership, intended to assist Romanian universities and non-governmental agencies with the development of health policy analysis and health care management.

At a national conference, Enola Proctor called to ask whether he would meet several members of her committee for an early breakfast; Lawlor, still groggy because his flight had arrived late, was reluctant—but got up and had a productive conversation. However, he assured the group that he was settled in his job and there was “zero probability that I would leave Chicago,” he recalls today. Still, the committee pressed Lawlor, talking him into a campus visit, while Chancellor Mark Wrighton — “a very clever and successful recruiter,” says Lawlor — weighed in with convincing phone calls. Lawlor was especially impressed with Wrighton’s commitment to advancing the School.

Finally, their persistence paid off. Lawlor, won over, agreed to become the next dean of the George Warren Brown School of Social Work starting on July 1, 2004; that fall, he was also named the inaugural William E. Gordon Professor.

“Dean Lawlor’s extraordinary leadership as dean of the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration and his outstanding research and community service make him well-suited to lead the continuing ascent of the George Warren Brown School of Social Work ...,” said Wrighton. “In Eddie Lawlor, we have not only a wonderful academic leader but also an individual who will continue to build interdisciplinary programs of education and research of great importance to society.”
A LOOK AT THE INSTITUTION

"I can no longer say that 'I am the new dean,' at the George Warren Brown School of Social Work," wrote Lawlor to alumni in 2006. "Now well into the cycle of my second year, I feel like I have absorbed much of the culture of the School and Washington University, and have begun to work in earnest on future challenges and initiatives."

One of his first jobs as dean, says Lawlor, was to continue to strengthen the faculty and recruit the best and most diverse student body possible. "Dean Khinduka built an extraordinary School with great faculty and we need to continue this trajectory," he says.

At the same time, he also wished to work on institutionalizing specific objectives. Capacity-building? Evidence-based practice? These would be used more fully to shape the training of students, their field education, and the School's community partnerships. Another major task was to develop and consolidate the School's international partnerships into an even more meaningful program. A third involved making a larger, more targeted contribution to St. Louis and the state of Missouri.

"Social impact" is what he aims for, he says, in research, education, and service. In spring 2006, a new magazine, replacing the longtime alumni newsletter Links, took this phrase as its name and began publishing articles designed to "spark discussion around critical issues of social policy, practice, and education," said Lawlor in its introduction.

To ensure that the School is having an impact, Lawlor proposed a "score card" to track five areas: the effect of research, the quality of educational programs, contributions to the social work field, overall leadership, and its own institutional progress. Meanwhile,
Luis H. Zayas, 2006. Zayas, whose research focuses on child and adolescent mental health, was named the Shanti K. Khinduka Distinguished Professor of Social Work in 2002. He also heads the Center for Latino Family Research, a new research center for Hispanic studies at the Brown School.
Institutional advancement has been accelerated by the addition of new faculty with expertise in child welfare, psychiatry, public health, and addictions.

the School would assume a slightly different identity. Known for years as "GWB," it would now be called the "Brown School." This change, Lawlor says, allows the School to retain its traditional name yet build greater recognition with outside individuals and organizations who are not familiar with the GWB acronym.

PROGRESS TOWARD THESE GOALS
Even though his deanship is young, Lawlor and the Brown School have moved ahead in all five of these areas over the past three years. Research and publication have continued apace throughout the faculty and in the six research centers, which now include the Center for Latino Family Research, created in 2005 by Luis H. Zayas to study Latino health and community development. In that same year, the Ford Foundation awarded Michael Sherraden’s Center for Social Development (CSD) a $2.5 million grant toward establishing an endowment, as his asset-building concept continued to gain acceptance at home and abroad. In 2007, CSD would be part of a collaboration with National University of Singapore to create the Centre of Social Development (Asia) to address the widening income gap in Singapore.

Among the School’s contributions to the social work field, Enola Proctor’s appointment to the prestigious National Advisory Mental Health Council of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) — as the first social work researcher named to this group — is a key example. Institutional advancement has been accelerated by the addition of new faculty with expertise in child welfare, psychiatry, public health, and addictions. Existing faculty have also taken new roles, with Tonya Edmond becoming associate dean of academic affairs, and Wendy Auslander the PhD program chair.

In the area of educational experience, the student body — consisting on average of 200 MSW students per class, 58 PhD students, and four post-doctoral fellows — can choose from a host of options. The MSW group finds a flexible curriculum with six concentrations, two specializations (research and management), more than 500 practicum opportunities, and six dual-degree programs, including a two-year old interdisciplinary partnership with Eden Seminary. Enriching the School’s academic life are such annual cultural events as the Buder Center’s American Indian Pow-Wow, the International Festival, showcasing Brown students from some 30 different countries; and a lecture series with speakers on social policy issues and evidence-based practice topics.
Echele, executive director of St. Louis-based Family Resource Center and adjunct faculty member, discussed the Center's new partnership with the Brown School in the fall 2007 issue of the School's new magazine, Social Impact.

"One of our goals with Brown is to develop the definitive model for the elimination of chronic child abuse. At the moment FRC has seven different programs impacting child abuse or neglect in some way. We want to examine each one for its evidence base, document the evidence if it doesn't exist currently, or find new interventions that are rooted in evidence. Then we hope to integrate them so that, over time, FRC is transformed from a practice-based agency that does some evidence-based practice (EBP) to an agency where the majority of services we deliver are grounded in fact.

"A second goal is to track the cultural changes that occur within each of our organizations. When we are finished, not only will we have models that we can share with others, but we will know what is needed organizationally to make them work. It's one thing for someone to read a five-page synopsis of our final model. But if we also can document any implementation pitfalls and how we surmounted them, we will have the linchpin that enables both practice organizations and academic institutions to make this transition together, ... "We've been discussing our new collaboration for about three years. Our missions align, and the School's faculty members have expertise in areas that are of interest to us. FRC's connections with the corporate community, coupled with the Brown School's ties with national foundations and federal funding sources, make for a powerful combination. Of course our shared commitment to EBP helps as well."

Center for Mental Health Services Research Center earns special designation, 2005.

John Landsverk (center), today a senior scholar at the Brown School, Enola Proctor, and faculty member Curtis McMillen, celebrate the receipt of funding from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), making the Center the nation's first Advanced Center for Interventions and Services Research at a school of social work. The Center opened a decade earlier as the nation's first NIMH-funded social work research development center.
The School has also made progress in the area of service leadership. In 2006, the Gephart Institute for Public Service—a non-partisan resource named for former U.S. Rep. Richard A. Gephart, D-Mo.—moved to Brown, where it is led by assistant professor Amanda Moore McBride. Its goal is to provide community service programs, public affairs conferences, and scholarship assistance, as well as courses for students interested in public service careers. In 2007, the Institute welcomed its first Gephart Scholar, Evan Krauss, a Saint Louis University graduate who is active in local politics and is working in city government while attending Brown.

Finally, the School has forged a number of new collaborations, locally and internationally: an evidence-based partnership with the Family Resource Center, a local agency dedicated to preventing and treating child abuse; initiatives in the nearby Pagedale community with Beyond Housing, an organization that helps families attain home ownership; and new efforts with University partners in China, India, and Chile. For example, young partnerships with Hong Kong Polytechnic University and Peking University have resulted in two successful summer institutes mixing students and faculty.

LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

Like the rest of Washington University, the Brown School is now engaged in a 10-year strategic planning process that will set priorities for its future. What professional roles will social workers take, and what training will they need for those roles? What areas will be the most fruitful for social work research? How can this research have the greatest influence on practice and social policy?

"How can we weave together our agenda of international, national, and local work..."
so that new knowledge has the greatest impact?" asked Lawlor in 2006.

Brown's future holds other challenges as well: attracting a diverse mix of high-quality students; adding to the available scholarship support; seeking new interdisciplinary ties around the University; forming new community partnerships; expanding the faculty and its research efforts; and greatly increasing the number of international contacts in Asia, Central and South America, and Africa.

Most of all, Lawlor plans to maintain the Brown School as the kind of open, collegial, entrepreneurial place where complex social problems—the reason for Brown's continued existence—can begin to find solutions. "As we begin the implementation of our next 10-year plan, it is striking how consistent the issues, how challenging the basic economics of the School and the profession, and how compatible our plans appear in the context of the long lines of the School's history," he says.

Along the way, the School will take inspiration from "What We Believe," Dean Benjamin Youngdahl's 1952 talk in which he called for research to inform the field; more input from social workers on the policy issues of the day; and a solid grounding of the profession in basic values and moral commitments, especially to the disadvantaged. "Youngdahl believed that social work must be grounded in deep commitment to individual freedom, and he was passionate that it should inform social policy," says Lawlor. "While some of the language has changed, the School's current emphases on economic opportunity, evidence-based practice, civic engagement, public health, social policy, and international social development all resonate with these fundamental..."
Students and faculty participated in a summer institute to explore issues of aging in China. This institute, held in Beijing, was the first collaboration between Brown, China's Peking University, and Hong Kong Polytechnic University.
B.A. Bridgewater, Jr.

In 1999, Bridgewater retired as chairman, president, and chief executive officer of Brown Shoe Company, which was founded by George Warren Brown. Bridgewater, a University Trustee since 1983, joined the Brown School’s National Council as chairman in spring 2004.

“Dean Lawlor and I first met at the retirement party for Shanti Khinduka four years ago. We were both new to the Brown School. We were to share the challenge of guiding the development of the School’s next 10-year strategic plan from the fresh perspective, but limited ‘local knowledge’, of recent arrivals. Literally from day one I found Eddie a delight to work with. Although he is deeply knowledgeable about the field, and had clear views of the future direction for the School, his natural style is energetic and inclusive. We were able to engage a variety of constituents — especially students, the National Council, and of course the faculty — in the planning process. I am proud of the plan that has been developed, and believe it is widely endorsed. Now that plan will be reviewed and merged with others through the University’s strategic planning process. But as the history of the School has shown, if our ideas are sound, and if we have built a strong case for them, we can marshal the support and resources needed to make our vision a reality.”

beliefs and priorities. The School’s new moniker, Leading Knowledge, Leading Change, bears striking resemblance to the philosophy and rhetoric of Youngdahl’s time.”

With committed students going into the world every year to effect change, he feels there is every reason to be hopeful about the future. As Lawlor said at Commencement 2006:

“In this beautiful chapel here today, we sit in a community of great optimism —
realistic and informed optimism to be sure — but profound optimism nonetheless. One of the reasons faculty and staff love this School is the chance to work with students who exude a commitment to social change, making the world a better place. It is evident in your decision to come here in the first place; making this professional commitment to social work. ...You are an inspiration, our reason for being optimistic that the world is going to be a better place.”
"... making this professional commitment to social work. ... You are an inspiration, our reason for being optimistic that the world is going to be a better place." Edward F. Lawlor
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p.21. Medical social work at St. Louis Children's Hospital. Forms of social work, VC008107. Becker Medical Library, Washington University School of Medicine.


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p62. Leona Evans. Photo Courtesy of St. Louis Argus [newspaper].
p67. Louis H. Towsley. Public Affairs Faculty Biographical Files, Box 7-2, University Archives, Washington University Libraries.
p73. Dean Youngdahl with students, 1961. Photo Services, Department, Box S-25, University Archives, Washington University Libraries.

Chapter 4


Chapter 5

Many people participated in this project, providing leadership, guidance, memories, or design and editing help. Let me list them briefly, with my sincerest gratitude to everyone.

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It has been a great privilege to work on the history of a School whose graduates do so much good, often for little reward, and whose faculty is working to make a better world for us all.
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Candace O'Connor is an award-winning writer who has written widely for regional and national magazines and newspapers. Her recent books include: *Beginning a Great Work: Washington University in St. Louis, 1853-2003; Hope and Healing, St. Louis Children's Hospital: The First 125 Years; A Song of Faith and Hope: The Life of Frankie Muse Freeman; and Meet Me in the Lobby: The Story of Harold Koplar and the Chase-Park Plaza.* Her historical documentary, *Oh Freedom After While: The Missouri Sharecropper Protest of 1939*, which aired nationally on PBS in 2000, won a regional Emmy award.