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Fifty Years at the Washington School of Psychiatry

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THE Washington School of Psychiatry, the distinguished institution that publishes PSYCHIATRY, is in 1986 celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its founding by Harry Stack Sullivan and his colleagues. Like most institutions that reach the half-century mark, the School is reflecting on its accomplishments¾its contributions to the development of psychiatric thought and to the training of mental health professionals during that period. In presenting this brief history of the School's first five decades, I hope not only to review what the School has been in the past but also to emphasize the elements in the School's history that can and should serve as a solid foundation for the School's continued progress in the years ahead.

I should like to acknowledge my deep indebtedness, for the first part of this history, to Mrs. Winifred Prince, who was Executive Secretary of the Washington School of Psychiatry from 1956 until 1964, a job which combined the work now being done by the School's administrator, office manager, bookkeeper and others. In her "spare time" she put together a history of the School from 1936 to 1956. Mrs. Prince is now 88 years old and in failing health. The School remembers her affectionately and gratefully, both for her work as Executive Secretary and for pulling together and making accessible historical material on the early days of the Washington School of Psychiatry.

Mrs. Prince begins her story with Dr. William Alanson White, whose portrait now hangs in the entrance hall at the School. Dr. White's integrative ideas on psychiatry served in part as the stimulus behind the establishment of the School's sponsoring organization, the William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation. William Alanson White (1870-1937), perhaps best known as the Medical Director of St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, DC, between 1903 and 1937, was an innovator in psychiatry who both fostered psychoanalysis in the United States and emphasized the psychosocial aspects of mental health. A prolific writer, a humanitarian, and a man of curiosity, breadth and energy, White greatly influenced Sullivan, Ernest E. Hadley (a well-known Washington psychoanalyst) and the other people who were instrumental in founding the Washington School of Psychiatry. I think that the quality of the man emerges most clearly in a few lines of a letter which he wrote to Hadley in 1935, on the occasion of his having been elected Trustee of the William Alanson White Psychoanalytic Foundation [the name was later changed] and Honorary President for Life.

At the meetings Saturday afternoon¾ I hope you will appreciate that I was somewhat overloaded on the emotional side and hence pursued the course of least resistance, and also perhaps of safety, and refrained from undertaking to express myself. Forty-eight hours having passed and a certain degree of equilibrium having been reestablished, however I want you to know how really very deeply I feel regarding what you have seen fit to do in creating the Research Foundation in my name. There are two great sources of satisfaction in a life which is otherwise pretty well filled with activities and responsibilities, namely, the grateful patient and the appreciative student. If one does not permit himself to be deluded by either or both of these experiences and realizes that after all the grateful patient would have gotten well anyway, and the successful student would probably have succeeded anyway, he still nevertheless

cannot help but feel that perhaps after all is said and done that he may be of some use in the world and that he may have had something to do with both successes. And SO I trust that you will realize how much, how deeply and how really I appreciate last Saturday, and that I will continue to carry on, feeling now that I have an added reason for further accomplishments in order to live up to the requirements of this new honor.

The original signers of the certificate of incorporation of the William Alanson White Psychoanalytic Foundation were Hadley, Sullivan and Lucile Dooley, MD, PhD, a psychoanalyst. In addition to these three and Dr. White, the original Board of trustees included: A. A. Brill, MD, translator of Freud and first American psychoanalyst; Edward Sapir, PhD, Professor of Anthropology at Yale; Randolph Paul, distinguished tax lawyer, deeply interested in personality processes; and William K. Ryan, investor, musician, and student of the relationships among psychoanalysis, business and the arts. The by-laws of the Foundation stated that "The Board of Trustees shall, as soon as may be, establish and make provision for the maintenance in the District of Columbia or environs of an institution for research and the postgraduate training of personnel in the methods of research into human personality and interpersonal relations, broadly conceived, and in methods of benevolent intervention in the mental disorders of individuals and in disintegrating, deviant, or dangerous social processes." Thus, at a meeting on February 8, 1933, the Trustees decided that one of the first orders of business of the Foundation was to "proceed with the ... establishment . . . of an Institute for research and post-doctoral training in psychiatry and related disciplines to be known as The Washington School of Psychiatry." It was further resolved that Hadley, Dooley and Sullivan should prepare a prospectus of the School. Various other committees were appointed, including one to administer scholarships and grants-in-aid to be used "for the assistance of approved postdoctoral students and investigators, and for the furtherance of approved research projects." At this meeting, also, Project Number One was approved, "Proposal for a Preliminary Investigation of Vocal Behavior," to be conducted by Sapir, Sullivan and Stanley Newman. Sullivan was given \$7,500, which would, of course, be worth at least \$75,000 today, to maintain facilities in New York City suitable for such a project. Thereupon, Sullivan purchased a house in Manhattan on East 64th Street, for \$25,000, to serve as his private office and also as a base for the research and business of the Foundation and School. He paid \$2,500 in cash and negotiated a mortgage of \$22,500 on his own personal bond. The Foundation also placed \$3,500 in escrow for alteration and decoration of the premises, There followed a rather acrimonious series of letters and meetings in which it seemed that Sullivan resented the actions of the Trustees, which appeared to him to be self-serving and not sufficiently generous either to him personally or to the cause of psychiatric education and research. At this distance in time it seems rather clear to me that the Trustees were not eager to assume personal liability for rather large sums when no certain or even probable income was in view. My impression is that Sullivan was very generous with other people's money, and his own financial problems were soon paralleled by financial problems for the Foundation and School. In that respect the Washington School of Psychiatry, still plagued by financial worries, and still maintaining something of the vision which drove Sullivan to push his friends and colleagues to take on financial risks and obligations which were far from secure, has not changed much since that time.

While Sullivan carried out his work in New York, Hadley found it more practical to lease office space in Washington on Eye Street, for \$960 a year, to carry on Foundation and School business. The first draft of the first Announcement of the Washington School of Psychiatry was finished during the summer of 1936. Eventually a thousand copies were printed, but distribution, in early 1937, was interrupted by Dr. White's death. This first 16-page announcement contained an outline of the history of psychiatry to the current date, the purpose for which the Foundation had been formed, the organization of the School, and a list of faculty that reads like a Who's Who of prominent professors in psychiatry and the social sciences, The provisional organization of the faculty included, among others, William Alanson White, Adolf Meyer, Ross McClure Chapman (Director of Sheppard and Enoch

Pratt Hospital), Edward Sapir, Lucile Dooley, Ernest Hadley, Harold Lasswell (political scientist), Erich Fromm, Harry Stack Sullivan, A. A. Brill, Karen Horney, Ruth Benedict (anthropologist), Nolan D. C. Lewis, W. Horsley Gantt (neuroscientist), N. Lionel Blitzsten, Lewis B. Hill, Leo Kanner, Karl Merminger. Clara Thompson, Hortense Powdermaker (anthropologist), Bingham Dai (sociologist), Dexter Bullard (Medical Director of Chestnut Lodge and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann. The School was originally organized in three divisions: 1) Biological Sciences, Ernest Hadley, Director, to provide instruction in biology, physiology, the theory of disease, internal medicine and human biology; 2) Social Sciences, Edward Sapir, Director, to teach psychology, social psychology, social psychiatry, political science, economics, sociology, linguistic psychology and cultural anthropology; 3) Psychobiology, Harry Stack Sullivan, Director, to teach psychiatry, descriptive, dynamic and therapeutic. The only one of these which was at all realistic was the third, Psychobiology. When the authors of the announcement got close to what they knew about, they became slightly more modest. The announcement goes on to say:

In keeping with the graduate character of the School, the Faculty is made up of authorities in the various disciplines, who are called in from research, practice, and University or Medical School teaching, to give lectures, conduct seminars, and engage in prolonged personal conferences with each student. Some effort must be made to adjust each year's curriculum to the changing necessities of these teachers, but in general, a five-week period of residence is the unit for each. Work in the three divisions proceeds concomitantly, as does the practical training of each student.

The announcement states further: "Training in psychoanalysis and related lectures, seminars, clinical conferences, etc., will be arranged in collaboration with the Training Committee of the Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Society." In the proposed instruction, the students were divided into five classes: 1) Fellows, carefully selected graduate students of medicine or the social sciences whose tuition was to be free and who were to receive a stipend for three years of training; 2) students-in-training, properly qualified Doctors of Medicine certified to the School by the Training Committee of the Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Society; 3) medical officers detailed for instruction by U.S. Army, Navy or Public Health Service authorities and members of the staff of St. Elizabeth's Hospital designated by its Superintendent; 4) properly qualified members of other medical services of the Federal Government, the several States, or executive subdivisions thereof, detailed by competent authority for special training in the School; and 5) a limited number of Special Students nominated by the William Alanson White Psychoanalytic Foundation. Students-in-training and Special Students, grants from the William Alanson White Psychoanalytic Foundation, and other philanthropic agencies, and was to be used for the defraying of professional salaries, travel expenses, fellowship stipends, rents and general maintenance costs. A provision was also made regarding the instruction suitable for students of the social sciences and others interested in the comparative study of personality. Their instruction was not closely parallel with the courses of instruction and practical training required of physicians in their task of safeguarding patients undergoing treatment for mental disorder or personality peculiarity. These students who were not graduate physicians were to be accepted by the School only on condition that they make a solemn covenant that at no time were they to engage "in the therapeutic practice of psychiatry, psychoanalysis, personality study or any form or variety of the healing arts" unless they had obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine from an accredited medical school and had completed not less than one internship in a hospital accredited by the Council on Professional Education of the American Medical Association. The Officers of the School were to serve without pay. The income of the School was to be derived from fees paid. Since these fees were to be kept at a minimum, it was necessary to seek donations for the establishment and maintenance of research which the School hoped to direct. Support was solicited through letters to personal friends of members of the Board of Trustees and to philanthropic foundations. Fellowships

were established on paper, for which contributions could also be made. Visualizing the future, the Foundation dreamt of an appropriate building, housing laboratory, library, and lecture and conference facilities. For the moment, all was well as expenses for the preparation and publication of the announcement were defrayed by one of the Trustees.

I would like to comment here on the emphasis on Doctors of Medicine, who were to be the only students fully acceptable for clinical training. In his later years, Sullivan reconsidered this matter, in part because of its impracticality, since hospitals could not get enough doctors at salaries they could pay, especially in wartime. I remember very clearly, since it closely concerned me, a faculty meeting of the Washington School of Psychiatry in the late 1940s, when Sullivan was silenced by Dr. Mabel Cohen, who spoke rather sharply to him when he recommended limiting some course to MDs. She said she believed that Washington was known to be an especially good psychiatric city chiefly because of the excellent care offered in its clinics and hospitals, largely by nonmedical personnel, and that the Washington School of Psychiatry had an important role to play in training these people. The infant School, already staggering under large financial obligations, was dealt yet another blow by the death of William Alanson White on March 7, 1937. Plans based on the collaboration of St. Elizabeth's Hospital through Dr. White could now no longer be put into effect. White had also been instrumental in obtaining the cooperation of the medical personnel of the Army, Navy and Public Health Service, which could now no longer be counted on. Before his death, White had expressed to Hadley and other Trustees his preference for the broader word "psychiatric" rather than the word "psychoanalytic" in the name of the Foundation. Accordingly, at a meeting in April 1937, the Foundation was renamed The William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, to be "more in keeping with the personality of William Alanson White." Another matter taken up at the April 1937 meeting was the publication of a journal. White had been partner with Smith Ely Jelliffe in the Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, and with Jelliffe had edited the Psychoanalytic Review. With White's death the partnership came to an end, and Jelliffe had the right to purchase the whole interest, as the surviving partner. Hadley was empowered by the other Trustees to make an offer to Jelliffe to buy the Psychoanalytic Review, but Jelliffe did not consider the offer sufficiently large and turned it down. By July 1937, Sullivan had concluded that instead of purchasing the Review from Jelliffe, the Foundation should launch a new journal, and that was the beginning of the journal PSYCHIATRY. At a meeting in September 1937, after consideration of various plans for financing the journal, several Trustees guaranteed sufficient funds to defray the annual expense of a publication for five years. And so it was proposed that the Foundation establish, edit, maintain and publish a quarterly entitled PSYCHIATRY: JOURNAL OF THE BIOLOGY AND PATHOLOGY OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (the journal's original subtitle), dedicated to the memory of William Alanson White.

In the meantime, plans for the School continued. The mailing of the first announcement was interrupted because of White's death when only about 150 copies had been sent out, but in December 1937 a carefully drafted, more modest news release regarding the opening of the Washington School of Psychiatry was sent to the editors of newspapers in Washington, Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. The news release aroused considerable interest in various parts of the country, as reflected in numerous letters of inquiry, and in 1937-38, there were 13 students registered at the School. The instructors received no honorarium for their work. In reading Mrs. Prince's account of those early years, put together from correspondence, minutes of meetings, memoranda and news clippings, I am impressed equally by the grandiose quality of the plans and the enormous amounts of thought, time, energy, money, skill and devotion that were put into those plans, particularly by Sullivan and by Hadley, who for a long time was Sullivan's close friend. Other Trustees contributed as well, but without Sullivan and Hadley, who persisted in spite of tremendous discouragement and difficulty, there would have been no School and no journal. Adolf Meyer had been asked to serve in White's place as Honorary President but he declined, and A. A. Brill resigned after the change of the name of the

Foundation from Psychoanalytic to Psychiatric. Hadley wrote in a letter to Ross Chapman,

We have to do something. Sullivan is worn down completely with the burdens we have let him carry. I know of no one else who could possibly have had the courage to give up valuable professional time as he has done... The Foundation would fold up like a tent without him.

The "something" which was done was the hiring of a Chicago lawyer and friend of Harold Lasswell's, as Finance Counsel on a part-time basis at a salary of \$500 per month for six months, beginning in April 1938. In order to pay him, five Trustees each loaned the Foundation \$600. By September no tangible results had appeared, although as Hadley wrote to another Trustee, the Finance Counsel "registered optimism about what he expects to accomplish when he starts to cash in on his campaign." At a meeting in October 1938 Hadley reported that he had had to curtail his practice at a considerable financial loss because of the responsibilities he had undertaken for the Foundation and the lack of funds for extra secretarial assistance. At the meeting there was discussion about retirement age and salary after retirement for faculty, although the School still paid no salaries and rents were delinquent. In November, the first contribution came from Chicago, a donation of \$250, along with a note from the Finance Counsel: "The first olive out of a very tight bottle." This "first olive" seems to have been the last. In addition, because of a misunderstanding about the use of the Foundation's name in association with the establishment of another organization, Hadley and Sullivan hastened to sever relationships between the Finance Counsel and the Foundation. In January 1939 the Foundation sorrowfully took cognizance of the failure of the venture with the Finance Counsel.

During the next few years Sullivan and the School moved from financial crisis to financial crisis, resorting again and again to rescue work by Hadley and several other faithful Trustees, in particular Dexter Bullard, Sr. When Sullivan, Hadley and others found time to do any educational work is beyond me, but the vision remained. The teaching activities continued even though the number of students was small. In 1939, the William Alanson White Memorial Lectures were inaugurated, with Sullivan giving five talks on "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry" at the auditorium of the Department of the Interior. According to a Foundation announcement, they were designed to "carry forward a psychiatry which helpfully interpenetrates every field of the study of man and the improvement of living." The lectures, which were published in 1940 in *PSYCHIATRY*, generated an enormous amount of interest in Sullivan's ideas and eventually were the basis of the first of his books, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* (the Foundation published the initial edition in 1947, and the Norton Company published its edition in 1953). Two events of great practical importance also happened in 1939, Hadley was finally given authorization to procure the services of a secretary for the work with the journal, which up to that point had been done by volunteers and by Hadley's personal secretary, and Sullivan moved from New York to Bethesda. By that time Sullivan was in demand as a consultant¾ for example, on a study of Negroes in the Deep South; for the projected Psychiatric Center at the University of Texas; and for the de facto Chinese Government. We should not have the illusion that things were going really smoothly financially, but there does seem to have been a more even balance between plans and realities of income at this time. As the war in Europe expanded and the United States began to see itself as in a state of national emergency, Sullivan grasped the opportunity to make his view of psychiatry useful in the war effort. He had always thought psychiatry was potentially important not only in the treatment of persons who are diagnosed as mentally ill, but also in every conflicting situation of public and private life. Sullivan's statement at a Special Meeting of the Foundation's Board of Trustees in June 6, 1940, included the following characteristic passage:

Psychiatry is defined as the study of interpersonal relations with a view to benevolent intervention in difficult situations. This branch of medicine, anciently preoccupied with persons who are suffering mental disorders, and recently, with preventive steps applied individually or

to particular families, has made some beginnings in the psychiatry of education, the psychiatry of industry, and the psychiatry of government.

Sullivan was immediately concerned with the rapid and efficient training of a sufficient number of psychiatrists to deal with problems that might arise because of the national emergency. He proposed setting up a training center in or near Washington, and he himself wanted to go to the British Isles to make a quick survey of "present conditions ... in so far as they have psychiatric implications." He also wanted the major activity of the Foundation to be focused on National Defense "for the duration of the emergency," with an appropriately expanded budget. In the meantime he had been appointed psychiatric consultant to the Director of Selective Service, Clarence Dykstra, and began to conduct seminars throughout the country for induction boards, medical advisory groups and other psychiatrists.

It is difficult to form a judgment about the importance of Sullivan's work in the national emergency and for Selective Service in particular. He himself was very convinced of its value, Hadley also considered Sullivan to have been of inestimable service to psychiatry and the Government, and according to Hadley, more had been done for psychiatry by the White Foundation in the six months of late 1940 and early 1941 than had been accomplished in all the intervening years since the last great war. But a new director later appointed to Selective Service, Brigadier General Lewis B. Hershey, was unreceptive to Sullivan's ideas about teaching psychiatrists how to screen draftees. and in 1942 Sullivan's relations with Selective Service were terminated. During the period that Sullivan's energies were devoted to the national emergency, the Directors of the Washington School of Psychiatry were nominally in charge of the functioning of the School. The staff of the School was composed of those who were teaching directly or indirectly in the psychoanalytic department despite the interdisciplinary plans of the first announcement. The Department of Psychoanalysis was, by resolution, invested in the Educational Committee of the Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Institute, which functioned through the Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Society, The Director and Secretary of the Institute were Trustees of the White Foundation and Directors of the Washington School of Psychiatry. In his report of October 1941, Hadley said:

The Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Institute will continue as the nuclear teaching organization. The Journal will last at least through 1942. We hope that Dr. Sullivan and his Committee on the Utilization of Psychiatry in the Service of National Defense will continue to exert a strong influence. It is believed that these traditions and activities are too closely intertwined to be actually considered separately [except for a few] Trustees, not members of the local Society, The Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Society is The Washington School of Psychiatry.

However, Sullivan's interdisciplinary focus, the non-orthodox ideas he had expressed in his "Conceptions" lectures, and the breadth appearing in the early issues of PSYCHIATRY clearly reflected his independent thinking with respect to classical psychoanalysis. Very soon after Hadley's emphatic description of the alliance between the School and the Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Institute, the relationship between the two institutions became impossible to sustain, either intellectually or politically. On July 1, 1942, the School was dissociated, "without prejudice," from any connection with the Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Society.

In September 1942 Sullivan resigned as President of the Foundation and also refused to carry on any more administrative responsibilities. He returned to private practice and "other remunerative activities," expressing his dissatisfaction with the Foundation's financial status and with his own inability to change it. In a letter to Hadley in September 1942, which at Sullivan's request was read at the annual meeting of the Foundation, Sullivan wrote: "Neither of us [Hadley and HSS] can wisely ignore the fact that, in the seven years of my presidency the Foundation has moved nowhere nearer to becoming a

Foundation, in the sense of possessing a capital fund." At the same time he recognized "one achievement"^{3/4} namely, the journal *Psychiatry* had demonstrated "an unprecedented level of workmanship as scientific journals go." However, he went on to say, "about all things else pertaining to the Foundation, I find myself anything but contented. The Board of Trustees is chiefly ... a peerless council on the practical application of psychiatry principles. I do not see that the Board ... can obtain money to implement the purposes of the Foundation. The world situation and consequent economic changes ... imply a critical situation for all philanthropic activities that have to depend on ... donations. It is obvious that I have failed to remove this Foundation from that class, despite . . . adequate demonstration of its practical significance and potential usefulness."

Dr. Ross McClure Chapman, Superintendent of the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, was elected President of the Foundation in January 1943. In 1943 my husband, David Rioch, and I had come to the Washington area from St. Louis, and from this time on, I can speak from some personal knowledge of the School.

I am sure it is no coincidence that Hadley's resignation as Secretary of the Foundation and Executive Director of the School followed one year after Sullivan's, in October 1943, as he, too, bent under the burdens of multiple and unreimbursed duties. The Washington School's expression of "deep regret" at his resignation was accompanied by his designation as The Director Emeritus of the Washington School of Psychiatry. The office of Secretary was split off from that of Executive Director, and David Rioch became Executive Director in Hadley's place. Although Sullivan and Hadley had cast off the heavy loads of administrative responsibility associated with running the Foundation and School they had launched, they did continue to teach for the School and to run the journal. The year 1943 was one of many changes. The Allied powers were beginning to push the Axis nations back in the struggles of World War II. In the Washington School of Psychiatry, there was no 1942-43 Bulletin, and for 1943-44 a Bulletin was published in the May issue of *PSYCHIATRY*, announcing the reorganization of the School "for the duration of the war and postwar uncertainties." At the same time, a New York Division of the School was organized under the leadership of Clara Thompson. (In 1946 it was granted a separate charter as the William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry, Psychoanalysis and Psychology.) More than half of the instructors, designated as Fellows in the Washington School of Psychiatry, were from Washington, including Dexter Bullard Sr., Ross Chapman, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, Ernest Hadley, Lewis B. Hill, David Rioch, Harry Stack Sullivan and Edith Weigert. In addition to Clara Thompson, the New York faculty included Erich Fromm and Janet Rioch. During the next years, both the Washington and the New York faculty commuted, giving courses in each other's cities. I remember this period as a time of great intellectual excitement. The faculty members were for the most part in the prime of their lives and of their intellectual development. It was a privilege to spend almost every weekday night at some course or other in the Washington School of Psychiatry, which met here and there in rented facilities. I remember listening with rapt attention to lectures by Sullivan, Fromm, Fromm-Reichmann and the others, and being a part of stimulating case seminars led by Clara Thompson and Edith Weigert. Then there were guest lectures by such distinguished speakers as anthropologist Ruth Benedict, psychobiologist Curt Richter, and, later, Canadian psychiatrist G. Brock Chisholm (who gave the second series of William Alanson White Memorial Lectures for the Foundation, and who later became the first head of the World Health Organization), sociologist David Riesman and theologian Paul Tillich. No doubt in large part because of the generosity of faculty members, who worked for little or no compensation, the finances seemed to be more or less under control, although it is hard to remember a time when they were really good. For

1943-44, there were 208 students registered in the Washington School of Psychiatry, 134 in Washington and 74 in New York. Twenty were physicians in training as psychiatrists. Five were physicians in general practice. The largest category of students consisted of social workers from

agencies in New York and Washington. There were a number of nurses and attendants from Chestnut Lodge, and psychologists and other "interested individuals of various professions and occupations." An important statement of the educational philosophy of the School was drafted by Dexter Bullard, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, David Rioch and Harry Stack Sullivan and published in the Executive Director's report in 1944. It included the following:

The Fellows of the School hold that no person may be entrusted with responsibility for therapeutic intervention in difficulties of living who shall not have undergone a searching scrutiny of his personal history, liabilities and assets from the therapeutic standpoint.

This was at one time referred to as "The Personality Inventory," and it held the same place in the Washington School as a training analysis in a psychoanalytic institute. The requirement is no longer explicit, but I do not know when it was dropped. Finally, by late 1945, the journal had a paid subscriber list of 775, larger than any previous year. In 1946 David Rioch asked for some relief from his duties as Executive Director of the Washington School. As result, Captain Theodore S. Dukeshire, a retired naval officer, became Executive Director of the School and David Rioch became President. The School is greatly indebted to Captain Dukeshire for the sound management and efficient financial organization that he provided and that made possible important developments for the School. For example, application was made to authorize the School to provide professional education for veterans under the GI Bill of Rights. This meant that doctors who were veterans could receive their psychoanalytic training under the Bill. Many physicians at Chestnut Lodge and elsewhere took advantage of this through the Washington School. In the immediate postwar period, the School continued to flourish. The enrollment hovered around 375. Copies of Sullivan's *Conceptions* were greatly in demand, and the School was designated as the administrator of important research projects studying mental hospital functioning (out of which emerged Alfred Stanton and Morris Schwartz's The Mental Hospital) and group psychotherapy (the basis of Florence Powdermaker and Jerome Frank's Group Psychotherapy). Nevertheless, as Chairman of the Council of Fellows, Sullivan gave an extemporaneous report (undated, about 1947; recorded on audio-wire and later transcribed) that was skeptical about the School's progress. Here is a brief excerpt:

... there are in our present student body a very considerable number of very commonplace people; but the proportion of people who have learned an amazing amount ... is extremely encouraging.... I believe I luxuriate in the singular privilege of working only with people who I feel are extraordinarily worth good training, 'better than I can give.... but Dr. Fromm-Reichmann, with some 35 years' experience behind her, I think, is working with some quite unpromising material. Dr. Weigert, an also thoroughly experienced analyst, has some of the most incredible 'dumb bunnies' that you could well pick out of a hat.

This passage provides a glimpse of one side of Sullivan. The more visionary aspect of his complex nature can be seen in his wish, expressed at about the same time, to have the Foundation help to develop a World Institute on Human Relations, a research organization "for the study of Living on an ultimately worldwide basis . . . with special reference to elucidating the factors interfering with, and conducive to, human collaboration and social progress." On January 14, 1949, Sullivan died, while in Paris attending an Executive Council meeting of the World Mental Health Federation, which he had helped to found. In spite of the tremendous loss that Sullivan's death meant to the Washington School of Psychiatry, it was able to carry on because of both the philosophical basis that it already had and the fact that a large number of people were willing to work for the School without financial compensation. I should like to quote from an article published in the Washington Post eight months after Sullivan's death:

One Washington institution today bears out the old principle that it really takes only two things

to make a school¾ the mind of the teachers and the mind of the students. A campus is not needed; nor a stein song; nor an athletic field. Even classrooms and lecture halls are unnecessary. The Washington School of Psychiatry has little more than the mental ingredients. But already it has begun to make Washington as dominant in the field of psychiatry as Vienna and Freud were at the century's turn. The formal establishment which has done most to spread Washington Psychiatry is at 1711 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., but the visitor there will find only a business office, a school library, and the editor's desk for the school journal, *Psychiatry*.

A major project following Sullivan's death was the publication of his lectures. Mabel Blake Cohen headed a committee that sifted through and edited the enormous legacy Sullivan had left of lecture notes and recorded lectures. Much of the work was done by Helen Perry, at that time Managing Editor of PSYCHIATRY, who in 1982 published the most comprehensive biography available of Sullivan. Eventually the Norton Company not only reprinted *Conceptions* but also published six other volumes of Sullivan's lectures, previously published articles, and manuscripts. In October 1949, Mabel Blake Cohen, MD, PhD, was appointed Editor of the journal by the Board of Trustees. She continued and expanded Sullivan's tradition until her resignation in 1962, when the editorship was turned over by the Trustees to Donald L. Burnham, MD. With the very competent help of Gloria Parloff as Managing Editor, he remained as Editor until his resignation, which took effect in August 1985. Under Don Burnham, the journal not only maintained its interdisciplinary outlook, including the humanities, but began to include a larger proportion of the empirical research that was becoming more characteristic of the field of psychiatry. During the Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower, research in U.S. Army medical laboratories was considerably reduced, but research grants and contracts with civilian scientific institutions were strongly supported. The Walter Reed Army Institute of Research (with which David Rioch had become associated as Head of the Division of Neuro-psychiatry) initiated several such programs of work in the University of Maryland, the Washington School of Psychiatry, the Institute for Behavioral Research, and other organizations. The emphasis of the research as a whole was on stress and on preventive psychiatry that is, social psychiatry. This program introduced the problem of conflict of interest for a number of workers, and David Rioch, among others, resigned his civilian administrative contacts, including the presidency of the Washington School, in 1956. Although he no longer held an official position on the faculty of the Washington School of Psychiatry, he remained a friend and supporter of the School in many ways. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of the Washington School of Psychiatry and of the Editorial Board of PSYCHIATRY until his death on September 11, 1985. After David Rioch's resignation, the presidency of the Washington School was held by Leslie Farber, MD. Leslie Farber had many of the interests currently represented at the School by the Forum on Psychiatry and the Humanities. During his regime people distinguished in the 'fields of literature, philosophy and religion were brought to Washington to give lectures and seminars in the School¾ as they are now, to give the annual Edith Weigert Lectures. The most remarkable event at that time was the visit of Martin Buber, who in 1957 delivered the fourth William Alanson White Memorial Lectures and also gave a series of evening seminars to especially interested faculty members. The summer before Buber was to come, I was going to England, and since he was in London at the same time, I was delegated to call upon him and to negotiate with him some details of his visit. It was an experience I shall never forget. It made me somewhat uneasy to be calling a "holy man" (as I thought of Martin Buber) on the telephone, but I did. I was to meet him in an apartment house with a large private foyer or waiting room, where I waited for an uneasy five or ten minutes. Buber was a short man, no taller than I was, with extraordinarily alive brown eyes and a white Santa Claus beard. He greeted me without any social smile whatsoever. He merely looked at me very intensely, and my uneasiness dropped away completely. I think I have rarely felt so much at ease¾ so much myself. Still without any social smile, he said, "Come over here in the light where I can see you better." And so I did, without any self-consciousness. One of the first things he said was: "When one is 80 years old, one has to choose carefully which places one will go to. There isn't SO much time left, I

want to come to the Washington School of Psychiatry because I think it is one of the few places which keep the questions open." I recall that he elaborated on this, indicating he meant that there was a spirit of inquiry, not dogmatism, at the School. I have never forgotten the phrase "keep the questions open," and I think the School has never been paid a greater compliment. I hope this will always remain true of the Washington School of Psychiatry. When Leslie Farber shortly afterward moved away from Washington, the position of President of the School became somewhat honorary, without specific duties. The leadership of the School became the function of the Executive Director (the title was later changed to Director), a position held by Robert G. Kvarnes, MD, from 1952 until his retirement in 1982. Under Bob Kvarnes, the School greatly expanded its functions, adding its present psychotherapy training programs, including advanced psychotherapy and specialized programs of group therapy, family therapy and child therapy. The School also added other diverse offerings, such as the Forum on Psychiatry and the Humanities, The Washington-Baltimore Center of the A. K. Rice Institute (The A. K. Rice institute has its historical roots in the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, London, and is named for A. Kenneth Rice in gratitude for his help in transplanting the work he had developed in England to the United States. The Washington School of Psychiatry played a major role in the early nurturance of the infant organization when it was brought here in the mid-1960s. Without the support of the School it might not have survived. The Washington-Baltimore Center is now one of seven Centers in the United States.), consultation with and classes for mental health workers in schools and clinics, and courses in community psychiatry, medical and biological sciences, and geriatric work. Bob Kvarnes's open mind and his willingness to undertake new approaches to psychiatric education kept the School a lively institution during the three decades that he was its Executive Director. In reflecting on the nature of the School from Harry Stack Sullivan to Bob Kvarnes, I have arrived at my own prescription for anyone or any group that wants to establish a remarkable school of psychiatry. One should start off with a man of vision, preferably a genius. But one does not let him live too long because he may ruin your school financially if he does. Then one gets a man who is by no means a genius, but who, if prodded sufficiently, can balance a budget and raise money, and who chiefly does what the object relations theorists tell us a "good enough mother" does: She holds her children. Bob Kvarnes had the ability to hold^{3/4} i.e., to embrace comprehensively elements that were very diffuse. Everyone who had something to offer felt supported by Bob, and, indeed, he or she really was supported in the most generous and warm manner, with real interest and real service. I think this is a most remarkable gift, which Bob Kvarnes had in large measure. It meant that there was unusually little competition, for everyone had what he or she needed in order to do his or her own thing. And somehow all these individual "things" seemed to work together harmoniously. Bob was very acutely aware, I think, of this gift of his, and also of how well it blended with the traditions of the School. One high spot that took place during Bob Kvarnes' first decade as Executive Director was the purchase of the present School building, which resulted from the efforts of only a few people. The Building Committee^{3/4} Leon Salzman and Jarl Dyrud, plus Bob Kvarnes ex officio^{3/4} found a building that is not only dignified and beautiful, and worthy of the attachment which many feel to its physical presence, but also represents a secure capital investment. Another important milestone was the introduction of the Treatment Center in 1975, with Rebecca Rieger, PhD, as its first Director. Under Donald S. Boomer, PhD, Director from 1977 until his resignation in 1985 the Treatment Center steadily expanded. Following Dr. Boomer's resignation, the Associate Director, Carolyn Angelo, MSW, was promoted to Director. When Bob Kvarnes resigned in 1982 because of ill health (he died of cancer on November 20, 1983), Stephen M. Sonnenberg, MD, was appointed as Director, holding the post from July 1, 1982, to June 30, 1984, when he resigned. During Dr. Sonnenberg's tenure, the School and the Foundation revised their by-laws, and at the same time experimented with a reorganization aimed at tightening the School's administration. As part of the reorganization, Sonnenberg's position was renamed President, analogous to the head of a university. However, when Sonnenberg resigned and Irving Ryckoff, MD, was appointed Acting Director and subsequently Director, the School decided that for its unique status as a postgraduate institution, the title of Director was more

appropriate. Currently, under Dr. Ryckoff's Directorship, the School finds itself with good morale and a lively program. The faculty has taken on administrative responsibility in a way that I have not seen it do before, and avenues of communication between the faculty and the Board of Directors (formerly the Board of Trustees) have been improved. The Board of Directors is chaired by Mortimer C. Lebowitz, who is enthusiastic about the School's prospects and effective in attending to its needs. As in Sullivan's time, the School sees its function as an integrative one—now needed more than ever in the face of current debates over the relative influence of biological, psychodynamic and social factors in psychiatric etiology and treatment. It seems reasonable to hope that the next fifty years will see the fulfillment of more of the promises held out for the first fifty. I think there have always been two main streams in the work of the Washington School of Psychiatry, which have sometimes flowed together harmoniously and have sometimes been in gross conflict, whether in the same individual or between various groups and individuals.

One stream, which we may term "psychoanalytic," recognizes the great significance of the work of Freud and his followers in opening up for study and for therapeutic intervention what one may refer to grossly as unconscious processes. Sullivan, preferring his own language to describe such processes, spoke of "selective inattention," "dissociation," "parataxic distortions," and the "not-me" as very potent factors in both individual and social psychology. This stream is well established in American and West European thought. The second main stream in the Washington School of Psychiatry is not necessarily opposed to this, but is separate from it and has been at various times and in various persons the dominant note in their thinking. I am referring to an insistence on freedom from dogma and idolatry, whether the object of worship be Freud, Sullivan, Kohut or the Old Testament. In this connection, I should like to refer back to Martin Buber who said he chose to visit the School because it was one of the few places willing to "keep the questions open." Parenthetically, in speaking informally to the faculty seminar, Buber refused to discuss his own belief. It seems to me that this second stream, of openness, was one of the things which one could rely upon in Bob Kvarnes. He was willing to give a hearing to anyone who could meaningfully raise a question. Occasionally it seemed to me his embrace was a bit too large, and he took in and listened to those whose "meaning" was dubious. But I think this was better than the opposite fault—refusing to consider what falls outside of one's pet theories. The major teachers in the School—Sullivan, Fromm-Reichmann and others—have not claimed to have all the answers but have made their contributions as teachers in raising questions. Irving Ryckoff also stands firmly in this tradition. Those of us associated with the Washington School of Psychiatry seek to keep that tradition alive which does not have the answers but constantly deepens the questions.