

The origins and early history of the National Chiropractic Association

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Early organization in chiropractic was prompted by the profession's need to promote itself and to defend against the onslaught of political medicine and organized osteopathy. The first priorities were legal defense against prosecution for unlicensed practice and malpractice insurance. The Universal Chiropractors' Association (UCA), organized at the Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC) in 1906, sought to meet these needs by insuring its members and by developing a legal department under the supervision of attorney Tom Morris, one time lieutenant governor of Wisconsin. The public relations and marketing needs of chiropractors were largely served by the PSC and its legendary leader. However, as chiropractors increasingly sought to avoid prosecution by passage of chiropractic laws, Palmer's efforts to direct this legislation so as to limit chiropractors' scope of practice increasingly alienated many in the profession. The American Chiropractic Association (ACA) was founded in 1922 to provide a broad-scope alternative to B.J.'s UCA. With Palmer's departure from the UCA following the neurocalometer debacle, ACA and UCA sought amalgamation. Simultaneously, organized medicine renewed its attack on the profession by introducing basic science legislation, which prompted chiropractors to try to upgrade and standardize chiropractic education. Early efforts to bring about the needed consensus were centered in the International Chiropractic Congress (ICC), particularly its division of state examining boards. In 1930 the ACA and UCA combined to form the National Chiropractic Association (NCA), and by 1934 the ICC had merged with the NCA to form part of its council structure. With this modicum of solidarity the NCA began the process of educational bootstrapping at its 1935 convention in Los Angeles, when its Committee on Education, a forerunner of today's Council on Chiropractic Education, was proposed by C.O. Watkins of Montana.

(JCCA 1993; 37(1):27-51)

KEY WORDS: chiropractic, association.

Les premiers efforts d'organisation dans le domaine de la chiropratique venaient de la nécessité de promouvoir la chiropratique et de se défendre contre les attaques de la médecine politique et de l'ostéopathie organisée. Les priorités à l'origine étaient la défense juridique contre les poursuites judiciaires relatives à la pratique illégale et à l'assurance contre les erreurs professionnelles. L'Universal Chiropractors' Association (UCA), mise sur pied à la Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC) en 1906, cherchait à répondre à ces besoins en assurant ses membres et en développant un service juridique, sous la supervision de l'avocat Tom Morris, anciennement lieutenant-gouverneur du Wisconsin. Les besoins des chiropraticiens en matière de relations publiques et de marketing étaient largement servis par la PSC et son célèbre leader. Cependant, à mesure que les chiropraticiens cherchaient à éviter les poursuites par l'adoption de lois en matière de chiropratique, les efforts de Palmer pour amener la législation à limiter l'étendue de la pratique des chiropraticiens aliénèrent de plus en plus de membres de la profession. L'American Chiropractic Association (ACA) fut fondée en 1922 pour offrir une alternative à l'UCA de B.J. Palmer, alternative qui couvrirait un grand nombre de domaines. Avec le départ de Palmer de l'UCA après la débâcle du neurocalomètre, l'ACA et l'UCA cherchèrent à fusionner. Au même moment, la médecine organisée renouvelait ses attaques contre la profession en introduisant une réglementation de base de la science, ce qui incita les chiropraticiens à normaliser et à améliorer le niveau de l'éducation en chiropratique. Les premiers efforts pour arriver à un consensus eurent surtout lieu à l'International Chiropractic Congress (ICC), plus particulièrement au niveau de la division des commissions d'étude des états. En 1930, l'ACA et l'UCA s'unirent pour former la National Chiropractic Association (NCA) et, en 1934, le ICC fusionnait avec la NCA pour en devenir sa structure de conseil. Avec ce minimum de solidarité, la NCA entamait le processus de mise en place d'un système d'éducation au cours de sa convention de 1935 à Los Angeles, lorsque son Comité sur l'éducation, un précurseur du Council on Chiropractic Education actuel, fut proposé par C.O. Watkins du Montana.

(JCCA 1993; 37(1):27-51)

MOTS CLÉ : chiropratique, association.

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Introduction

Today's American Chiropractic Association (ACA) was produced by the amalgamation of the National Chiropractic Association (NCA) and a splinter group from the International Chiropractors' Association (ICA) in 1963.¹ Although the ACA's creation did not bring about the intra-professional unity that was hoped for (witness the failed ACA/ICA merger effort in the late 1980s), it did produce a consolidation that facilitated some of the major professional accomplishments of the 1970s, for instance, the recognition of the Council on Chiropractic Education (CCE) by the U.S. Office of Education and the inclusion of chiropractic services in the federal Medicare program. In many respects the story of today's ACA represents a large chunk of chiropractic history in the final third of the chiropractic century.

Yet the accomplishments and many of the heartaches experienced by the modern ACA may be seen as reflections of the campaigns and initiatives of the NCA and its predecessors, the Universal Chiropractors' Association (UCA) and an earlier ACA (founded in 1922). An overview of the sequence of mergers that led to the NCA's formation in 1930 is presented in Figure 1. The NCA occupies centerstage in the story of American chiropractors' struggles during the middle of this century. This paper traces the early history of organizational efforts that produced the NCA, and reviews the first five years of NCA's operations.

Association by necessity (1906–1919)

In many respects the development of various state and national chiropractic organizations proceeded along predictable lines mandated by the challenges confronting the infant profession. As chiropractors (DCs) became more numerous they attracted the increasing hostility of the allopathic and osteopathic communities, and many were arrested for unlicensed practice. To cope with criminal and civil litigation, chiropractors banded together to hire attorneys and secure malpractice insurance. To avoid such harassment DCs sought their own legislation from various states, and in so doing were challenged to demonstrate that their education qualified them for independent, licensed practice. To increase their share of the health care market, they sought to publicize their services ever more widely. Each of these issues (legal defense, insurance, licensure, publicity and education) required the chiropractors to pool their resources, and thus began organized chiropractic.

The first ACA was "essentially a school alumni group" established at the American School of Chiropractic and Nature Cure (ASC) by Solon Massey Langworthy, D.C., a 1901 graduate of D.D. Palmer.² Langworthy established a practice in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in July 1901 and by 1903 was operating his school. D.D. Palmer had apparently not anticipated that the mandates written on the earliest diplomas he issued, "to teach and practice chiropractic," would prompt his graduates to compete with him in the school business. Langworthy is credited with a number of "firsts" in the profession,² including his

regular publication of a chiropractic journal, *Backbone*; the first published use of the term "subluxation;" the first textbook of chiropractic, *Modernized Chiropractic*;³ and his collaboration with Duluth, Minnesota chiropractor Daniel W. Reisland in an unsuccessful effort to establish the first chiropractic licensing law. Although the bill that Langworthy and Reisland had arranged to have introduced passed both houses of the Minnesota legislature, it was vetoed after D.D. Palmer paid a personal visit to the governor to urge its rejection. Gibbons² suggests that it was Langworthy's formation of the first ACA in 1905 which prompted B.J. Palmer (BJ) and others to organize the UCA in 1906, and that the UCA's first official resolution was a condemnation of the "mixer" policies (such as spinal traction) advocated by Langworthy's American School. It was a harbinger of things to come.

It is not known how long Langworthy's ACA lasted, but it is known that the second ACA, founded in 1922 (see Figure 1), was not related to Langworthy's alumni group. Interestingly, a notice in the December 1925 issue of the *Bulletin of the ACA* (p. 5) cautions readers not to confuse the *Bulletin of the ACA*, published by "the national organization," with the *ACA Journal* then being produced by "a Minnesota group." Speculatively, the Minnesota-based ACA and its *Journal* may have been a remnant of the Langworthy-Reisland collaborations of 20 years earlier; the state branch "united with the national body" in 1924.⁴ A "Minnesota American Chiropractic Association" is also mentioned a decade later by W.S. Putman, D.C., its president, in the December 1936 issue of the NCA's *Journal*. In any case, Reisland, who followed his mentor's lead in selling traction tables, was a regular advertiser in the second ACA's *Bulletin* during 1925–1930.

There surely were other good reasons for the UCA's formation in addition to the school competition from Langworthy's group. In 1906 D.D. Palmer had been tried, convicted and incarcerated in Scott County, Iowa for unlicensed medical practice, and organized medicine was gearing up for further assaults on the chiropractors. Twenty-five years later B.J. Palmer, who had succeeded his father as president of the Palmer School in April, 1906, recalled the UCA's creation:

Years ago The UCA was born in the basement of 828 Brady. It was conceived by Hod Norton, Ernest Erz, and some seventeen others, including B.J. Palmer.

One of its members was arrested in LaCrosse, Wis., for "practicing medicine without a license." **Defense was demanded.** He couldn't do it alone. A group was needed to pool its money. All others were in possible like predicament when they went out. An objective was before the group—the right of the sick to get well, with **Chiropractic**, must remain unchallenged by any and all foreign enemies. They employed the firm of Morris (Tom) and Hartwell (Fred).

B.J. Palmer was elected its first Secretary. He remained such until 1925...⁵

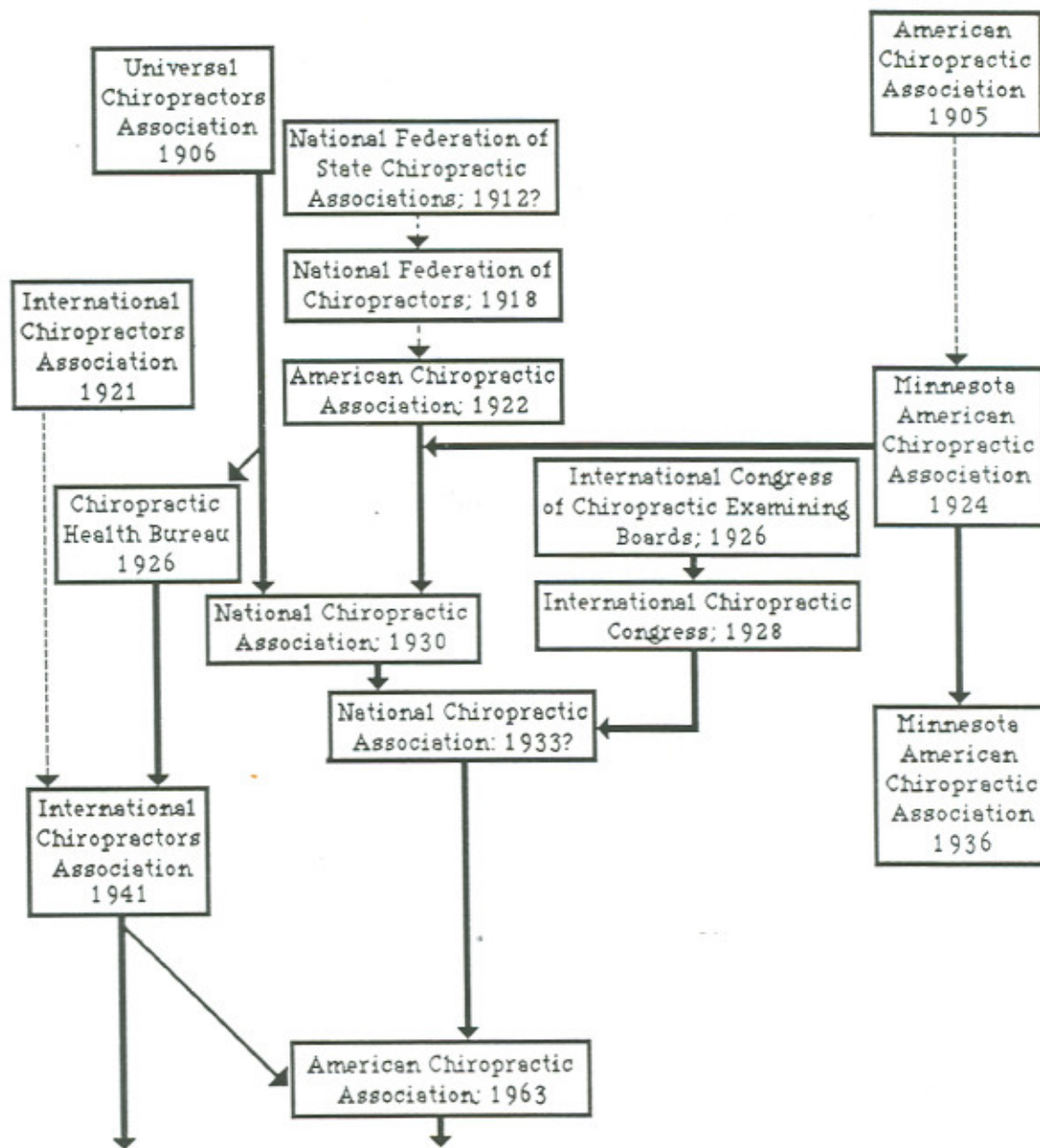


Figure 1. Sequence of mergers and amalgamations that produced the National Chiropactic Association (NCA), the International Chiropactors' Association (ICA) and today's American Chiropactic Association (ACA). Dates indicate founding, merging, re-organization or earliest known activities; question marks indicate uncertain dates; broken lines indicate uncertain continuity between organizations; diagonal arrows suggest splinter groups (i.e., when BJ and some UCA members formed the Chiropactic Health Bureau, 1926; when some ICA members joined with NCA to produce today's ACA, 1963).

Some confusion of dates surrounds the UCA's birth. Chittenden Turner, an early historian of chiropractic, wrote that the UCA had been organized "in the basement of the Palmer School, 828 Brady Street, Davenport a year after the school had been moved to that location."⁶ (p. 177). Since the Palmer School (PSC) had relocated from the Ryan Block Building at Second and Brady Streets to the 828 Brady Street address by August 1905⁷ (p. 98), Turner's account suggests an August, 1906 birth for the UCA. BJ seems to suggest that the UCA was formed prior to the arrest of LaCrosse, Wisconsin chiropractor Shegatoro Morikubo. Morikubo had begun his ten-month course at the Palmer School in March 1906, and upon graduation had located his practice in LaCrosse⁸ (p. 607). Newspaper accounts indicate he was seeing patients as early as February 1907, but was not arrested until 22 July 1907⁹ (pp 33-6). However, Mawhiney describes UCA's formation as a reaction to the successful resolution of the Morikubo case, and cites 1907 as the inception of the UCA.⁹ On balance, 1906 seems the UCA's most likely birthdate,¹⁰ and this is the date that would appear on UCA stationery. H.D. ("Hod") Norton, D.C. was elected the first president of the UCA.¹¹

B.J. Palmer always maintained that the UCA was organized for the primary purpose of providing legal protection to chiropractors. Shegatoro Morikubo's defense provided perhaps its first test case, and undoubtedly its most important victory. For reasons that are uncertain,¹⁰ the younger Palmer hired state senator and former district attorney Tom Morris as defense counsel for the Japanese chiropractor. In 1907 Morris, who would later serve as Wisconsin's lieutenant governor and make an unsuccessful bid for the governorship in 1914, began a second career with the UCA that would last until his death in 1928. It would be suggested that Morris was the brains behind BJ and the UCA.^{8,10,12} His strategy for obtaining Morikubo's acquittal would set the tone for many subsequent trials and legislative campaigns, and would color much of what would come to be known as "chiropractic philosophy."¹³

Morikubo had been arrested at the request of the state's board of medical examiners on a charge of practicing medicine, surgery and osteopathy without a license. Morris moved to have the charges of unlicensed medical and surgical practice dropped, on the grounds that Dr. Morikubo had used only his hands to treat his patients. When the prosecuting attorney agreed to this, the challenge facing defense counsel was to legally differentiate chiropractic from osteopathy. To accomplish this, Morris turned to the writings of the Palmers' Cedar Rapids rivals, *Modernized Chiropractic*,³ which proposed that chiropractic offered:

1. A Correct Philosophy
2. A Well Developed Technique
3. A Dependable System of Diagnosis
4. A Reliable and Extensive System of Correction

The volume published by Langworthy discussed at length the

anatomy of the intervertebral joints and offered the brain as the source of the "unseen force" of life. Morris drilled home the idea that osteopathic theory and practice primarily addressed obstruction to the circulation, whereas chiropractors concerned themselves exclusively with the nervous system. Although neither contention was entirely accurate (e.g., see Keating¹⁴), the prosecution could not overcome this apparently authoritative source. Morris called to the stand several expert witnesses, such as osteopath-chiropractor Charles Linning of San Francisco, who testified to the distinctiveness of chiropractic vs. osteopathic theory, and also noted the technical differences between the slower, long-lever manipulative techniques of the osteopaths and the high-velocity, segment-specific thrusts of the chiropractor. In this manner Morris established that the "philosophy and practice" of chiropractic was "separate and distinct" from its older cousin osteopathy, and Morikubo was quickly acquitted.¹⁰

The original and a strong continuing purpose of the UCA was to provide legal defense for chiropractors, and this it certainly did during its 24 years. Following the LaCrosse trial Tom Morris was appointed chief legal counsel for the organization, and his practice, Morris & Hartwell, flourished. The firm eventually expanded to include five partners and specialized in the defense of alternative health care practitioners, including chiropractors and naturopaths. Senior partner Hartwell apparently left the firm prior to BJ's departure from the UCA in 1925, but later became one of several attorneys for BJ's Chiropractic Health Bureau (CHB). Morris re-organized as Morris, Winter, Esch, Holmes and Bosshard.⁹ After Morris' death in 1928, Arthur T. Holmes, who had worked in the UCA's legal division since 1917,¹⁵ became chief counsel to the UCA. After the NCA's formation in 1930 Holmes continued as chief counsel to that body for several decades. In many respects, Holmes patterned his activities on the initially successful model created by Morris, but he would earn criticism from many quarters, for example, for taking "the path of least resistance"⁵ (p. 10) and for failure to progress as the legal issues confronting the profession evolved and changed¹⁶ (p. 28). Morris' early death (at age 60) may have enabled him to avoid the perhaps inevitable criticism that would befall his successor in the age of basic science legislation and economic depression.

However, during Morris' 22-year term the UCA's legal efforts, although not always successful, were untiring and legendary. Turner⁶ (pp. 292-3) estimated that by 1930 chiropractors had collectively undergone some 15,000 prosecutions, and not surprisingly, therefore, the number one item on UCA's agenda was legal defense. By 1927 the UCA had handled 3,300 court cases⁶ (p. 178), and claimed to have won 85-90%.¹⁵ Wardwell¹⁷ (p. 115) cites data suggesting that only 20% of the estimated 15,000 prosecutions in the first third of the century resulted in jail terms for chiropractors. According to Palmer the early UCA (and later the CHB) made a point of trying all cases rather than admitting guilt (for unlicensed practice) or malpractice:

The old UCA **did not** and the modern CHB **does not plead guilty**. If one of its members were charged with mal-practice, it stipulated that the local Chiropractor secure a competent but reasonably-priced counsel. He was instructed by our National Counsel that he must **not** agree to or stipulate anything without our National Counsel's consent and knowledge. The member was, and is, instructed that **the case would be tried in the courts on its merits**. A date was set for trial. Our National Counsel spent time in his office preparing the trial. Then our National Counsel traveled from his home state, to that distant state. Medical and Chiropractic experts from within our ranks, and sometimes from without, were hired. These were transported to the scene of the trial – all this at association expense. The case was tried. It was fought thru sometimes several days. Witnesses were subpoenaed; they were paid, etc. In this way, **the case would cost not less than \$1,500.00**, and sometimes as much as \$5,000.00, and in one case \$10,000.00 – all of which was paid by the Association. If convicted and judgment assessed, the Association would pay damages alone up to \$5,000.00.

But, **the Chiropractor did not plead guilty to injuring a patient with Chiropractic; the Chiropractor did not admit publicly in open court, and therefore in the public press, that he was mal-practicing Chiropractic; or, mal-practicing medicine and surgery when practicing Chiropractic;** thus the good, fair and clean name of Chiropractic was preserved in its purity for posterity.⁵

As in the Morikubo case, Morris' courtroom strategy in later years employed BJ and a number of other expert witnesses, many of whom thereby came to prominence in the profession. Several of these chiropractors also held medical degrees, such as 1911 PSC graduate Lee W. Edwards of Omaha (who later served as the last president of the UCA and became a charter member of the NCA) and Alfred Walton, who had earned his medical diploma from Harvard in 1879¹⁷ (p. 34; 18). Metz's¹⁹ history of chiropractic in Kansas provides some of the flavor of their courtroom performances. Edwards also became popular on the lecture circuit; he was a featured speaker at many state and national conventions and served as a trustee of the Chiropractic Chautauqua Club of America.²⁰ Although Edwards was at first a strong Palmer supporter (e.g.,²¹), the two seem to have parted company as Edwards became progressively more involved with Albert Abrams, M.D.'s radionics devices.²² Palmer's UCA had strongly objected to insuring chiropractors who employed radionics or other "mixer" instruments. In 1924 the PSC published a text on malpractice for chiropractors by UCA attorney Holmes that specifically considered special "Liability for mixing other sciences with chiropractic".²³

Morris defended chiropractors nation-wide through a system of local recruitment of legal counsel, who then worked under Morris' supervision. When a UCA member was charged with illegal practice or malpractice, s/he was expected to provide the local attorney with the following:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR LOCAL ATTORNEYS FOR USE
IN CASES AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE U.C.A.

The undersigned are employed by The Universal Chiropractors' Association to defend its members. We are required to take charge of the trial of every case, and are held responsible for the result. For that reason, we need the earnest cooperation of local counsel.

At times there is no service that local counsel can perform more important than in getting adjournments when we are engaged elsewhere. It is also important that they send us copies of all informations and indictments as soon as they are served, and that they keep us informed as far in advance as possible of the time of trial.

They should notify us immediately if, for any reason, the time of trial is changed, thus avoiding unnecessary travel and expense on our part – this is vital.

They are expected to have cases set for **days certain** so that we may not be delayed waiting for trial.

They should never enter into any stipulation or agreement in regard to the case without first consulting us.

We never waive a jury. We rarely introduce any testimony at the preliminary examination. And we do not subpoena witnesses. Patients who are not willing to testify without being subpoenaed are of little use to us.

The defendant, alone, retains and pays local counsel, and the Association assumes no responsibility whatever in that regard.

Now, then, if for any reason you cannot earnestly and wholeheartedly become associated with us, bearing in mind the foregoing conditions, please say so when your services are solicited by any member of The Universal Chiropractors' Association.

As the Universal Chiropractors' Association demands prompt and efficient service of us and holds us responsible, naturally we expect like service locally.

MORRIS, WINTER, ESCH & HOLMES,
LaCrosse, Wisconsin

Legislation: the second purpose (1920–1924)

While Morris and the UCA enjoyed some considerable success in its legal defense activities, Palmer turned his attention to additional matters. The growing hostility of BJ and the UCA toward broad-scope chiropractors was fueled during the organization's first 15 years by the increasingly successful campaigns of state associations to avoid prosecutions by enactment of chiropractic licensing laws. Legislation, therefore, became the second major concern of chiropractic organizations, but was linked to UCA's legal protection activities. In fact, Tom Morris and B.J. Palmer did not at first support chiropractic licensing of any sort. They argued instead for the existence of a "law of survival" in which undesirable chiropractors would be weeded out by their own clinical incompetence. Wardwell¹⁷ (p. 110) cites evidence that BJ actively opposed licensing of chiropractors in 1912: Davenport's "maximum leader" insisted that "only the people could and should determine the fate of chiropractic." Indeed when Willard Carver expressed his dismay at the competitive and illegal manner in which the Kansas Board of Chiropractic Examiners was operating, and called for the repeal

of all health care licensing laws, BJ wrote sarcastically that this had long been his position.²⁴ In 1915 BJ noted that he had "no objection to regulation of right kind," but objected to attempts to make chiropractic "conform to medical men's ideas."²⁵ Relatedly, the UCA's chief legal counsel suggested that licensing would encourage control of the profession by mixers:

... the strong states Chiropractically are the states where there is no Chiropractic legislation at all, and that the weak states Chiropractically speaking are the ones that have. I heard a couple of days ago - or yesterday - that the Board in North Dakota now is a pure mixing board; there is not a "straight out-and-out," as B.J. would say, "unadulterated Chiropractor," on the board . . . Of course, the first board, it is generally composed of the men who are active in the campaign for legislation. But their terms expire and when their terms expire their places are always filled by men who are not practicing Chiropractic alone. And inside of six or eight or ten years at the very utmost, you will find in every state these boards passing out of the hands of straight Chiropractors and passing under the control of men who are more interested in their jobs than they are in pursuing Chiropractic ahead in their state.

That is the history of legislation. It has happened in North Dakota and it will happen in every state where you secure legislation . . .²⁶

Following the success experienced in California during 1916-22, where many followers of super-straight chiropractor T.F. Ratledge had tipped the balance of public sentiment toward chiropractic by accepting incarceration,^{27,28} defendant chiropractors were often urged to accept the UCA's "go-to-jail" policy rather than admit any guilt through the payment of fines. Charles E. Schillig, D.C., future president of the UCA and co-founder of the NCA, spent six months in jail in Ohio in 1923 rather than pay a fine, and "gained national prominence by obtaining more than 100,000 signatures in a petition drive for chiropractic legislation, conducted from his cell in the Huron County Jail . . ."²⁹ (p. 291). "Go-to-jail" became a respected badge of courage and commitment among some chiropractors (e.g.³⁰), and the resulting favorable public sentiment became a source of grass roots political ammunition in the profession's legislative campaigns. In this way the legal defense and legislative agendas of the UCA were linked, and perhaps shaped the way the organization's leaders pursued legislation.

However, by 1921 more than two dozen states had legalized chiropractic practice (see Table 1). Although many states adopted legislation acceptable to the UCA, such laws did not always suit BJ's notion of "pure, straight and unadulterated chiropractic," permitting as they sometimes did a good deal more than the "hands only" adjusting, and often requiring greater educational preparation for licensure than the 18-month curriculum¹⁹ (p. 13) offered at Davenport's Palmer School of Chiropractic since 1911. For example, Oregon was influenced by the 1908-10 operation of the D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic, whose curriculum had included "minor surgery, obstetrics, forensic jurisprudence and a full course of dissection,"³¹ and the state's

1915 chiropractic law reflected this broad-scope of practice. In California, where chiropractic licensing had been sought since 1911, Palmer did not openly oppose the referendum campaign conducted in 1920, but apparently refused to give his endorsement owing to the inclusion of physiotherapy in the proposed Chiropractic Act.³² However, the legal pressure for higher education among both "limited" and "unlimited" health care practitioners was clearly growing.³³

In Nebraska, Carver College graduate H.C. Crabtree, M.D., D.C., president and principal owner of the Nebraska Chiropractic College (from which M.B. DeJarnette, D.O. would graduate in 1924), had persuaded the legislature to require a schooling of "three years of nine months each" for those seeking chiropractic licensure. The pages of BJ's *Fountain Head News*, in the 1919-1923 era were filled with animosity for Crabtree and his ally, O.G. Clark, D.C. of Columbus, Nebraska (e.g.^{21, 34-38}). Crabtree and Clark encouraged enforcement of the chiropractic law, which meant prosecution of license-ineligible, 18-month PSC graduates. The feud forced a straight/mixer split in the state association,²¹ and resulted in the formation of the Nebraska Branch of the UCA. Prosecutions continued until Nebraska lowered its educational requirements in 1923.³⁹⁻⁴¹

By 1919, after 17 states had enacted some form of chiropractic legislation, like it or not, BJ, Tom Morris and the UCA had to make legislation one of the Association's activities. Character-

Table 1
Dates of enactment of chiropractic licensing laws according to the American College of Chiropractors, 1927

1913 Kansas	1920 Kentucky
1913 Michigan	1920 Maryland
1915 Arkansas	1921 New Hampshire
1915 North Dakota	1921 Arizona
1915 Ohio	1921 Georgia
1915 Oregon	1921 Iowa
1915 Wisconsin*	1921 New Mexico
1916 Colorado	1921 Oklahoma
1917 Connecticut	1922 California
1917 Illinois	1922 Nevada
1917 North Carolina	1922 South Dakota
1918 Montana	1923 Tennessee
1919 Florida	1923 Utah
1919 Vermont	1924 Maine
1919 Idaho	1925 West Virginia
1919 Minnesota	1927 Indiana
1919 Nebraska	1927 Missouri
1919 Washington	

* The Wisconsin law did not license chiropractors per se, but permitted them to practice if the DC hung a sign indicating the absence of licensure⁹ (p. 36).



Figure 2. Sylva L. Ashworth, D.C. (circa 1920).

istically, they sought control. On 23 August 1919, in Davenport, a meeting of representatives of chiropractic examining boards (including Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Vermont and Washington) endorsed the recommendations of the Federation of Chiropractic Schools & Colleges, which called for a "uniform course of study of three years of six months each" in future legislative efforts. Among the representatives of the examining boards were ardent BJ supporters and UCA members Sylva Ashworth (see Figure 2), Lee W. Edwards of Nebraska and UCA president George Newsalt. Palmer let it be known what he thought of those who advocated more than the 18 month curriculum:

Any chiropractor who plays to the higher educational qualifications, either willingly or unwillingly, knowingly or unknowingly, deliberately or unconsciously plays the medical man's game just as he plays it and does just what the medical man wants done; except the chiropractor does it against his own and saves the medical man the trouble of doing it for himself.⁴²

In 1921 a National Board of Chiropractic Examiners (NBCE) was established at the PSC⁶ (p. 168), which sought to administer examinations and inspect the chiropractic colleges. This short-lived (1921–23) organization, which is no relation to today's NBCE, was unsuccessful for a variety of reasons, not

the least of which was the lack of cooperation from many school leaders, who rejected supervision by a Palmer affiliate (or anyone else, for that matter). In a letter to H.H. Antles, secretary of Nebraska's Department of Public Welfare, Palmer noted the total lack of cooperation with the NBCE on the part of Crabtree and the Nebraska Chiropractic College.⁴³

In later years Palmer described the UCA's added functions (i.e., in addition to legal defense) and his view of the UCA's purpose:

... It guided legislation – for Chiropractic. It prevented detrimental legislation being passed by medical, osteopathic, or Chiropractic interests, whether innocently, ignorantly, or maliciously designed, "that the right of the sick to get well with Chiropractic must remain unchallenged by any and all foreign enemies." It directed the path of state associations – for Chiropractic, by preventing them from losing sight of the primary objective of why he was in business – a fault many of our people are prone to frequently do. It protected the Chiropractor – for Chiropractic, thereby protecting "the right of the sick to get well with Chiropractic . . ."⁵

The organization sought to "direct the path" of state associations by creating a "UCA Model Bill".⁴⁴ Although such policies would eventually help to estrange BJ from the UCA, the organization initially supported his "house cleaning" efforts, and the many state branches of the UCA also went along. At a meeting of various state association presidents called to order by UCA president George Newsalt, Palmer urged the official condemnation of mixers and their organizations. The group resolved that "Chiropractic is defined to be the science of palpating and adjusting the articulations of the human spinal column by hand only . . ." and that:

The UCA had withdrawn all affiliations with State Associations that allow mixers in their ranks. If State Associations will Clean House the UCA will cooperate with them, and if the State Associations refuse to clean then the UCA will voluntarily come into the respective state and organize a branch in opposition to the State Association, requiring affidavits from members that they are straight chiropractors, also the complete endorsement of UCA Principles . . .

The National Board of Examiners countenance no mixers . . . Nebraska, Minnesota and New York as well as other States are due for UCA Cleaning . . .

The UCA is willing to allow the different organizations as well as Chiropractors a reasonable amount of time to Clean House . . .⁴⁴

Not all UCA's members looked favorably on Palmer's efforts to dictate the scope of chiropractic practice, however. Exemplary was Harry K. McIlroy, a 1919 National graduate and later a charter member of the NCA. He resigned his membership and position on the Indiana Chiropractic Association's board of directors in 1922 when the Indiana body voted to affiliate with the UCA. After joining the embryonic ACA, he was appointed state vice-president. After BJ's 1925 departure from the UCA,

the Indiana association renounced its exclusionary policies, and McIlroy was welcomed back²⁹ (p. 302-3).

Many state associations were not affiliated with the UCA. Willard Carver⁴⁵ (p. 155) noted that a "National Federation of Chiropractic Associations" had been organized on 1 October 1912 in Kansas City, Missouri. Turner⁶ (pp. 168, 188-9) recorded that "The first actually state-wide convention of chiropractors occurred at Oklahoma City, November 11, 1912, at the Lee Huckins Hotel. It endorsed the program of the National Federation which had been organized the previous month, and adopted a bill for presentation at the next legislature." The following year this Chicago-based National Federation of State Chiropractic Associations (NFSCA) enlisted Arkansas attorney George S. Evans as its general counsel⁶ (p. 296), and presumably attempted the same sorts of legal defense that UCA was engaged in. According to Turner, the NFSCA did not last much beyond 1917, owing to BJ's disapproval of its management. It is unclear whether the NFSCA was related to either the Federation of Chiropractic Schools & Colleges and/or the Federation of Chiropractors, later incorporated as the National Federation of Chiropractors (NFC). It is also unclear whether the Federation of Chiropractic Schools & Colleges was in any way related to the International Association of Chiropractic Schools & Colleges (see Table 2).

The NFC was organized in 1918 to "obtain recognition for D.C.'s in the armed services"²⁹ (p. 289). The organization touted itself as "The National Organization Having All Chiropractors of America as Members".⁴⁶ The NFC's president in 1918 was N.C. Ross, D.C., M.C., founder and president of the

Ross Chiropractic College of Fort Wayne, Indiana. In a wartime news release he indicated that:

The Federation of Chiropractors was born of necessity. On every hand members of the profession were bewailing the fact that Chiropractic Adjustments were not given a chance with our sick soldiers and sailors. Many isolated efforts were made to overcome this condition, but with heart breaking results . . . Then came the great inspiration. Chiropractic could win if all the Chiropractors of America were working solidly as one. No sooner thought than done. The proposition was presented at the annual meeting of the International Association of Chiropractic Schools and Colleges and was unanimously accepted . . .

A contract has been let for 10,000 celluloid buttons bearing the insignia of the federation. Its red, white and blue color scheme will give it a patriotic appearance. There will be a white cross upon which will be a spinal column. Here will appear the words: "Chiropractic for our Soldiers" . . . Dr. J. C. Hubbard of Kansas City, Mo., is to be given credit for originating this whole idea . . .

Also, some are under the impression that I am the sole director of this organization. Some more gossip. The board of control, as the constitution and by-laws plainly show, is the supreme power. Being, however, too large in number to be efficient, they delegated this power right now to what is known as the executive committee of three consisting of Dr. B.J. Palmer, Dr. Willard Carver and myself . . .⁴⁷

Other officers and members of the NFC's Board of Control in 1919 included such notables as Lee W. Edwards, M.D., D.C.;

Table 2
Founding members of the International Association of Chiropractic Schools and Colleges, who met at the lyceum of the Palmer School of Chiropractic, August 1917*

Name, Position and School	Address
Ernest Duval, D.C., President, Canadian Chiropractic College	Hamilton, Ontario
N.C. Ross, D.C., President, Ross College of Chiropractic, Inc.	Fort Wayne, Indiana
B.J. Palmer, D.C., President, Palmer School of Chiropractic	Davenport, Iowa
Frank W. Elliott, D.C., Registrar, Palmer School of Chiropractic	Davenport, Iowa
Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C., President, Carver Chiropractic College	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
L.W. Ray, M.D., D.C., President, St. Louis Chiropractic College, Inc.	St. Louis, Missouri
R. Trumand Smith, D.C., President, Davenport School of Chiropractic	Davenport, Iowa
W.C. Schulze, M.D., D.C., President, National School of Chiropractic	Chicago, Illinois
A.L. Forster, M.D., D.C., Secretary, National School of Chiropractic	Chicago, Illinois
W.H. Ruehlmann, D.C., M.C., President, Universal Chiropractic College	Davenport, Iowa
George Otto, D.C. Secretary, Universal Chiropractic College	Davenport, Iowa
Andrew C. Foy, D.C., President, Kansas Chiropractic College	Topeka, Kansas
Tom Morris, LL.B., "Chairman"	LaCrosse, Wisconsin

* from the Fountain Head News 1917 (Sept 22) [A.C. 23]; 7(1-2):1-2.

Anna M. Foy, D.C. of the Kansas Board of Chiropractic Examiners; Arthur L. Forster, M.D., D.C. of the National College; H.C. Crabtree, M.D., D.C. of the Nebraska Chiropractic College; Arthur W. Schwieter, D.C. of Marshalltown, Iowa (co-founder of the Iowa Chiropractors' Association and future NCA leader); J. Ralph John, D.C., of Baltimore and T.F. Ratledge, D.C. of the Ratledge College in Los Angeles. By 1919 the NFC was making plans to collaborate with the Chicago National Life Insurance Company in the sale to the public of policies that would require examination by chiropractors as a condition of enrollment, and would provide free care to policy holders who became sick or injured on the theory "that it was cheaper to keep them alive, than to pay for their deaths."⁴⁸ The NFC also made plans to publish its own 32-page journal, *The Backbone of Health*, beginning in January 1920.⁴⁹

Some considerable friction developed between Palmer and NFC President Ross, presumably owing to the NFC's tolerance for broad-scope chiropractors.⁵⁰ Ross had been one of a number of chiropractic educators (see Table 2) who had come together at the PSC lyceum in 1917 to form the apparently short-lived International Association of Chiropractic Schools & Colleges.⁵¹ Ross' successor as NFC president referred privately to "evils especially the Dictatorship"⁴⁹ in describing BJ's hostile comments about the NFC in the *Fountain Head News*.⁵⁰ In a letter to the NFC's national secretary in October 1919 Ratledge also noted that Palmer's support for the NFC had not lasted for long, and that:

... as soon as he turned against the Federation, it cannot be denied that his worshipers deserted us en masse. That took away a majority of our possible support until we can educate them back to sane and nonpartisan thinking. I do not believe that they will join us against "B.J.'s" wishes until we educate them up to broader and more individual thinking ...⁴⁶

Ross Chiropractic College graduate (1913) Albert B. Cochrane, D.C. was elected NFC's president at its first national convention at Chicago's LaSalle Hotel during 16-18 August 1919.^{50,52} Cochrane had helped to organize the Chicago Chiropractic Association in 1916, and later the Illinois Chiropractic Society. Although a member of the UCA,²⁹ Cochrane was involved in the formation of the ACA in 1922, became member #4, and was one of the latter organization's first vice-presidents.⁵² It seems possible, therefore, that the ACA may have been a continuation or re-organization of the NFC.

Early publicity

Publicity and advertising had been core activities for chiropractors since D.D. Palmer's time. During the UCA's early years, however, such matters were not a major activity for the organization, perhaps owing to the extensive efforts by BJ and the PSC.^{53,54} Wardwell¹⁷ (p. 69) indicates that BJ had "a corner on the market" for patient brochures. Beginning in 1915, the PSC announced a Lecture Bureau,⁵⁵ and the school had been operat-

ing a print shop modeled after Elbert Hubbard's Roycroft printery for several years.⁵³ Palmer's printery turned out hundreds of thousands of the patient brochures and reams of testimonials. The PSC's Publicity Department and Advertising Service distributed these as well as a monthly magazine for laymen, *The Chiropractic Educator*, which reached three million readers²⁹ (p. 288). In the early 1920s Palmer was quick to make use of the new medium of radio to broadcast his chiropractic messages. In 1922 he established station WOC atop one of the PSC buildings¹⁷ (p. 70), and later authored a volume, *Radio Salesmanship*, which became a standard text in that field²⁹ (pp. 275-6);⁵⁶ Palmer and his faculty taught marketing and advertising principles at the PSC,⁵⁷ authored texts on these subjects (e.g.,^{58,59}), and lectured widely.^{53,60}

However, Palmer indicated that the UCA had initiated a national publicity campaign, known as the "Marchand Idea," in 1917. The program was apparently interrupted by World War I, although similar efforts were attempted by the NFC in association with its drive to provide chiropractic care to veterans during or immediately after the war, to no avail.⁶¹ Ross College president N.C. Ross, D.C. had proposed a Bureau of Lecturers during the PSC in 1917.⁶² At the PSC lyceum in 1919 the UCA approved its own national publicity campaign by creating "CLASS F or PUBLICITY MEMBERSHIP," involving an additional fee (i.e., beyond the costs for legal protection) of \$12 annually. One of the first actions of the UCA's national publicity program was to "secure six pages" in Bernarr Macfadden's *Physical Culture* magazine for "chiropractic articles," and BJ promised not to mention any particular doctors or chiropractic schools by name.⁶¹

By 1923 James G. Greggerson, D.C. of the PSC and the UCA was selling a series of UCA newspaper advertisements,⁶³ and the following year listed himself as "Organizer and Director" of the UCA's Publicity Department.⁶⁴ This department, housed at the PSC, worked to increase awareness of the chiropractic profession, especially through recruitment of favorable articles in newspapers and magazines. Greggerson also collaborated with Leo Spears, D.C., in the latter's campaign to have the U.S. Congress approve chiropractic care for hospitalized veterans.⁶⁵ Greggerson would soon earn the wrath of the newly formed competitor organization, ACA, for his support of Palmer's neurocalometer (NCM) promotion, and particularly for his suggestions that doctors who practiced without the NCM endangered the public:

... The things they say we have been guilty of in the past and the danger of adjustments given without the aid of the new machine are likely to prove embarrassing in future trials in damage and malpractice suits. Moral - secure at once protection against these damages and malpractice suits. The ACA is abundantly prepared to protect you ...⁶⁶

School vs. field control: dissension in the ranks

The effects of UCA's "house cleaning" were significant, al-

though not necessarily for the intended purposes. By 1922, the growing dissatisfaction with the "house cleaning" policies of B.J. Palmer and the UCA prompted formation of the ACA. Rehm²⁹ (p. 279) suggests that the UCA had become an "instrument of intimidation to chiropractors and the various state associations" and that the organization demanded "absolute control of chiropractic's destiny" according to BJ's straight principles. The UCA's membership list apparently peaked at 5,000.⁶⁷ Stanley Hayes, D.C., editor of the highly regarded *Bulletin of the West Virginia Chiropractic Society*, noted that "the U.C.A. in 1923 resolved to support none but straight chiropractors, and lost 1,500 members by so resolving".⁶⁸ From the Davenport leader's perspective the ACA was "a playground for mixers who wanted the fruit of Chiropractic without earning the right . . ." (p. 5). Historian Turner⁶ (pp. 165, 288) echoed BJ's sentiments by suggesting that the ACA:

. . . functioned as a competitor of the Universal Chiropractors' Association. Its membership never attained 2,000, considerable sympathy being alienated by its resolution to recognize physiotherapy and the modalities as pertaining to chiropractic . . .

However, Turner seems not to have recognized that the ACA was born precisely because of the UCA's intolerance for broad-scope chiropractic and its attempts to limit legislation to straight chiropractic. The ACA's acceptance of "straight" and "mixer" views and practices was its forte. Indeed, the ACA's growth, from 104 members in 1924⁶⁹ to some 1,500 by 1929,⁷⁰ occurred as the UCA membership dwindled in the aftermath of the "neurocalometer debacle".⁷¹

Credit for the ACA's growth is owed not only to the dissatisfaction brought about by B.J. Palmer's behavior, but also to the untiring efforts of the ACA's president from 1923-29, Frank R. Margetts, LL.B., D.C. Margetts earned his law degree from the Chicago College of Law circa 1893 and his D.C. from the National School of Chiropractic in 1920. He taught symptomatology, physical diagnosis and jurisprudence at National during the next two years, and earned the Ph.C. on 31 March 1922²⁹ (pp. 305-6; 72). Soon after moving to Denver in 1922 he was elected president of the Colorado Chiropractic Association, and the following year was elected ACA president at its Chicago convention. Wardwell¹⁷ (p. 100) seems to suggest that Margetts was the ACA's first president, but this has not been confirmed, and Carver⁴⁵ (p. 160) suggests there were several earlier presidents. Margetts soon began to publish widely and toured the country on behalf of the association. His oratory skills were in demand from state associations engaged in campaigns for chiropractic licensing laws, including New York, Colorado, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Texas and Louisiana. The ACA leader's public lectures provided a counter-point to those presented by BJ on the latter's many tours of the country.

To Margetts' efforts were added the many editorials of J. Lewis Fenner, D.C., secretary-treasurer of the ACA and editor of its *Bulletin*, and those of Fenner's 1925 successor, B.A.

Sauer, D.C. By March 1925 Margetts' lecture tours were supervised by the ACA's Public Lecture Bureau.^{73,74} In August 1929, ACA published the first of its *Life Line* magazine, a periodical for lay public costing 75 cents per year to subscribe; *Life Line* would later continue in publication under the auspices of the NCA. In April 1930, the ACA's magazine was supplemented by a weekly *Life Line* radio program which was broadcast over a number of stations: KOA in Denver, WJR in Detroit, KYW in Chicago, WOV in New York, WSYR in Syracuse, WGR in Buffalo, WTNT in Nashville, KGIR in Butte, KOH in Reno, and KFI in Los Angeles.

The "paramount issue" behind the ACA's early activities was that of "school or field control?".⁷⁵ While BJ and the UCA pressed for lowered educational standards (to 18-months), a "go-to-jail" legal defense policy and straight standards of practice, Margetts hit the road to disseminate ACA's plan to organize licensed DCs into a democratically run and genuinely "professional" organization, one that provided legal protection, pushed for liberal chiropractic legislation, was free of any "school control" and which would press for higher standards of education. The ACA's sentiments about the importance of distancing the organization from the schools is clearly seen in an editorial by B.A. Sauer, D.C.:

A STATEMENT OF FACT

Attention is called to the fact that in order to establish and keep the American Chiropractic Association as a pure democracy and safeguard it from any possible undue influence by any particular school group, it was provided in the by-laws that no officer should be a member of any Chiropractic school faculty.

The officers of the American Chiropractic Association, including the President and Secretary-Treasurer, have not, since becoming officers of the A.C.A. been members of the faculty of any Chiropractic college or school, and are not now members of any such faculty.⁷⁶

Palmer's introduction of the NCM added considerable fuel to the controversy between the two organizations. In reply to BJ's infamous speech, "The Hour Has Struck," at the 1924 PSC lyceum, in which the "Developer" argued that his NCM would save chiropractic from chiropractors,⁷¹ Margetts asked:

Does Chiropractic Need a Saviour?

In all generations in every worthwhile movement there have been well meaning individuals who have constituted themselves saviours of something which they deemed needed saving. Much of the misunderstanding that has arisen in the profession of chiropractic has come about through the misdirected zeal of those who believed that chiropractic needed to be saved, and that it could survive only in the event that they did the heroic thing of playing the role of saviour.

Chiropractic needs neither a saviour, a guardian, nor a nurse . . .

Chiropractic leaders may come and they may go, but chiropractic will survive them all. If we need decisive, conclusive evidence of its vitality, all we need to do is to remember the fanaticism, bigotry,



Figure 3. James R. Drain, D.C. (circa 1937), president of the Texas Chiropractic College of San Antonio.

intolerance and malignancy that has existed in chiropractic circles almost from its birth, and yet today it is stronger than ever.

The argument is made that it will go the same course as osteopathy has traveled, dying a slow death because other methods of healing have been mixed with its practice. But those who fear such a result, lose sight of the fact that osteopathy has not diminished because of the mixing with it of other methods of healing, nor because of the elevation of the stand of requirements of osteopaths, but because of the fact that a superior method of healing was discovered, that superior method being chiropractic. It is chiropractic that has put osteopathy on the wane.

So let us eliminate one of the prolific causes of factionalism and animosity in our profession, by discontinuing the assertions that we are doing this thing or that thing with the motive of saving chiropractic.⁷⁷

Similar sentiments were expressed in the many letters published in the ACA's *Bulletin*, and a frequent refrain was the relief felt that the newer Association was "free from school strings," meaning especially, but not only, PSC strings. Many in the field became disgusted with the feuding between Palmer and his many competitors (the Carver, Mecca, Universal and Lincoln colleges) in the pages of the school publications (e.g.,⁷⁸). Lyndon E. Lee, D.C., long active in the administration of the New York State Chiropractic Society and later a vice-president of the ACA and member of its curriculum committee, wrote of

the "rule or ruin policy of the Palmer-UCA combination".⁷⁹ The leaders of the chiropractic colleges were losing their authority by virtue of their frequently unprofessional behavior and their apparent inability to cooperate with one another in the interests of the profession.

The ACA and Margetts' speaking and writing campaigns won the support of many school leaders, including some who had once been Palmer supporters. Leo J. Steinbach, D.C. and Joy M. Loban, D.C., who operated the Universal Chiropractic College in Pittsburgh, were quick to offer their praise, and Steinbach became Director of ACA's Research Bureau in 1924. James R. Drain, D.C. (see Figure 3) of the Texas Chiropractic College became a regular speaker at ACA conventions, as did William Charles Schulze, M.D., D.C., president and owner of the National College in Chicago, and H.C. Haring, D.C., M.D., president of the Missouri Chiropractic College. Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C., who had long feuded with BJ, was quick to offer his enthusiastic support to the ACA: "That association is destined, if Chiropractors in this country take hold of it as they should, to become the dominant factor in the Chiropractic world. It really is organized along proper lines".⁸⁰ Charles H. Wood, N.D., D.C., long a proponent of "progressive" chiropractic, president of the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic and a leader in the Progressive Chiropractic Association of California, became a later but enthusiastic endorser of the ACA:

It is the opinion of the writer that the American Chiropractic Association, with headquarters in Syracuse, N.Y., 535 Butternut Street, Dr. B. Sauer, secretary, is the best national Chiropractic organization now in existence. The writer believes that every chiropractor should join the ACA, as the ACA is making every effort to promote the future welfare of the Chiropractic profession . . . it is to be hoped that the day will come when we have in our profession one great national organization that has for its purpose the raising of Chiropractic standards and the protection of Chiropractic. The ACA is the outstanding national organization of today.⁸¹

Wood also noted that the ACA tolerated multiple association memberships:

Another feature of ACA membership is that one can belong to any other organization of Chiropractors and at the same time become a member in good standing in the ACA by adhering to its rules and regulations.⁸²

Perhaps the most significant school leaders' support for the ACA came from Craig M. Kightlinger, M.A., D.C., Ph.C., president of the Eastern Chiropractic Institute of New York City. When he resigned from the UCA to join the ACA shortly after the NCM's introduction and shortly before BJ's departure from the UCA, it was said to have hastened the ACA/UCA amalgamation into the NCA²⁹ (p. 298). His letter of resignation was reprinted in the ACA's *Bulletin*:

After due consideration and weighing of all the facts I find it necessary that I tender my resignation as Vice-President of the UCA for the following reasons: -

First - That I cannot longer agree with nor follow the policies of the Association.

Second - That I feel it best for any chiropractic organization, that an officer of a school should not hold an executive office.

Third - That Chiropractic should be organized along entirely different lines, making the State Associations the unit calling at some different point each year a general convention of delegates selected from the unit membership.

Fourth - That Chiropractic be placed in a more favorable position before the public, by adhering to the basic principles of the science, by discarding all mechanical devices that tend to lessen the efficiency of the palpater.⁸³

In a letter that may have been as painful to Palmer as it was for his former ally, Kightlinger further explained his resignation and his view of the profession's future needs:

... We cannot forget the many trying times that the developer of our science went through to keep it alive and to bring it to a point where it could stand on its feet. To him we owe more than we can ever repay and to him is due the fact that the Science of Chiropractic is where it is today. He took us through the Dark Ages of the development, but now the time has come when once again the Natural Law must be taken into account and the leader of old must either sit at the council table and consult with the minds of the many or take his place on the side lines and let the march of Progress pass. We need him but we need as much and more the ideas that result from the clear thinking of the interested members of our profession. We must have the cool logic of the best minds and the greatest brains of the entire profession. The dictates of the one, no matter how sincere and honest they may be, can serve no more... It is not the nicest spectacle to see the old leader of the herd beaten and his leadership taken by a younger and stronger opponent and it is not the most pleasant thought to know that, sooner or later, the old leader must place his mantle on the shoulders of the best minds of the many. It is a fact and facts must be faced...

There is nothing the matter with Chiropractic. There is a great deal the matter with Chiropractors. They have never been used to thinking for themselves. The time has arrived when they must think for themselves and must lead themselves, or they will go the way of all who oppose the progress of Natural Law and be forced into oblivion...⁸⁴

From NCM to NCA (1925-1930)

While the formation of the ACA and the NCA must be credited to the actions of leaders such as Cochrane, Margetts, Kightlinger, C.E. Schillig and Lillard T. Marshall, to B.J. Palmer clearly goes the primary responsibility for the abandonment of the UCA; the introduction of the NCM was the death knell of the old protective association. Palmer might have ridden out the storm he created with the UCA Model Bill and his disciplinary

"house cleaning" against mixer activities among UCA members, but the NCM was the proverbial last straw for many. At the PSC's annual homecoming in August 1924, BJ officially unveiled his spinal heat-sensing, subluxation-detection device, the NCM, without which, he claimed, no chiropractor could ethically and competently practice.⁷¹ The NCM was available only through lease from the PSC. Palmer characterized the instrument as the focus of a "BACK-TO-CHIROPRACTIC NEUROCALOMETER MOVEMENT" which would force mixers to contribute their fair share to the profession. His historic presentation continued the threats against patent-infringers that had filled the pages of the *Fountain Head News* for months. Palmer also announced at lyceum a further raise in the cost of a ten-year lease on the device to \$2,200, and several weeks later predicted a further increase to \$3,000, a sum which would purchase a small home in 1924.

Gibbons⁸⁵ describes "A massive wave of defections of purist followers came after the 1924 lyceum, although a hard core of believers would" stick with BJ. Enrollments declined at the PSC and the first of several significant faculty resignations, that of radiologist E.A. Thompson, D.C., was announced in the *Davenport Times* on 28 July 1925. This was followed in the next 12 months by the departure of core PSC faculty members Harry E. Vedder, D.C., Steve Burich, D.C. and James N. Firth, D.C., who would establish the Lincoln Chiropractic College in Indianapolis late in 1926. The journals and newsletters of the profession filled with discussion (pro and con) of the NCM and BJ's marketing plan. The ferment of dissension within the UCA ranks increased. Turner reported the UCA's "tempestuous convention in Chicago, 1925," at which time BJ appealed unsuccessfully to Tom Morris to support the NCM, which:

... Morris heard could be made for thirty dollars, could not be forced upon the profession at a figure so exorbitant as to be commensurate with an interest of 7,000 percent... Morris addressed the delegates enunciated again the principles which condemned the nerve-tester, and tendered his resignation as chief counsel of the association. Dr. Palmer followed with his resignation as secretary... Morris was reinstated. The office of the association was moved from Palmer School to the suite occupied by the attorney in LaCrosse, Wisconsin...⁸⁶ (pp. 177-80).

The shake-up at the UCA also involved a new slate of officers: F.G. Lundy, D.C. of LaCrosse replaced BJ as secretary-treasurer and business manager of the organization, and was himself soon replaced by Douglas R. Morris, D.C. of Indianapolis, whose relationship to Tom Morris, if any, is uncertain. C.H. Wadsworth, D.C. of Jamaica, N.Y. replaced George Newsalt as president, and Sylva L. Ashworth, D.C. of Lincoln, Nebraska was named vice-president. On 10 July 1926 Wadsworth died, and Ashworth, a 1910 PSC graduate, served briefly as president, the only woman ever to do so.⁸⁶ Charles Elmer Schillig, D.C., a 1914 PSC graduate, member of the UCA since his school days, and trustee and financial secretary of the

Ohio Branch of the UCA, replaced Ashworth as president at the UCA's August 1926 convention in Chicago. Soon after Schillig began a nationwide tour as "Field Representative" of the UCA at a salary of \$350 per month plus expenses.⁸⁷ His efforts probably had an urgency about them: Palmer's switch from UCA to CHB seems to have accelerated the UCA's already eroding membership base. By 1927, two years after BJ's departure from the organization, the UCA's membership dipped to 1,450⁶ (p. 184).

The year following the UCA's reorganization was a busy one for Palmer's followers, who worked behind the scenes to have the "Developer" re-instated at the next UCA convention during 23-24 August 1926 (e.g.,⁸⁸). Failing this, on 4 September 1926 BJ organized the Chiropractic Health Bureau (CHB), forerunner of today's ICA. The CHB became the ICA in 1941¹⁹ (p. 55);⁸⁹, perhaps through merger with a PSC alumni group known as the ICA⁹⁰ (p. 129) (see Figure 1). Palmer would serve as president of the new body (CHB/ICA) until his death. The membership of the CHB was not large, but had reached 625 by 1930⁶ (p. 184), or about one third the size of the ACA and the UCA. Turner characterized the CHB as:

... a protective association, having taken up insurance after the methods of the UCA though charging somewhat higher rates. As a non-profit organization it undertakes to insure chiropractors against malpractice liabilities and the losses incidental to prosecution . . . The officers consist of a president, who holds office for five years, and three vice-presidents, who have three-year terms, also a secretary and treasurer each having terms of one year. All officers are elected. Members pay dues of ten dollars yearly and are subject to assessments of an equal amount, when in the opinion of the officers more funds are necessary to carry on the business of the bureau . . . The prosecuted member is expected to employ his own counsel, who looks after the case under the direction of the general counsel of the bureau. If the defendant and his lawyer comply with the provisions of the constitution of the bureau, the latter reimburses the defendant for the fees paid to the local counsel, not exceeding fifty dollars, and also for taxable costs and penalties . . .⁶ (pp. 182-3).

The CHB's legal defense activities were vigorous,⁹¹ and not only in unlicensed states. The American Medical Association had decided circa 1924 to increase their efforts to prosecute chiropractors for malpractice, whether licensed or not.⁹² Attorney George Rinier, who succeeded Fred Hartwell as general counsel to the CHB following Hartwell's death, played a role similar to Morris' in the first decades of the old UCA. Unlike the early UCA, however, the CHB defined for itself a broader mission than legal defense:

The organization shall aim by research, publicity, combative and defensive legislation, lawful legal protection, cooperation, and in every legitimate and ethical way, to promote and advance the Philosophy, Science and Art of Chiropractic and the professional welfare of its members to the end that every locality shall have knowledge of

Chiropractic and have the unhampered right and opportunity of obtaining the services of chiropractors of unquestionable standing and ability; this organization without reservation affirming its belief in the justice of the principle of allowing the sick to seek and obtain the services of practitioners of their own choice, of whatever calling, or school; and this bureau to undertake to attempt everything that it can legally and lawfully do in the defense of this principle.⁹¹

Meanwhile the ACA ranks, which had swelled to 1,000 by 1925,⁶⁹ grew to 1,500 by 1929.⁷⁰ With BJ permanently out of the UCA picture, many expected a rapid merger of UCA and ACA. The amalgamation would not come quickly, however, perhaps partly because the old politics (UCA vs. ACA) would not die easily,⁹³ and perhaps because of genuine or perceived differences in the nature of the organizations. In the ACA's view, the UCA limited itself to legal defense activities, while the ACA engaged in legislative initiatives and public lectures as well as insuring chiropractors and assisting in their defense.⁹⁴ Several amalgamation conferences of ACA, UCA and CHB leaders were held without apparent progress. Nor was the "Developer" completely out of the picture, for, at one such meeting, held in conjunction with ACA's 1927 convention in Louisville, Kentucky, to which UCA sent no representative, B.J. Palmer drew great hostility when he accused ACA president Margetts of secret opposition to merger. Contributors to ACA's *Bulletin* noted that Palmer was interested in intra-professional unity and merger only so long as it was done his way, that is, according to BJ's "principles."

Arguably, a major obstacle to an early amalgamation of UCA and ACA may have been Tom Morris. The attorney, who had been reappointed the UCA's chief counsel after BJ's departure, was reportedly pessimistic about the possibility of UCA-ACA merger.⁹⁴ His death on 17 September 1928 may have provided the maneuvering room that UCA President Schillig needed to bring about the union. Schillig's praise for the ACA's cooperative legislative efforts in Ohio earlier that year⁹⁵ was one of the first signs of peace and mutual respect between the two traditional rival organizations. Following Morris' death the ACA's *Bulletin* and the *UCA News* began to publish non-evaluative notices of one another's activities. Soon after Margetts announced his resignation as ACA president,⁷⁰ a move which supported BJ's contention that Margetts, as well as Morris, may have been an impediment to the merger process. His final communique as president provides some insight to his attitude:

I was the first advocate of amalgamation, and proclaimed its desirability throughout the length and breadth of the land, before any other national leader became interested therein. I still believe in a united profession. But I am not an advocate of amalgamation without regard for the price that is to be paid.

The desired goal sought to be attained by amalgamation is being reached by the continuing growth of the ACA.

There is one status that is worse than the state of being single, and that is being linked in an unhappy marriage. There is a worse



Figure 4. The cover of the April, 1943 issue of NCA's National Chiropractic Journal featured Lillard T. Marshall, D.C., the NCA's first president (1930-1934).

condition for the profesison than the existence of competitive organizations, and that is an amalgamated organization, with amalgamation effected at the price of the loss of the splendid democracy and program of service that has characterized the ACA in the past."⁹⁶

On the other hand, Margetts' resignation may have been designed to provide him room to complete the merger process. While A.B. Cochrane assumed the ACA's presidency and wrote of the public's loss of confidence in chiropractic due to the

growing use of modalities,⁹⁷ Margetts worked behind the scenes with the UCA's immediate past president Schillig and Lillard T. Marshall (see Figure 4), president of the Kentucky Association of Chiropractors, to work out a union. In September 1930, the three came close to finalizing arrangements at a meeting in Lexington Kentucky.²⁹ (p. 291). On 3 October 1930 the officers and boards of directors of the two bodies met at the LaSalle Hotel in Chicago to iron out the last details (see Table 3). Lillard T. Marshall, D.C. of Kentucky was elected presiding officer of this meeting⁴⁵ (pp. 162-3). In November 1930, the National Chiropractic Association was born⁶ (p. 288); ¹²; ¹⁹, (p. 55).

A.B. Cochrane, D.C., president of the ACA, and Lee W. Edwards, M.D., D.C., president of UCA, agreed to step aside. Marshall was elected NCA's first president and served four one-year terms; Cecil E. Foster of Jacksonville, Florida was elected vice-president. The board of directors of the NCA was a composite of the former ACA and UCA boards. B.A. Sauer, D.C. of Syracuse, N.Y., who had served as secretary-treasurer of the ACA since 1925, continued in the same capacity with the NCA until 1932, when he resigned⁹⁸ and was replaced by Loran M. Rogers, D.C. of Webster City, Iowa, then editor of the *Journal of the International Chiropractic Congress*. Also by 1932 Marshall was serving not only as president of the NCA, but also as president of Division One of the ICC, the International Congress of Chiropractic Examining Boards (ICCEB). The NCA quickly received the widespread endorsement of state organizations and examining boards. In March 1931, C.O. Watkins, D.C., editor and publisher of the *Montana Chiro-lite*, reported that:

The National Chiropractic Association has organized our profession along lines similar to those of the AMA, but only for defense purposes. Much progress has been made in its work, especially during the year which has just passed. A new directory has been published. It is encouraging to note that it is just about double the size of its predecessor, and the number of states affiliated with this national organization has increased from eleven to eighteen . . . In the widely circulated dictionary of the *Literary Digest* the editors had published a very poor description of Chiropractic. The NCA immediately demanded a correction of this definition, and was successful

Table 3

Boards of Directors of ACA and UCA who met in Chicago in October 1930 to amalgamate the UCA and ACA as the NCA

ACA Board members	UCA Board Members
Paul Strand, D.C., Youngstown, Ohio	J.H. Durham, D.C., Louisville, Kentucky
Wilbern Lawrence, D.C., Meridian, Mississippi	A.W. Schweitert, D.C., Sioux Falls, South Dakota
P.N. Hanson, D.C., Wichita, Kansas	J.H. Legge, D.C., San Antonio, Texas
Ruland W. Lee, D.C., Newark, New Jersey	G.M. Guyselman, D.C., Jackson, Michigan
B.F. Gilman, D.C. Brooklyn, New York	T.W. Snyder, D.C., Shamokin, Pennsylvania

in securing permission to write the description of Chiropractic in all future issues. Also, we find the weekly, "Time", publishing favorable comment upon Chiropractic. Evidently they decided that our profession, though not to be feared, deserves respect. We also note that the International Congress of Chiropractic has affiliated with the NCA, thus giving it additional strength. We hope that other state associations will affiliate with the NCA, thus strengthening themselves as well as our national organization . . .

The editor realizes the financial conditions throughout the state, and would hesitate to ask anyone to spend money unless it were a good investment. However, I am convinced that though you may feel you cannot afford the cost of joining the state and National Associations, you cannot afford to be without their help and protection. You can be a member of the National and State Associations for \$10.00 quarterly, and will thereby enjoy the privileges of NCA protection in malpractice suits, the details of which most of you know. It would be a pleasure for me to send your membership application to NCA headquarters. Let's let the NCA know that its Montana affiliate is a strong one. Join the Chiropractic Army now!⁹⁹

It was an auspicious beginning.

The International Chiropractic Congress

The affiliation of the International Chiropractic Congress (ICC) with the newly formed NCA⁹⁹ may have been significant not only as a unifying step in chiropractic organization, but also in terms of the structure of the NCA. The divisions of the ICC

became the nucleus of the councils of the NCA,¹⁰⁰ an organizational framework which persists within today's ACA. Surprisingly little has been recorded concerning the ICC.

The first of the ICC's three divisions, the ICCEB, was organized in September 1926 at the Baltimore Hotel in Kansas City, Missouri.⁶ (p. 168); ⁴⁵ (p. 156); ¹⁰¹ Called by Harry Gallaher, D.C. of Oklahoma and comprised of representatives of sixteen state boards of examiners (about half of the states then licensing chiropractors), this first ICCEB meeting attracted attention as a democratically run body whose influence and authority was independent of the then warring national organizations and the feuding chiropractic schools. Turner⁶ (p. 168) characterized the ICCEB as an attempt to organize the schools, presumably through control of licensing requirements. Officers and members of the first Board of Directors of the ICCEB are presented in Table 4. A second meeting of the Congress, held in Memphis during 6-10 September 1927, attracted representatives from 18 examining boards, a number of state association leaders and seven chiropractic schools⁶ (p. 168); ⁴⁵ (p. 157); ¹⁰⁰, and concerned itself with establishing reciprocity among constituent state boards.¹⁰¹

The ACA was not at all threatened by these developments, and encouraged the formation of a new division of the Congress as well as its own Council of School Deans (see Table 5) at its 1928 convention at Yellowstone National Park.¹⁰² A school endowment fund committee was also established at this time to "raise such funds and in their discretion annually to use the

Table 4
Officers and members of the first Board of Directors of the International Congress of Chiropractic Boards, 1926

Officers	Board of Directors
Eugene Cox, D.C., President, North Carolina	J. Ralph John, D.C., Maryland
Anna Foy, D.C., First Vice-President, Kansas	Maud Hastings, D.C. Tennessee
R.C. Ellsworth, D.C., Second Vice-President, Oregon	C. Sterling Cooley, D.C., Oklahoma
Sylva L. Ashworth, D.C., Third Vice-President, Nebraska	Myrtle Long, D.C. Iowa
E.J. Bullock, D.C. Fourth Vice-President, New Hampshire	W.J. Robb, D.C. Kansas
Harry Gallaher, D.C., Secretary-Treasurer, Oklahoma	

Table 5
Officers of the American Chiropractic Association's Chiropractic Educational Institutions, Board of Counselors, 1926

Members	Institution/Location
Homer G. Beatty, D.C., Chairman	Denver Chiropractic University
Linnie A. Cale, D.O., D.C., N.D., Secretary	Los Angeles College of Chiropractic
Dr. Julian M. Jacobs, Treasurer*	Portland, Oregon
Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C. Marshall	Carver Chiropractic College, Oklahoma City

* Jacobs would later (1933) serve as dean of the Eastern Chiropractic Institute in New York City.

income of such funds in aid of schools of non-profit character recognized by them as worthy".^{103,104} The ICC did not establish an insurance protection program for its members, which may be one reason why ACA and its successor, the NCA, did not perceive the ICC as a competitor⁴⁵ (p. 164).

The ACA meeting may have precipitated the formation of the expanded, multi-divisional ICC the following month in Chicago. Thirty-four states were represented at this seminal meeting, which included officers of various colleges, examining boards and state associations¹⁹ (p. 54-5). Among these was the Progressive Chiropractic Association of California (PCAC), whose leadership included Samuel J. Howell, D.C., president of PCAC and newly appointed secretary of California's Board of Chiropractic Examiners, and Charles H. Wood, N.D., D.C. owner and president of the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic. Turner noted that:

In California, where the 'progressives' attained recognition by securing places on the examining board in 1928, much friction has occurred between the California Chiropractic Association and the Progressive Chiropractic Association of California. An effort on the part of the latter organization to increase the number of hours in the study course from the present legally required 2,400 to 3,600, thereby including electro-therapy, hydro-therapy, biology, physics, minor surgery, optometry, obstetrics (including twenty-five beside deliveries) and general hospital work, was regarded by the conservatives as a surrender of fundamental principles such as might result in eventual domination by the medical boards of the country.⁶ (p. 143)

J. Ralph John, D.C., who had served on the old NFC's Board of Control, on the original Board of Directors of the ICCEB (see Table 4) and had later (1928-29) become president of this division of the Congress, had moved to Pomona, California in April 1929²⁹ (p. 295). Presumably under John's leadership, the ICCEB voted to censure the actions of the PCAC and to expel the California Board of Chiropractic Examiners from the Congress. Similar motions were passed by the ICC as a whole, including a resolution of opposition to the reelection of Governor C.C. Young, who had appointed the "mixer" board. James E. Slocum, D.C., president of the ICC, noted that "California would have been in a worse condition than any basic science state had this law, which was drafted by pro-medical interests, been passed."¹⁰⁵ The ICC's ire may also have been provoked by the lack of success encountered by ICC secretary, Harry Gallaher, D.C., who had been touring the state in an effort to raise funds for the organization. In any case, the LACC president's angry response to an inquiry about the ICC does not show any recognition of the close relationship between the Congress and the newly formed NCA:

... I do not feel that the International Congress is in any position to do anything of real constructive value for the Chiropractic profession, as I feel that it is just another "organization" to divide the Chiropractic field. The writer is firmly convinced that the National Chiropractic

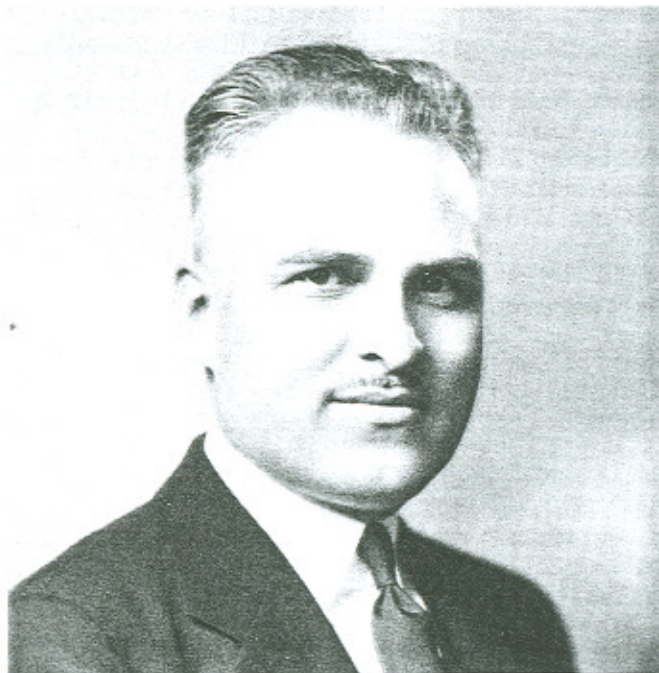


Figure 5. Carl S. Cleveland, Sr., D.C. (circa 1930), president of the Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City.

Association is the outstanding National Chiropractic organization and that its past performances and accomplishments entitles this organization to the support of chiropractors of all schools. The National Chiropractic Association, which is the old UCA and ACA amalgamated, has the background of the former usefulness of both named organizations and every chiropractor must admit that both the ACA and the UCA did a great deal for the advancement of Chiropractic."¹⁰⁶

But the ICC, like the NCA, was a centrist organization, if equal criticism from both extremes of the profession is any guide:

... I restate now ... what I have told the officers of the ICC from the beginning, and annually ever since ... that the ICC *would live* if it set forth, adhered to and deliberately maintained Chiropractic objectives ...⁵

The ICC was able to attract the support of disparate elements of the profession, not the least of which were the schools, whose feuds (mostly between the Palmer school vs. all others) had become legendary.⁷⁸ Even the Palmer and Ratledge schools had joined the ICC by 1932 (see Table 6), and advertisements for the Ratledge College appeared in the NCA's *Journal* through the middle 1930s. The Palmer school sent its dean, Alfred B. Hender, M.D., D.C., to the ICC's Kansas City meeting in 1932. Straight chiropractor Carl S. Cleveland, D.C. (see Figure 5),

Table 6

Colleges comprising Division Three of the ICC: the International Congress of Chiropractic Educational Institutions, 1932

American School of Chiropractic, New York, New York	*Metropolitan Chiropractic College, Cleveland, Ohio
*Carver College of Chiropractic, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	Missouri Chiropractic College, St. Louis, Missouri
Cleveland Chiropractic College, Kansas City, Missouri	National College of Chiropractic, Chicago, Illinois
*Colorado Chiropractic University, Denver, Colorado	*O'Neil-Ross Chiropractic College, Fort Wayne, Indiana
*Columbia Institute of Chiropractic, New York, New York	Pacific Chiropractic College, Portland, Oregon
Denver Chiropractic Institute, Denver, Colorado	Palmer School of Chiropractic, Davenport, Iowa
Eastern Chiropractic Institute, New York, New York	Ratledge System of Chiropractic Schools, Los Angeles
*Institute of the Science of Chiropractic, New York, New York	*Standard School of Chiropractic, New York, New York
Lincoln Chiropractic College, Indianapolis, Indiana	*Texas Chiropractic College, San Antonio, Texas
*Mecca College of Chiropractic, Newark, New Jersey	Universal Chiropractic College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Application pending to be acted during the next Annual Convention.	

president of the Cleveland Chiropractic College in Kansas City, served as president of the ICC's division of Educational Institutions in 1932, and hosted the ICC's convention that year. He also praised the efforts of Slocum and L.M. Rogers, D.C., who had begun to publish a journal for the Congress.¹⁰⁷ H.C. Haring, D.C., M.D., founder and president of the Missouri Chiropractic College and another Palmer ally, served as secretary of the ICC's school division. Willard Carver, who succeeded Cleveland as president of the school division, suggested that the ICC had fostered "a greater fraternal feeling among school and college heads, state examiners and the officers of state associations"⁶ (pp. 264-5). Although the National College's reaction to the ICC is not specifically known, National's president, W.C. Schulze, M.D., D.C., was an enthusiastic endorser of the ICC's new partner, the NCA, and "names the amalgamation of the UCA and the ACA, which became the NCA in 1930" as one of the most important sources of progress in the previous 20 years⁶ (p. 265). Moreover, the ICC was cautiously willing to extend affiliation to schools such as National even though it considered the National somewhat extreme; Turner noted that the ICC:

... plans to investigate all institutions teaching chiropractic and to maintain supervision over their work. Since many of the leading educators are active in the congress and its subsidiary organizations, this standardizing experiment is expected to bring notable results . . . The ICC has found it expedient to give temporary recognition to all schools having adequate courses, pending personal inspection by representatives of the congress . . . This openmindedness has been demonstrated in numerous ways, particularly in extending membership to the National School of Chiropractic of Chicago despite the fact of its doctors being admitted to the county hospital under the medical banner . . .⁶

The work of the Congress and its favorable reputation throughout much of the profession was furthered by the efforts

of Loran Meredith Rogers, D.C., a 1925 PSC graduate who took over as executive secretary of the NCA from B.A. Sauer in 1932.¹⁰⁸ Rogers continued as executive director of the organization throughout its history (1920-1963), and would later serve as the first executive secretary of today's ACA. Late in 1931 Rogers published the first issue of the *Journal of the International Chiropractic Congress (JICC)*, which in 1933 would become *The Chiropractic Journal*. *The Chiropractic Journal* continued as a joint publication of the ICC and the NCA through 1934, after which the ICC seems to have been wholly absorbed into the NCA. In later years *The Chiropractic Journal* would be renamed the *National Chiropractic Journal* (1939), and in 1949 became the *Journal of the National Chiropractic Association*.¹⁰⁹ Today's *ACA Journal of Chiropractic*, first published in November 1963, is the direct descendant of Rogers' *JICC*.

In February 1932, the *JICC* claimed a circulation of 12,000; this, according to 1930 census figures, represented the entire chiropractic population of North America.¹¹⁰ Rogers' dual roles as NCA executive secretary and *Journal* editor gave him considerable influence. Through the pages of the *JICC* Rogers became both the shepherd and the voice of the NCA; Gibbons¹¹¹ describes him as "titular to the NCA equally as B.J. was to the ICA." Rogers published nearly 500 articles during the *NCA Journal's* 31-year run, including an editorial in each monthly issue and many columns on the activities and issues confronting chiropractors in the military during and after World War II (i.e., "The Chiron Call").

Rogers and his *Journal* were located in Webster City, Iowa, home also to James E. Slocum, D.C., president of the ICC. Starting in 1932 (following B.A. Sauer's resignation as executive secretary), the Iowa hamlet would serve as headquarters to the NCA for years. Slocum was a 1916 graduate of the PSC who served for ten years on Iowa's Board of Chiropractic Examiners. As ICC president and later as NCA's Director of Public Relations, Slocum lectured widely throughout the United States and

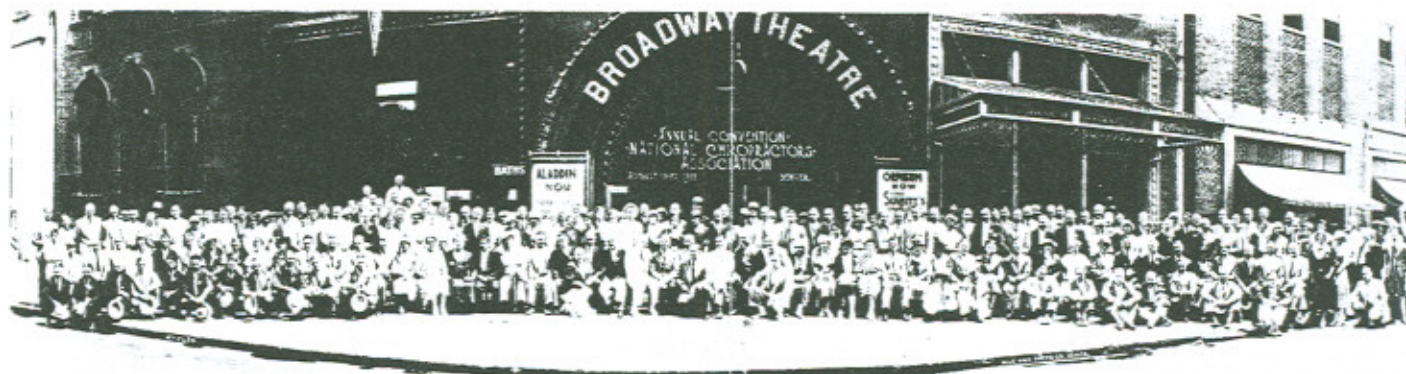


Figure 6. NCA's 1933 convention in Denver.

Canada to build the memberships of ICC and NCA. In many respects he filled the role that B.J. Palmer and later C.E. Schillig had for the UCA, and that Frank Margetts had filled for the ACA. Rehm²⁹ (p. 296) suggests that "Early training for the ministry and in public speaking proved beneficial for James Emery Slocum . . . [he] was said to have made more public appearances than any other member" of the profession.

Interest in the ICC seems to have waned as the NCA became more active and attracted a larger membership. Much of the general good will directed to the ICC seems to have been tapped by NCA, and many in the profession began to question the need for two organizations. Ernest J. Smith, D.C., president of the Metropolitan Chiropractic College in Cleveland Ohio, recommended amalgamation of NCA and ICC in order to avoid "reduplication of effort and expense." In organizing joint conventions, for instance, he suggested that ICC should handle school matters and the NCA would handle "all Chiropractic field problems" at the conventions.¹¹² In the spring of 1932, when the NCA formed a second National Board of Chiropractic Examiners (NBCE; not related to today's NBCE), it began to eclipse many of the activities of the ICC. The new NBCE, free of Palmer control, was intended to soften the legal hardships experienced by chiropractors in unlicensed states and to obviate basic legislation in states that had a chiropractic law.¹¹³ The ICC had insisted that "State Boards must form the nucleus for any successful organization",¹¹⁴ but the advent of a NBCE may have undercut that theory. The purposes and activities of ICC seem to have been gradually supplemented and/or replaced by those of the NCA, which was in many cases comprised of the same individuals.

1935: rendezvous with destiny

Like the ICC, the NCA was founded as a unity movement, although its political character, owing to its history as the former UCA and ACA, caused some resistance. From its inception B.J. Palmer would have nothing to do with the NCA, but such sentiments were not at first shared (or at least, not publically expressed) by many who are today remembered as staunch

straight chiropractic advocates: Cleveland, Kightlinger, Drain. The NCA had assumed the legal protection, publicity and insurance activities of its organizational predecessors:

The N.C.A. Provides -

The legal protection offered by the N.C.A. is recognized as being the best obtainable in the entire country. It is incomparable and yet the cost of the service is lower in proportion than that of any other similar organization. In addition, State Associations are made participants in revenue under our liberal affiliation plan. In most states this refund goes to pay the members State Association dues. Continuous membership in good standing, without any lapse in payments, is required. Fifteen days are allowed as a grace period.

THREE CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

CLASS A - Protection for unlicensed members in unlicensed states - \$60.00 per year, payable \$10.00 every 60 days.

CLASS B - Protection for licensed members in licensed states - \$40.00 per year, payable \$10.00 every 90 days.

CLASS C - Provides membership with every advantage of A and B except legal defense \$20.00 per year, payable \$10.00 semi-annually.¹¹⁵

The protection process for NCA members when charged with illegal or malpractice was repeatedly disseminated, and did not discriminate among doctors according to the methods they used.¹¹⁶ The process was somewhat similar to the Morris/Holmes procedures of the UCA in that the organization sought to supervise any legal action from its central offices:

ADVICE ON LEGAL PROBLEMS

N.C.A. members are advised that when they are served with notice of a malpractice case they must get in touch with the N.C.A. legal department immediately giving full details of the case. Do not make the mistake of hiring some high-priced local attorney thinking this will help you win your case. Many have-made that error before you. Advise the N.C.A. legal counsel at once. "Better be safe than sorry"



Figure 7. Photo appearing on the cover of *The Chiropractic Journal* 1934 (October); Volume 3, Number 10; caption read: "The three musketeers on the northwest circuit of state conventions – Dr. W.C. Schulze, Dr. K.J. Hawkins and Dr. J.E. Slocum. Dr. C.O. Watkins, originator of plan, second from left."

is a phrase that you will do well to heed. We are anxious to serve you. You should be anxious to help us do so!¹¹⁷

The early NCA's internal structure was significantly altered at its Denver convention in 1933. At that time A.W. Schweitert, D.C. proposed a House of Counselors, comprised of the officers, executive board members, state delegates and presidents of the various councils (School Heads, Spinographers, Sanitariums and Hospitals, and the NBCE). The number and structure of the Councils was altered, presumably at the 1934 convention in Pittsburgh, when the former divisions of the ICC were absorbed into the NCA. In any case, by January 1935 the ICC was no longer listed as a co-sponsor with NCA of *The Chiropractic Journal*. Further elaborations, both in councils and committees, would derive from the organization's precedent setting convention in Los Angeles in 1935.

The NCA's early activities extended beyond the legal protection and insurance activities of the early UCA, and beyond the later legislative and educational standardization efforts of the ACA, UCA and the ICC. Although the NCA's educational bootstrapping efforts were still a few years off, the association stimulated interest in the field through the development of a "National Clinics" program. These clinics involved noted chiropractic instructors who scheduled technique classes in association with state conventions. C.O. Watkins' 1932 proposal for a "North Central Circuit of Conventions" called for scheduling of state conventions in sequence so that the clinic members could travel together by train from convention to convention (see (Figure 7)). The clinics apparently attracted a

good deal of interest, and featured such notables as James Slocum, William Schulze, K.J. Hawkins and William A. Budden.

The impetus for and some degree of experience in reaching consensus on professional issues was increased by the successful adoption of a Professional Code relating to labor services. The Code was required under the provisions of the National Recovery Act, an eventually unsuccessful part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal." Although Palmer and his CHB refused to participate despite explicit invitation,¹¹⁸ many other constituencies in the profession sent delegates to the joint NCA/ICC convention in Denver during 13–20 August 1933 (see Figure 6). According to Rogers, NCA's response to the government's request for a Code would raise the profession's national stature:

The National Recovery Act . . . [is] an essential unity of the New Deal Program . . . Every Trade, Industry, Institution, Profession and Organization will be directly affected by the National Recovery Act when all phases are put into operation. Naturally, the large Trades and Industries are the first to be called upon to comply with the government's instructions and regulations. The other groups will follow as rapidly as Codes can be formulated and accepted.

An opportunity is afforded the Chiropractic Profession to be among the first professions to submit a professional Code for approval. If accepted, it will be enforced. The profession can, through mutual accord, do more to improve its invaluable service to humanity and increase its prestige through professional advancement than might otherwise be possible during the course of twenty years. Surely this is an opportunity and a privilege which we must not overlook nor neglect in spite of the many imaginary obstacles and difficulties with which we are faced. An Open Invitation is extended to every professional organization and educational institution to send representatives to this history-making conference. And so again we echo the clarion call – On to Denver!¹¹⁹

Slocum served as chair of the "Central Committee of Five of the Professional Code Conference at Denver." In October 1933, the NCA's *Journal* announced that Slocum had also been appointed Director of Public Relations, thus giving new energy to the organization's publicity campaigns. Slocum, was succeeded by Harry K. McIlroy, D.C., who was named chairman of the NCA's reorganized Bureau of Public Information. McIlroy devoted considerable efforts to the adoption and wide dissemination of the chiropractic emblem (see Figure 8), which had first been popularized by the Society of American Chiropractors, was subsequently adopted by the ICC, was first employed by the NCA at its 1933 Denver convention, and was officially adopted at the 1934 NCA convention in Pittsburgh.^{120–123}

Slocum's and McIlroy's duties included not only the countering of the anti-chiropractic activities of the American Medical Association (such as the push for basic science legislation; (see Table 7)), but also efforts to counter the anti-mixer/anti-NCA campaign then being waged by B.J. Palmer. The threat from the



Figure 8. This chiropractic emblem was adopted by the NCA at its 1934 convention in Pittsburgh.

Palmer camp was serious, as suggested by W.A. Budden, D.C., former dean of the National College and president (since 1929) of the Western States College in Portland, Oregon. Budden had helped to organize Oregon's chiropractors and naturopaths in an unsuccessful bid to amend the basic science law through popular referendum so as to place "the exclusive right to examine in the hands of the various boards".¹²⁴ Palmer apparently lent his name to the campaign against the proposed amendment, and:

Two days before the election the state newspapers carried large advertisements advising the people that "America's Leading Chiropractor, B.J. Palmer - agrees with the entire medical profession of Oregon" in urging people to vote against the amendment and for strengthening medical monopoly...¹²⁴

Organized medicine had been increasingly successful in having legislation enacted in several states (Table 7) which required that practitioners of any healing art (chiropractic, osteopathy, medicine, etc.) pass examinations in basic sciences in order to qualify for examinations in their respective disciplines. Political

Table 7
Enactment (through 1935) and eventual revocation of basic science legislation in the United States

Dates of Enactment and Revocation	State
1925-1975	Wisconsin
1925-1975	Connecticut
1927-1974	Minnesota
1927-1975	Nebraska
1927-1979	Washington
1929-1977	Arkansas
1929-1978	District of Columbia
1933-1973	Oregon
1935-1973	Iowa

medicine claimed that the examinations were fair, since the tests were administered by "layman," for instance Ph.D. instructors at state universities. Chiropractors claimed that the examinations were biased in favor of medical practice, did not accurately reflect chiropractic interpretations of basic science, and often allowed the examiners to know the candidate's discipline.^{125,126} Irrespective of the fairness of basic science exams, the intent of their proponents was to eliminate groups such as chiropractors and naturopaths. In this they were successful to a considerable extent; for instance, no chiropractor passed Nebraska's basic science examinations from 1929 through 1950,¹⁹ (p. 100).

Eventually, chiropractic leaders such as Budden, Ralph J. Martin, N.D., D.C. and C.O. Watkins, D.C. (see Figure 9) would become advocates of basic science legislation,^{111,127,128} or would at least seek to meet or exceed the provisions of such laws rather than to repeal or alter them. In keeping with the temper of the times, however, even early advocates of higher educational standards spoke of the "damnable Basic Science laws".¹²⁹ The NCA's first executive secretary, B.A. Sauer, D.C., captured some of this flavor and sense of unfairness in his private communication to NCA leaders:

... if the Basic Sciences are Basic Sciences, as the medical profession contends, and if all should be equally grounded in them and have the same viewpoint regarding them, why the fear of who should conduct the examination? Likewise, if the medical profession fears to take an examination in the Basic Sciences conducted by anyone other than themselves, haven't members of any profession an equal right to fear discrimination at the hands of examiners made up of or influenced by physicians? If it is unfair for a Chiropractor or Osteopath to examine a medical practitioners, it is likewise unfair for a medical practitioner to examine an Osteopath or Chiropractor, whose science they are not familiar with...¹²⁶

But sentiments began to change somewhat in the period between 1933 and the NCA's historic convention in Los Angeles in 1935. John J. Nugent, D.C., who in 1941 would become the NCA's Director of Education and would earn Palmer's condemnation as "the Antichrist of chiropractic",¹¹¹ saw the basic science laws as a means of motivating the profession to adopt higher educational standards, and worked with the Council on State Examining Boards to implement change. Homer G. Beatty, D.C., president of Colorado Chiropractic University and chairman of the NCA's Schools Division, called for an end to proprietary, short-course chiropractic institutions:

When the profession controls Chiropractic educational institutions, Chiropractic progress and standards will come into their own. There will be pride in our profession and its institutions, respect and confidence by the public and an end, to a great extent, of factionalism, fadism, and of despotism by individuals. Childhood has its freedom and its beauty, but maturity brings duties and responsibilities.¹³⁰

C.O. Watkins, D.C. first became involved in the debate over educational standards as a participant in the "Educational Clinics" of the ICC at its 1932 convention in Kansas City.¹³¹ Two years later, as secretary of the Montana Chiropractic Association and delegate to the NCA from his state, he made his plan more explicit.¹²⁹ His ideas for a standardized four-year chiropractic college curriculum, first published in the *Montana Chiroliote* and reprinted in the NCA's *Journal*, proposed to obviate basic science legislation in those states not yet plagued



Figure 9. C.O. Watkins, D.C., NCA delegate from Montana and first chairman (in 1935) of the NCA's Committee on Education Standards, is seated second from left in this photo of the NCA's official family, circa 1937. Seated from left to right are C. Sterling Cooley, D.C., Watkins, Frank O. Logic, D.C., Arthur T. Holmes, LL.B., Wilbern Lawrence, D.C. and F. Lorne Wheaton, D.C. Standing second from the right is Loran M. Rogers, D.C.; standing on the far right is Harry McIlroy, D.C.

with such laws by calling for greater standards of basic science instruction than legislators would request. These proposals were apparently first discussed among NCA leaders at the organization's 1934 convention in Pittsburgh, and a modified Watkins plan would be partially adopted the following year in Los Angeles, at which time this solo practitioner from Montana¹³²⁻¹³⁴ would propose and become the first chairman of the NCA's Committee on Educational Standards.¹³⁵ His proposals also included a campaign to assure chiropractic care under the social security program proposed by U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the development of a Student Loan Fund, which would aid the colleges in financing the improved instruction in basic sciences.

Gradually, the idea of improving college training gained acceptance among a greater number of school leaders, this despite the country's economic depression and the greater costs involved with the longer course and better laboratory instruction. Prominent among these institutions were the Metropolitan, National, Western States, and to a lesser extent the Minnesota and Los Angeles College of Chiropractic. Budden would later recall the events surrounding the NCA's decision to commit to standardized education (i.e. 1933-1938):

... Dr. E.J. Smith, young graduate of the National College and of Western Reserve University in 1921, gave the first real impetus toward what is now so far developed by establishing a four-year school in Cleveland, Ohio. The Metropolitan College of Chiropractic opened its doors to the first four-year students and the new era had begun. Shortly after this pioneer effort, the National College proclaimed that it would issue certificates of graduation "cum laude" to those who successfully negotiated its thirty-two months course. The writer of this article initiated this action and signed as "Dean" the first diplomas. It should be stated here, and with no sense of derogation of those who took a leading part in this advance, in the case of the N.C.C. certainly, the fact that a medical board of examiners held sway over chiropractic activities in Illinois, and to some extent in Ohio, tended powerfully to fertilize the soil in which the actual four-year course took root.

Almost simultaneously with these events, the new idea appeared in Colorado. The late Homer Beatty, head of the college in Denver and author of the well-known text, "Anatomical Adjustive Technique," now began to raise his voice calling for thirty-six months training. A vigorous advocate of any cause he espoused, the impact of personality and propaganda soon began to make itself felt. Dr. Beatty, however, was not alone. Associated with him in this crusade were several of the teachers of the school, notably Dr. Niel Bishop, as well as a number of men "in the field." Behind them all, however, and adding powerfully to the growth of the movement, loomed the figure of Professor Jones, dean emeritus of Northwestern University, School of Psychology, and doctor of chiropractic of National College.

Now another voice from the far west was added to the growing debate. The pages of the National Journal began to reflect the views of C.O. Watkins of Montana. Logical, incisive persistent "C.O."

hammered away at the bulwarks of the short-course school of thought. There can be no doubt that his rapid rise to a leading place in the councils of the NCA brought powerful aid and comfort to the four-year idea.

It was, however, to Dr. R.D. Ketchum, of Bend, Oregon, that credit must go for giving final impulse toward definite action by the NCA. The doctor was at that time state delegate for Oregon, and was generally admitted to be one of the most influential and respected members of the then House of Counselors. It was as such that he issued his call to arms. Said he at the close of a short but powerful exhortation, "We have talked a lot about the four-year course, let us get busy and do something about it."

Some time previous to this event, however, a committee appointed by the NCA had been at work attempting to evaluate the status of the schools. The outline of an accreditation system already had emerged. The groundwork was being laid for what was to come. The challenge from the West then was caught up and echoed by this committee and the wheels began to turn. At this point there strode into the forefront of the picture a stalwart figure. Already a leading member of the committee, he now took a commanding position. From that moment on, the incisive logic, the mordant sarcasm, the merciless dialectic, coupled with a calm, rock-like resistance to criticism and opposition that is J.J. Nugent, served as a rallying point in the conflict which surged and eddied around the four-year idea.

Powerful aid now also came from members of the Executive Committee. The secretary, Dr. L.M. Rogers, as an executive, long a silent sympathizer, became effectively articulate on the affirmative side. Drs. Gordon M. Goodfellow, of California, Downs, of Montana, Harriman, of North Dakota; men from Iowa, from Illinois, from Minnesota, from Wisconsin, stood up to be counted for the new day in education. Thus ended phase one.¹³⁶

Conclusions

Nearly thirty years from the inception of the first national organization (UCA), the NCA headed toward its date with history. The 1935 convention in Los Angeles was the first national meeting of chiropractors to be held on the West Coast, but its more important legacy was the creation of the Committee on Educational Standards. Another four decades would pass before this committee's descendant, the CCE, would achieve federal recognition as an accrediting body for chiropractic schools. Yet, in the resolve of that nucleus of educators and politicians who met at the Hotel Roosevelt was the same sort of determination that had previously enabled the infant profession to make significant strides in the courtrooms, in legislative halls and in the eyes of a sizable portion of the public. In some sense the 1935 NCA convention constituted the completion of a circle: from the PSC alumni group which met in 1906 to organize a legal defense program, to a national body with an established legal and legislative track record which met to set standards for chiropractic education. Despite the economic hardships of the early 1930s, the profession had resolved to improve itself. To be sure, the growing threat posed by the passage of basic science legislation was a powerful motivation for change. Yet, it is hard

to imagine how such change could have come about without the sincere desire for self-improvement evidenced by the NCA's leadership.

The NCA's formation marked a major step in the maturation of the chiropractic profession. A framework of democratic organizations was forged which persists to the present, free of the autocratic rule from the Fountain Head or any other single institution. Unfortunately, the footprints of the Palmer's struggle with the NCA and its organizational predecessors can still be seen in the current ACA's exclusion of college faculty from full membership. The profession's internecine struggle not only produced the alliance known as NCA, but would continue to shape the issues in the profession throughout the rest of the century. Perhaps a greater awareness of how the NCA came to be will aid the profession in planning a brighter future and in avoiding the errors of the past.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the National Institute of Chiropractic Research, the Palmer College of Chiropractic/West and the Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City. Our thanks for their expert input to Bertha Cheatham, D.C., George Cheatham, Jr., D.C., Carl S. Cleveland III, D.C., Julius Dintenfass, D.C., Arnold M. Goldschmidt, D.C., Harold E. Hellsley, D.C., Claudia Hicks, B.A., Friedhelm Kirchfeld, M.L.S., Arnold M. Krause, D.C., Carrol J. Ohlson, LL.B., D.C., Greg Plaughter, D.C., R.H. Selleck, D.C. and Paul Smallie, D.C., none of whom are responsible for the finished product.

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