

A brief history of historical scholarship in chiropractic

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This paper provides a cursory overview of attempts to discover, preserve and disseminate the history of the chiropractic profession, up to and including the organization of the Association for the History of Chiropractic (AHC). A surprisingly wide range of materials have been available for many decades, but sustained efforts at historical scholarship are more recent (past quarter century). The quality of these works has been uneven, but has improved with the emergence of chiropractic scholarly periodicals and interest from non-chiropractor investigators. Affiliates of the American-based AHC are located in Australia and Canada; organized historical scholarship in other regions of the world has yet to develop. Several substantial archival resources for historical investigations are available, and merit greater scrutiny and support within the profession.
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KEY WORDS: chiropractic, historical scholarship.

Introduction

On 18 October 2000 the Association for the History of Chiropractic (AHC) marked its 20th anniversary. During March 30–April 1, 2001, the society co-hosted its 20th annual Conference on Chiropractic History on the campus of Palmer College of Chiropractic West in San Jose, California. The Association has much to be proud of. In its 20

Cet article fournit un résumé succinct des tentatives de découverte, préservation et diffusion de l'historique de la profession chiropratique, jusqu'à et incluant l'organisation de l'Association de l'histoire de la chiropraxie (AHC). Un éventail étonnamment large de matériels est disponible depuis des dizaines d'années, mais les efforts soutenus vers une documentation historique sont plus récents (25 dernières années). La qualité de ces travaux est inégale, mais elle s'est améliorée avec l'émergence de revues chiropratiques spécialisées et l'intérêt de chercheurs non-chiropraticiens. Des antennes de l'AHC, basée aux États-Unis, se trouvent en Australie et au Canada; une étude historique organisée dans d'autres régions du monde reste encore à développer. Plusieurs sources d'archives substantielles pour recherches historiques sont disponibles et méritent une plus grande attention et le soutien de la profession.
(JACC 2001; 45(2):113-136)

MOTS CLÉS : chiropratique, histoire.

years of operation, the AHC has held as many scholarly conferences (see Table 1), and has published 34 issues of its periodical, *Chiropractic History*, two books,^{1,2} and a third volume (authored by AHC founder Bill Rehm, D.C. and dealing with the career of Leo Spears, D.C.) is now nearing release. It is a commendable record, the more so given the minimal support and interest shown by the pro-

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Figure 1 Emblem of the AHC

fession at large.

The AHC's work is probably the longest, sustained effort at historical scholarship in the profession. However, a good many contributions to preserving and disseminating historical knowledge predate the society's formation. Here are a few:

The Palmers

Whatever else may be said about the founder, D.D. Palmer, and son, B.J., it must be acknowledged that they had a sense of history and a desire to secure their respective places in the saga. The periodicals they established (e.g., *The Chiropractor*, the *Fountain Head News*) are rich historical sources of information for anyone who would understand the early years of chiropractic. Moreover, the hoarding tendencies of B.J. Palmer, the "Developer of chiropractic," have yielded a rich archival source, in the form of the now exhumed contents of a previously unused elevator shaft on the campus of Palmer College in Davenport. What's more, B.J. took pains to record (and embellish, as only he could) tales of the early days of chiropractic. His numerous contributions to the "green books" collection, the *Fountain Head News* and *The Chiropractor*, published over many decades by the Palmer School, additionally constitute primary sources for chiropractic historians.

The third president of Palmer College, David D. Palmer, D.C. (1906–1978), also deserves mention here for his deliberate efforts, in the form of two books,^{3,4} to pre-

Table 1

Annual Conferences on Chiropractic History, sponsored by the Association for the History of Chiropractic

Date	Co-sponsor/Location	Conference Chair(s)
June 7, 1981	National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.	William S. Rehm, D.C.
June 12, 1982	Logan College of Chiropractic, Chesterfield MO	William S. Rehm, D.C.
June 4, 1983	National College of Chiropractic, Lombard IL	Herbert K. Lee, D.C., Ph.C.
June 2, 1984	Life Chiropractic College, Marietta GA	Herbert K. Lee, D.C., Ph.C.
June 1, 1985	Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College, Toronto	Herbert K. Lee, D.C., Ph.C.
June 7, 1986	Palmer College of Chiropractic, Davenport IA	Russell W. Gibbons
June 6, 1987	Northwestern College of Chiropractic, Bloomington MN	Leonard E. Fay, D.C., N.D.
June 4, 1988	Cleveland Chiropractic College, Los Angeles	Leonard E. Fay, D.C., N.D.
June 3, 1989	New York Chiropractic College, Old Brookville NY	Leonard E. Fay, D.C., N.D.
June 2, 1990	Parker College of Chiropractic, Dallas	William S. Rehm, D.C.
June 8, 1991	Cleveland Chiropractic College, Kansas City MO	Herbert J. Vear, D.C., F.C.C.S.(C)
October 24, 1992	Los Angeles College of Chiropractic, Whittier CA	Herbert J. Vear, D.C., F.C.C.S.(C)
October 9, 1993	Life Chiropractic College, Marietta GA	Arnold M. Goldschmidt, D.C.
September 24, 1994	New York Chiropractic College, Seneca Falls NY	Arnold M. Goldschmidt, D.C.
September 13–15, 1995	Chiropractic Centennial Foundation, Davenport IA	Russell W. Gibbons; Joseph C. Keating, Jr., Ph.D.
May 24, 1996	Sherman College of Straight Chiropractic, Spartanburg SC	Alana Callender, M.S.
February 23, 1997	Texas Chiropractic College, Pasadena TX	Alana Callender, M.S.
February 21, 1998	Life Chiropractic College West, Hayward CA	Alana Callender, M.S.
April 30, 1999	University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport CT	Mildred Kimbrough, D.C.
March 16, 2000	Association of Chiropractic Colleges, San Antonio TX	Mildred Kimbrough, D.C.

serve his family's story. These are based on his personal recollections, and are supplemented by a great many photographic reproductions. Fun stuff.



Figure 2
Dr. Harry Gallaher

Volumes of history

A number of books detailing various aspects (or the entire stream) of chiropractic history were in existence well before the AHC was organized. Harry Gallaher, D.C., a 1907 Carver graduate, member of Oklahoma's first Board of Chiropractic Examiners and founder of the International Chiropractic Congress, offered a *History of Chiropractic*⁵ which was noteworthy for its discussion of professional development in Oklahoma and nationally, and for the many photographs and biographical sketches of DCs, mostly Oklahoma practitioners. Detracting from the volume's value is its inclusion of a great deal of clinical theory, although this too may be of interest to those studying the evolution of chiropractic techniques.



Figure 3
Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C.

Dr. Gallaher's mentor, attorney-chiropractor Willard Carver (1866–1943), is well known not only for his establishment of at least four chiropractic schools (in Denver, Oklahoma City, New York City, and Washington, D.C.), but also for his relationship with the founder, his long-time feud with B.J. Palmer, his legal activities on behalf of chiropractors and his innovations in technique. Carver prepared a history of the profession (circa 1936) patterned in several respects after the work of Gallaher. Carver's *History of Chiropractic*⁶ was not published, but copies of the manuscript are available in several college archives. Dr. Carver's role in many of the defining events in the first few decades of the chiropractic profession make his manuscript an important source of insight, but the accuracy of the details he offers for many events has been questioned.

The year after Gallaher's volume appeared, Mr. Chittenden Turner of Los Angeles authored *The Rise of Chiropractic*.⁷ This work is especially noteworthy for the breadth of coverage of political (intra- and inter-professional) activities in the first three decades of chiropractic (see Table 2). Turner's review of legislative developments, professional organizations and of events in California prior to the 1922 passage of the state's first chiropractic statute have been especially helpful to this writer.

A. August Dye, D.C., Ph.C. made a significant contribution to the historical literature with his 1939 volume, *The Evolution of Chiropractic*.⁸ Written in sympathy with many of the views of his mentor, B.J. Palmer, D.C., Dye's work is also noteworthy for the extensive historical detail he provides on the early years of chiropractic's development in terms of internal and external politics, growth of the schools, the evolution of clinical methods and technology, and events within the Palmer School (see Table 3).

One of the most provocative, detailed and insightful of historical works in chiropractic was prepared in the early 1950s by attorney-journalist Cyrus Lerner on behalf of the Foundation for Health Research, Inc., a non-profit society of DCs in New York State which sought to counteract the negative image of chiropractic propounded by political medicine in the Empire State. In a 1975 letter to Mr. Russell W. Gibbons, chiropractor-anthropologist Clarence W. Weiant (former dean of the Chiropractic Institute of New York) noted that Lerner's unpublished manuscript was then in the custody of Ernest Napolitano, D.C., president of the Columbia Institute of Chiropractic (today's New York Chiropractic College), and that:



Figure 4
Dr. Ernest Napolitano



Figure 5
Dr. Clarence Weiant,
circa 1958

I am urging that Columbia Institute begin as soon as possible to embark on the utilization and proper presentation of the data accumulated. Werner said he would talk to Dr. Napolitano and would tell him that I would be willing to serve as an occasional consultant. Of course I shall insist that you, if satisfactory terms can be reached, be named as director of the project (or any other appropriate title).

I have also suggested that FCER be solicited for funds to go ahead. Given some such provocative title as THE LONG SUPPRESSED STORY OF CHIROPRACTIC ORIGINS, the resulting book should really be at least a good (if not best) seller.⁹

Although neither the Columbia Institute nor the Foundation for Chiropractic Education & Research (FCER) elected to disseminate Lerner's treatise, the AHC's founding father, William S. Rehm, D.C., acquired a copy of the

Table 2
Chapter titles in Chittenden Turner's⁷ *The Rise of Chiropractic*

Preface & Introduction	Chapter 8: Chapter Status in Various Countries	Chapter 17: The Founder's Dream
Chapter 1: Antecedents	Chapter 9: Organizations	<u>Appendices:</u>
Chapter 2: Theory and Discovery of Chiropractic	Chapter 10: Democracy or Autocracy	Chronology
Chapter 3: Schools – Early Development	Chapter 11: Modalities	Correlative Data
Chapter 4: Fundamentals	Chapter 12: Chiropractic training	Laws – California, Connecticut, Ohio, Virginia, Oklahoma
Chapter 5: Chiropractic <i>versus</i> Medicine	Chapter 13: Ethics	Index
Chapter 6: How Chiropractic Stands in Various States of the Union	Chapter 14: Public Health	
Chapter 7: The Struggle in California	Chapter 15: The Occupational Field	
	Chapter 16: Highlights of Progress	

Table 3
Chapter titles in Dr. August A. Dye's⁸ *The Evolution of Chiropractic*

Chapter 1: Introduction – Discoverer of Chiropractic	Chapter 12: The Spinograph; Its Development
Chapter 2: The Discovery of Chiropractic	Chapter 13: Chiropractic Spinal Analyses; Nerve, Tracing; Retracing; the Neurocalometer
Chapter 3: "With Malice Aforethought"	Chapter 14: The Educational Development of Chiropractic; Basic Science Acts
Chapter 4: Early Development; Early School	Chapter 15: Chiropractic Health Service
Chapter 5: Early Controversies; The Universal Chiropractors' Association; Morris and Hartwell; The Chiropractic Health Bureau; Lay Organizations	Chapter 16: What is Chiropractic
Chapter 6: Medicine vs. Chiropractic	Chapter 17: B.J. Palmer, the Man; the Developer of Chiropractic
Chapter 7: The Straight vs. the Mixer	Chapter 18: Scientific Chiropractic; Hole-in-One
Chapter 8: The Straight vs. the Mixer	Chapter 19: Scientific Chiropractic; Hole-in-One; the B.J. Palmer Chiropractic Clinic
Chapter 9: The Straight vs. the Mixer; the Final Outcome	Chapter 20: Scientific Chiropractic; Hole-in-One (conclusion)
Chapter 10: The Chiropractic Adjustment; Its Development	
Chapter 11: Chiropractic Office Equipment; Its Development	

manuscript from pioneer New York chiropractor Lyndon E. Lee. Rehm has written that:

Lerner's objective was to explore every fact bearing on the historical basis and development of chiropractic theories, practice and techniques, including the quasi-science that became known as chiropractic "philosophy."

The Lerner Report, a manuscript of 780 pages researched with meticulous care for some two years, was finally submitted to the trustees of the Foundation in 1952. Some of its findings concerning the early history of chiropractic had never before been revealed. Its author cautioned the trustees that the work could not be considered complete and that it "not rush into print."

In 1965, Dr. Dave Palmer rejected the findings of both Cyrus Lerner and the Foundation.

Chartered in New York on January 20, 1950, the Foundation for Health Research (FHR) believed that 36 years of failed efforts to achieve licensure for the profession in the state were due to difficult-to-challenge perceptions that the chiropractic claim was without scientific basis and that it represented a potential danger to public health. A new case for chiropractic had to be made...

The Foundation for Health Research, Inc. was not affiliated with any professional organization. Its various activities were funded entirely from private, voluntary contributions.

The Foundation has been inactive since the mid-1970s.

The "Lerner Report" was never published. However, the document received sufficient circulation to influence the investigations of several chiropractic historians (e.g.,^{1,11}). The report (see Table 4) is available in digital form (about 1 mega-byte in MS Word) over the internet from this writer (JCKeating@aol.com).

Martha A. Metz, D.C.'s review of the chiropractic profession in Kansas is noteworthy in several respects. *Fifty Years of Chiropractic Recognized in Kansas*¹² exemplifies several conscientious, homegrown efforts to document the paths DCs have taken in individual states. What Metz's work lacks in form and style are well compensated by a wealth of information not otherwise available. To Metz's work and Gallaher's and Carver's tales of chiropractic in Oklahoma (noted earlier) should be added several other regional professional histories (see Table 5). We can only hope that chiropractic societies in other jurisdictions will

see the wisdom to produce their own histories.

Lesley Biggs, Ph.D.'s dissertation on the history of chiropractic in the Canadian province of Ontario¹³ does not qualify as homegrown. Prepared in fulfillment of the doctoral requirements in sociology at the University of Toronto, Bigg's thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the educational developments and legal/political struggles in the province, and their implications for the profession throughout the nation (see Table 6). Her work spans the period from the birth of the first chiropractic school in Sault Ste. Marie in 1909 to the mid-1980s.



Figure 6
Dr. George Hariman,
circa 1966

The "homegrown" label does apply to George E. Hariman, D.C.'s brief review of chiropractic education. This 1914 National College alumnus served in the leadership of the National Chiropractic Association (NCA) during the 1930s–1950s, was a co-founder of today's National Chiropractic Mutual Insurance Company and the FCER, and was an enthusiast for chiropractic hospitals and sanitarium. As a longtime member of the NCA's executive board, he was witness to the struggle to upgrade and accredit chiropractic schools. His 41-page pamphlet,¹⁴ *A History of the Evolution of Chiropractic Education*, can hardly be called scholarly, but is nonetheless a valuable source of information about many of the profession's struggling institutions, several of which have long since been forgotten.

More recent books

Vern Gielow's biography of D.D. Palmer,¹⁵ entitled *Old*

Table 4

Reconstructed listing of sub-sections in Cyrus Lerner's¹⁰ report on the early history of chiropractic

2. By Way of Introduction	48. A Further Analysis of the Single-Subject Course of Instruction
3. A Look at the Prior Evidence	49. How the "Case for Chiropractic" was First Presented in the 19th Century
4. A "New Trial"	50. Operation "ReWrite"
5. Modern-Day "Proof"	51. The Unseen Power
6. A Pitfall to Be Avoided	52. Is Man an Animal?
7. The Chance for a "New Trial"	53. The Storm Clouds Begin to Gather
8. Some Unanswered Questions About B.J.	54. The German Influence Upon American Education in the 19th Century
9. Beginning our Journey Into the Past	55. "Discoveries" That Will Sell
10. "Hand Practice"	56. "Discoveries" That Are Not Salable
11. Palmer's Observations – Based upon His Accumulated Knowledge	57. The Matthey Family of Davenport
12. D.D. Palmer As An Investigator	58. Dr. Henry Matthey Begins to Arouse the People of Iowa
13. The Mystery of Disease	59. Commentary on Dr. Henry Matthey's Campaign to Arouse the People
14. Europe Comes to America	60. Consider the Current Attitude of the "Chiropractic Educator"
15. The Hyphenated Citizen	61. Answering Dr. Matthey by Raising the "Battle Cry of Freedom"
16. A Seat of Learning	62. "Drugless" Healing
17. D.D. Palmer Comes to Davenport	63. Palmer First to be "Exterminated"
18. The Bearded Palmers	64. The "Unreported Case" of "Reiring vs. Palmer"
19. Palmer as a "Lecturer"	65. Destiny Plays a Trick on B.J.
20. A Decade of Quiet Practice	66. A Missing Chapter in Chiropractic History
21. The Beginning of Competition	67. An Analysis of B.J. in 1902
22. The Osteopaths Start Beating Their War Drums	68. B.J. as a 20th Century Enigma
23. "I DISCOVERED IT"	69. New Studies Concerning B.J.
24. Dr. Andrew P. Davis Investigates Palmer's Claims	70. How I Stumbled on B.J. True Personality
25. Anatomical Changes – The Crux of Palmer's Original Thinking	71. A Multiple Personality
26. The First Chiropractic Adjustment	72. Practicing vs. Teaching
27. The Discovery of Chiropractic	73. How Langworthy Prepared "The Case for Chiropractic in 1903"
28. Was Palmer a "Discoverer" or an "Inventor"?	74. Langworthy's "Backbone"
29. The Medical Crisis of the 19th Century	75. Langworthy's "Nerves"
30. The Earliest Philosophy of Motion	76. Langworthy's "Windows"
31. The Revolution in Theology	77. The Significance of Langworthy's "Theory of Old Age"
32. The Same Analogies Are Presented to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1831	78. Hand-fixing vs. Machine-fixing
33. Pursuing the Path of Inquiry Suggested in Boston in 1831	79. Langworthy Questions the Date of Discovery of Chiropractic
34. An Old-New Doctrine in Davenport	80. Discovery or Deception?
35. Reducing Dislocations by Manipulation in 1863	81. The Chiropractic School of Love
36. The Concept of Motion in Healing	82. Love Finds a Way
37. A 19th Century Opportunity for Chiropractic	83. Chiropractic Life Begins with Loving
38. Outgrowing Manual Work	84. Who "OWNS" a New Science?
39. Palmer Looks at "Man the Machine"	85. Father's Teaching Now – Everybody Listen
40. Palmer's New Concepts – Man not a Machine	
41. Palmer Has to Differ with Dr. George H. Patchen	
42. For Purposes of Religion: Man is Not a Machine	
43. The Electrical Concept of Man	
44. To Prove Chiropractic – What is Man?	
45. Before Analyzing the Chiropractic Era of Storms and Violence	
46. The Teacher to Mankind	
47. The First Chiropractic Teacher in Action	

MISSING PAGES: 402 through 499
(MISSING SECTIONS: 86 through 116)

Table 4
(Concluded)

<p>117. Dr. Andrew P. Davis Decides to Become a “Discoverer”</p> <p>118. The Growing Spirit of Defiance</p> <p>119. “Secrecy” in Education</p> <p>120. The First Graduation Ceremonies</p> <p>121. Sorrowful Events in 1905</p> <p>122. The Hands of Fate</p> <p>123. Who is “The Builder”?</p> <p>124. Blowing Hot and Cold</p> <p>125. How to Build a Science into a Profession</p> <p>126. Destiny Chooses a Champion Defender for the Chiropractic Cause</p> <p>127. The Turning Point in Chiropractic History</p> <p>128. The Science of Chiropractic Becomes a “Philosophy”</p> <p>129. Chiropractic Enters the Realm of Philosophy</p> <p>130. The Greatest Mystery of the Chiropractic Profession</p> <p>131. The Fable of Shakespeare</p> <p>132. The Magic of Philosophy – The Alchemy of Thought</p> <p>133. Destiny Brings Elbert Hubbard to Davenport</p> <p>134. The Mirage of the Nervous System and Dr. George Henry Patchen</p> <p>135. Philosophy – The Way to Wisdom</p> <p>136. What About Old Dad Chiro in the Meantime?</p>	<p>MISSING PAGES: 702 & 703</p> <p>137. Straight vs. Mixing</p> <p>138. Muddling the Issues</p> <p>139. Must Chiropractors Be Philosophers?</p> <p>140. Chiropractic Caught in an Intellectual Trap</p> <p>141. A Wave of History Writers Adds to the Great Confusion</p> <p>142. “Chiropractic Autographs” by Ligeros in 1929</p> <p>143. The Ligeros Book of 1937</p> <p>144. The Tragic Effects Produced by Confusion</p>
<p>137. Straight vs. Mixing</p> <p>138. Muddling the Issues</p> <p>139. Must Chiropractors Be Philosophers?</p> <p>140. Chiropractic Caught in an Intellectual Trap</p> <p>141. A Wave of History Writers Adds to the Great Confusion</p> <p>142. “Chiropractic Autographs” by Ligeros in 1929</p> <p>143. The Ligeros Book of 1937</p> <p>144. The Tragic Effects Produced by Confusion</p>	<p>MISNUMBERED SECTIONS IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT</p> <p>148. Science Stops Dreaming and Philosophizing</p> <p>144. The World’s Greatest Money Maker Enters the Field of Medical Research</p> <p>145. A Leaf from Homeopathic History</p> <p>146. History Really Repeats Itself</p> <p>147. Hands of Compassion</p> <p>148. Dossa D. Evins Touches Off a Medical Explosion</p>
<p>148. Science Stops Dreaming and Philosophizing</p> <p>144. The World’s Greatest Money Maker Enters the Field of Medical Research</p> <p>145. A Leaf from Homeopathic History</p> <p>146. History Really Repeats Itself</p> <p>147. Hands of Compassion</p> <p>148. Dossa D. Evins Touches Off a Medical Explosion</p>	<p>149. A Divided Profession</p> <p>150. By Way of Conclusion</p>

Table 5
Several regional histories of the chiropractic profession

<p>Biggs, C. Lesley. <i>No bones about chiropractic? The quest for legitimacy by the Ontario chiropractic profession: 1895 to 1985</i>. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Behavioural Sciences, University of Toronto, 1989</p> <p>Carver, Willard. <i>History of chiropractic</i>; unpublished (circa 1936), Oklahoma City (Special Collections, Texas Chiropractic College)</p> <p>Gallaher, Harry. <i>History of chiropractic</i>. Guthrie OK: Co-operative Publishing Co., 1930</p> <p>Mawhiney RB. <i>Chiropractic in Wisconsin, 1900–1950</i>. Madison WI: Wisconsin Chiropractic Association, 1984</p> <p>Mawhiney RB. <i>Chiropractic in Wisconsin, 1950–1990</i>. Madison WI: Roberts Publishing Company, 1993</p> <p>McGinnis, Edward J (Ed.): <i>A history of chiropractic in South Carolina</i>. Columbia SC: South Carolina Chiropractic Association, 1997</p> <p>Metz, Martha A. <i>Fifty years of chiropractic recognized in Kansas</i>. Abilene KS: Shadinger–Wilson, Inc., 1965</p> <p>Rhodes, Walter R. <i>The official history of chiropractic in Texas</i>. Austin TX: Texas Chiropractic Association, 1978</p>
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Figure 7
Vern Gielow,
circa 1975

Dad Chiro, provided readers with a well researched and easily digestible review of the founder's life and times. Gielow, a co-founder of the AHC and a former administrator at Palmer College in Davenport, took pains to sort out various myths and data sources, to put the events of Palmer's life in chronological sequence, and to bring order and comprehensibility to the cacophony of facts. If there is

any negative criticism to be offered, it is only that the book's 140 pages gives short shrift to some parts of D.D.'s life. For example, Gielow devotes only two pages to the important years Palmer spent in Portland, Oregon (November 1908 through late 1910 or early 1911), during which time he established his D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic, and produced the monthly journal, *The Chiropractor Adjuster*, from which his classic 1910 text book would evolve. But Gielow does an excellent job in organizing and interpreting the intentions of chiropractic's founder and the many folks he jousts with.

What Gielow (15) does for D.D. Palmer's life, Pierre-Louis Gaucher-Peslherbe, D.C., Ph.D. (1943–1996) accomplished for the founder's theories. Written as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for his Ph.D. in medical history at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris in 1983, and translated into English and published by the National College of Chiropractic, Gaucher-Peslherbe¹⁶ places Palmer's ideas within the intellectual and scientific context of their time. Gaucher-Peslherbe appreciates the evolution of D.D.'s concepts over the course of his career as a chiropractor, and identifies the tension-regulation hypotheses in Palmer's final writings (e.g.,^{17,18}). Along the way, this

Table 6

Table of contents of C. Lesley Biggs, Ph.D.'s dissertation concerning the history of chiropractic in Ontario

Chapter 1: An overview of chiropractic	Chapter 6: The Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College: a struggle for survival
Chapter 2: A review of the literature on the sociology of the professions	Chapter 7: Promoting a professional image: "the squeaky clean" 1950s and 1960s
Chapter 3: Methodology: historical approaches	Chapter 8: The struggle for Medicare
Chapter 4: The emergence of chiropractic and other drugless practitioners in Ontario, 1895–1925	Chapter 9: The shifting terrain of struggle between chiropractic and allopathic medicine
Chapter 5: The struggle for a unified profession	Chapter 10: Conclusions

Table 7

Chapter titles for Beideman's²¹ history of the National College of Chiropractic

Chapter 1: In the beginning there was D.D. Palmer	Chapter 8: Extracurricular activities
Chapter 2: J.F.A. Howard, B.C. (before chiropractic, that is)	Chapter 9: Military influences
Chapter 3: The professional life of National's founder	Chapter 10: Pioneer in gender, color and age
Chapter 4: William Charles Schulze, M.D., D.C. – (1870–1936)	Chapter 11: NCC's facilities from alpha to omega
Chapter 5: The corporate interlude from "pecuniary" to eleemosynary	Chapter 12: Alumni associations
Chapter 6: Joseph Janse – chiropractic's renaissance man	Chapter 13: NCC's curriculum expansion and its postgraduate division
Chapter 7: Intercollegiate adoptions, marriages, melds and mergers	Chapter 14: National's mark upon sister schools
	Chapter 15: In the pursuit of approvals and accreditations



Figure 8
Dr. Pierre-Louis
Gaucher-Peslherbe

chiropractor-scholar makes clear that, far from being merely a “fish-monger” and grocer, Old Dad Chiro was extremely well read in the basic sciences of his day, probably better read than most of his allopathic contemporaries.

Another doctoral dissertation deserving mention here appeared in 1993: *Chiropractic in America: the History of a Medical Alternative*. J. Stuart Moore, Ph.D.’s analysis of the chiropractic century is noteworthy as one of the first serious and sophisticated historical treatises on the profession¹⁹ written by an individual with no formal connection to his subject matter. Although Moore engages in considerable story telling, the tales and facts he relates are presented in support of the several hypotheses which constitute the central focus of his thesis. Most interesting among these is the contention that one of the factors which enabled the profession to survive was the persecution it experienced at the hands of political medicine. While some chiropractors may wince at this idea, the notion has recently received additional support from Susan L. Smith-Cunnien, Ph.D.’s doctoral dissertation: *A Profession of One’s Own: Organized Medicine’s Opposition to Chiropractic*.²⁰

If ever a book deserved the appellation “labor of love,” it is Ronald P. Beideman, D.C., N.D.’s history of the National College of Chiropractic (NCC). Entitled *In the Making of a Profession: the National College of Chiropractic, 1906–1981*,²¹ this work reflects Dr. Beideman’s decades of service to the College, his alma mater (Class of 1952). Beideman organizes much of the College’s tale around three of its best know presidents: John F.A. Howard, D.C., William C. Schulze, M.D., D.C., and Joseph Janse, D.D.T., D.C., N.D. (see Table 7). As the recipient of resources and as the repository for the records of many now



Figure 9 National’s president, James Winterstein, D.C., D.A.C.B.R. (left) appoints Dr. Ronald Beideman *Professor Emeritus* at a ceremony in 2000 (courtesy of the National University of Health Sciences)

defunct colleges, National’s tale also encompasses a rather broad swatch of the fabric of the profession. Beideman pulls this together admirably, and makes a case for NCC as the “rational alternative” in chiropractic.



Figure 10
Dr. Walter Wardwell

Essential reading for anyone interested in chiropractic history and/or the history of alternative medicine in the United States is the delightful volume prepared by Walter I. Wardwell, Ph.D. Published in 1992, *Chiropractic: History & Evolution of a New Profession* has since become the most widely used textbook of chiropractic history. Wardwell²² strikes a comfortable balance between depth and breadth of coverage in relating tales of the chiro-century. Chapters dealing with the saga of the Palmers, the proliferation of schools and protective societies, and the persecution by organized medicine are complemented by

other chapters that address relevant sociological concepts. A career-long chiropractic profession-watcher (e.g.,²³⁻²⁹), Professor Wardwell's 1951 doctoral dissertation at Harvard University is credited as the first serious sociological analysis of chiropractic. His involvement in the federal government's deliberations over inclusion in Medicare legislation (leading to the Cohen Report) proved valuable during the Wilk et al. anti-trust suit years later, when the documents he had saved relating to the federal bureaucracy's bad faith dealings with chiropractors resurfaced. Dr. Wardwell is a past president of the AHC, and received the society's Lee-Homewood Award in 1993.

The former president of the Pennsylvania College of Straight Chiropractic, Joseph B. Strauss, D.C., F.C.S.C. (Fellow of the College of Straight Chiropractic), has made several important contributions to the historical literature. In addition to a biography of his mentor, Reggie Gold, D.C.,³⁰ Strauss has prepared a history of straight ("objective straight," "purpose straight," or "super straight") chiropractic that is exceptional for its unique point of view (see Table 8). An adamant vitalist who suggests that "Objective straight chiropractic, for the sake of humanity, is not satisfied to see chiropractic go in the direction that clinical science would take it," Strauss retells the chiropractic saga from this vantage point. *Refined by Fire: the Evolution of Straight Chiropractic*³¹ is a must read for those who would appreciate the profession in all its forms and iterations. This insider's detailed account of the feud between the Council on Chiropractic Education (CCE) and the newer schools (Sherman, ADIO) is unavailable elsewhere, to this writer's knowledge.

Setting modesty to the side, several additional volumes, recently contributed to the historical data base and published (or soon to be published) by the AHC, should also be mentioned. These are:

Keating JC. *B.J. of Davenport: the early years of chiropractic*. Davenport IA: Association for the History of Chiropractic, 1997

Keating JC, Callender AK, Cleveland CS. *A history of chiropractic education in North America: report to the Council on Chiropractic Education*. Davenport IA: Association for the History of Chiropractic, 1998

Rehm, William S. *Prairie thunder: Dr. Leo Spears*. Davenport IA: Association for the History of Chiropractic, in press



Figure 11 Glenda Wiese, M.A. lectures at Palmer College of Chiropractic West in 1990



Figure 12 Dennis Peterson, M.A., Director of the David D. Palmer Health Sciences Library in Davenport, Iowa

Oral history in chiropractic came into focus with the 1995 publication of Glenda Wiese's collection of interviews of significant participants in the profession's tale.³² Among those relating their personal and professional histories in *Chiropractic Pioneers: A Remembrance* were: college president Carl S. Cleveland, Jr., D.C., author Vern Gielow, former college president A. Earl Homewood, D.C., N.D., LL.B., hospital administrator Daniel C. Spears, D.C., technique innovator J. Clay Thompson, D.C. and former college president Herbert J. Vear, D.C.,

Table 8
Chapter titles for Strauss³⁰ history of straight chiropractic

Chapter 1: The evolution of straight chiropractic	Chapter 8: Struggling for survival: 1925–1935
Chapter 2: Dichotomy of thought: vitalism vs. mechanism	Chapter 9: Boring from within: 1935–1950
Chapter 3: 19th century health care: the environment for the discovery of chiropractic	Chapter 10: The chiropractic dark ages: 1950–1965
Chapter 4: The birth of chiropractic	Chapter 11: The renaissance: 1965–1975
Chapter 5: Development of a profession: 1895–1906	Chapter 12: Development of modern-day straight chiropractic
Chapter 6: Establishing an identity: 1907–1910	Chapter 13: The struggle for straight chiropractic survival: 1979–1994
Chapter 7: Zenith of Palmer chiropractic: 1910–1924	Chapter 14: Into the second century

F.C.C.S.(C). That same year, timed to coincide with the profession’s centennial celebrations, Wiese and co-editor Dennis Peterson produced *Chiropractic: an Illustrated History*, a volume of approximately 1,000 photographs and images from the chirocentury.

Periodic literature

The serial publications of the chiropractic profession (magazines, journals, newspapers) are important to the preservation of chiropractic history in at least two respects. Firstly, these periodicals have recorded current events, and thereby provide a primary source, a record *in situ*, which is (assuming the magazines survive) available to future generations. A variety of publications (see Table 9), issued by state and national professional organizations, chiropractic schools (journals, catalogs, yearbooks), and other sources, have been immensely helpful to chiropractic historians. Unfortunately, not all chiropractic college archives have

maintained a complete collection of these publications. (The Special Collections section of the library at Palmer College/Davenport is a noteworthy exception, and holds what is probably the most extensive periodical collection in the profession.)

Secondly, many of these periodicals have provided forums for the publication of significant papers on chiropractic history. Scholarly and scientific journals of chiropractic were rare in the first 85 years of chiropractic history (the *Journal of the Canadian Chiropractic Association (JCCA)* has evolved into a scholarly periodical during the past quarter century). Accordingly, it was often the trade and school magazines which provided the vehicles for presenting works on the profession’s history, serious and otherwise. Among the scholarly chiropractic periodicals available today for publication of historical papers are: *Chiropractic History*, *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, *Chiropractic Technique*, *European Journal of Chiroprac-*

Table 9
Several periodicals of value in studying the history of chiropractic

<p><i>Canadian Chiropractic Journal</i> (1957–1961); renamed the <i>Journal of the Canadian Chiropractic Association</i> (1961–present) *<i>Chiogram</i> (1922–1977) <i>Digest of Chiropractic Economics</i> (1958–present) <i>Dynamic Chiropractic</i> (1984–present) *<i>Fountain Head News</i> (1912–1961?) <i>ICA International Review of Chiropractic</i> (1948–present) <i>Journal of the National Chiropractic Association</i> (1930–1932)</p> <p>*sporadic publication during some periods</p>	<p><i>Journal of the International Chiropractic Congress</i> (1931–1933); succeeded by <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> (1933–1938); renamed the <i>National Chiropractic Journal</i> (1939–1948); renamed the <i>Journal of the National Chiropractic Association</i> (1949–1963); succeeded by the <i>ACA Journal of Chiropractic</i> (1963–1994); renamed the <i>Journal of the American Chiropractic Association</i> (1995–present) <i>The Chiropractor</i> (1904–1961)</p>
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Table 10
Harry E. Vedder, D.C.’s serial account of chiropractic history in the NCA’s Journal, 1935

<p>History of chiropractic – its origin, development and reconstruction. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> (NCA) 1935a (Mar); 4(3): 14</p> <p>History of chiropractic – its origin, development and reconstruction. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> (NCA) 1935b (Apr); 4(4): 6, 34</p> <p>History of chiropractic – its origin, development and reconstruction. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> (NCA) 1935c (May); 4(5): 17</p> <p>History of chiropractic – its origin, development and reconstruction. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> (NCA) 1935d (June); 4(6): 18, 38–9</p>	<p>History of chiropractic – its origin, development and reconstruction. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> (NCA) 1935e (July); 4(7): 11–2</p> <p>History of chiropractic – its origin, development and reconstruction. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> (NCA) 1935f (Aug); 4(8): 11, 47</p> <p>History of chiropractic – its origin, development and reconstruction. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> (NCA) 1935g (Sept); 4(9): 30</p>
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tic, *JCCA*, *Journal of Chiropractic Humanities* and the *Journal of Manipulative & Physiological Therapeutics*.

Lincoln College of Chiropractic co-founder, president and former Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC) faculty member Harry E. Vedder, D.C., Ph.C. made his contribution to relating the chirosaga in a series of articles (see Table 10) appearing in *The Chiropractic Journal*, a publication of the NCA. Based on a presentation made at the Texas Chiropractic College and originally entitled “Sanity



Figure 13
Dr. Harry Vedder,
circa 1925

in Chiropractic,” Vedder’s paper is helpful for the perspective it provides on early development of the profession. Vedder divided the story to that time (1935) into four phases: 1) the “period of the pioneer,” 2) a “period of rapid growth,” 3) the “period of depression,” and 4) and what he hoped would be a “period of reconstruction”.³³ Lincoln College’s president named few names, but offered some decidedly prescient opinions concerning the internal forces that shaped the profession. He believed that chiropractors themselves were more responsible for the pathways taken than were the external influences of organized medicine, and he had lived through much of the time-frame he described.

In the middle years of the chiropractic century a persistent herald of D.D. Palmer’s message was that of broad-scope leader C. Sterling Cooley, D.C.³⁴ A 1908 graduate of the Palmer-Gregory College of Chiropractic in Oklahoma City, Cooley was elected president of the broad-scope NCA at its historic conference in Los Angeles in 1935.³⁵ He authored a number of short pieces on the life and times of his mentor (see Table 11), and was an enthusiastic supporter of the proposal for NCA’s non-profit arm, the Chiropractic Research Foundation (CRF; forerunner

Table 11

Several papers and presentations concerning the life of D.D. Palmer by Dr. C. Sterling Cooley

Daniel David Palmer: a tribute to the founder of chiropractic. An address delivered at Memorial Meeting, Des Moines, Iowa, on Mar. 8, 1936. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> [NCA] 1936 (Apr); 5(4): 5–10, 36	Daniel David Palmer: a pioneer reveals scope of fundamental principles. <i>National Chiropractic Journal</i> 1941 (Mar); 10(3): 15–7
Daniel David Palmer: an immortal among the great names in history. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> [NCA] 1937 (Mar); 6(3): 7–8, 50–1	Daniel David Palmer: a pioneer reveals scope of fundamental principles. <i>National Chiropractic Journal</i> 1941 (Apr); 10(4): 11–2
Daniel David Palmer: an immortal among the great names in history. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> [NCA] 1937 (Apr); 6(4): 11–2, 52–3	The life of Daniel David Palmer, discoverer, developer and founder of chiropractic. (Originally delivered, 6 March 1943, at the Annual Palmer Memorial Banquet of the Associated Chiropractors of Ontario – Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ontario) (Texas Chiropractic College Special Collections)
Daniel David Palmer: an immortal among the great names in history. <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> [NCA] 1937 (May); 6(5): 21–2, 50–1	A brief address on the life of D.D. Palmer, “The Old Master.” (Presented at Claremore OK, 6 March 1945). Simmons Service for Chiropractors 1945; April: 2–4
Daniel David Palmer was the first true “basic scientist.” <i>The Chiropractic Journal</i> [NCA] 1938 (Mar); 7(3): 9–13	Six essays on the life of Daniel David Palmer. In: Drain JR. <i>Man tomorrow</i> . San Antonio TX: Standard Printing Company, 1949, pp. 623–84
Daniel David Palmer: his early struggles and triumphs. <i>National Chiropractic Journal</i> 1939 (Mar); 8(3): 10–14	Fifty-five years ago to-morrow. <i>The Record</i> 1950 (Nov); 2(11): 10–1, 14–9
Daniel David Palmer: master chiropractor – servant of the cosmic mind. <i>National Chiropractic Journal</i> 1940 (Mar); 9(3): 7–8, 54	
A memorial broadcast honors memory of Daniel David Palmer. <i>National Chiropractic Journal</i> 1940 (Apr); 9(4): 13–4, 48	



Figure 14 Dr. C. Sterling Cooley sits with a copy of D.D. Palmer’s (1910) text in this photo from the November 1940 issue of the *Journal of the National Chiropractic Association*

of today’s Foundation for Chiropractic Education & Research), to reprint Old Dad Chiro’s *The Chiropractor’s Adjuster* in conjunction with the profession’s fiftieth anniversary celebrations.

Occasional contributions to historical knowledge were made in various journals in the years just prior to the 1980 formation of the AHC. Among these were Calvin Cottam, D.C.’s “The first chiropractic physician – D.D.?”³⁶ Vern Gielow’s “David D. Palmer the man”,³⁷ and Russ Gibbons’ “The making of a chiropractor, 1906 to the making of a chiropractic physician, 1976”.³⁸ Palmer alumnus John C. Willis, M.A., D.C., who would succeed Gibbons as editor of *Chiropractic History*, offered “Chiropractic education in Virginia: a personal narrative”,³⁹ which records

an attempt to evaluate and increase applications to chiropractic colleges in his home state. Reggie Gold, D.C.’s “New creature”⁴⁰ exemplifies political/philosophical articles which employ historical information to argue contemporary positions. Shortly after the birth of the AHC, political activist Leonard K. Griffin, D.C. offered “A bit of history: as depicted by D.D. and B.J. Palmer”.⁴¹ And the following year, for perhaps the first time, an historical treatise on chiropractic appeared in the journal of the American Association for the History of Medicine: “Physician-chiropractors: medical presence in the evolution of chiropractic”.⁴²

Other forms of historical scholarship

Sporadic interest in various historical endeavors, literary and otherwise, is noted. Already mentioned was the 1945–46 initiative of the CRF/NCA to republish D.D. Palmer’s classic volume. Interestingly, these efforts distressed B.J. Palmer, D.C., who had himself published a sanitized version of the text, devoid of D.D.’s many caustic comments about him, less than a decade after the founder’s demise.^{43,44} This revisionist rendering of the founder’s work is identified as Volume 4 of the famous Palmer “green books.” The self-styled “Developer” of chiropractic worried that the NCA would distort his father’s work, but was reassured that such was not the case by Dr. Cooley, who indicated that the reproduction process would be photographic.⁴⁵ In the 1960s Dave Palmer, D.C., who succeeded his father as president of the Palmer School, also authorized a reprinting of his grandfather’s historic book. A number of additional reproductions of various green books have been offered (e.g.,⁴⁶) by several organizations, including chiropractic fraternities and the Parker Chiropractic Research Foundation; a digital collection of the green books is now also available.

The president of the National Chiropractic Association

Table 12

Members of the National Chiropractic Association’s Committee on Chiropractic History⁴⁸

O.A. Ohlson, D.C., <i>National Chairman</i> , Denver	Ruland W. Lee, D.C., Newark
Elmer A. Berner, D.C., Buffalo, New York	Fred Maisel, D.C., Gary, Indiana
Linnie A. Cale, D.C., N.D., D.O., Los Angeles	Joseph Marnick, D.C., New York City
James Firth, D.C., Indianapolis	Lillard T. Marshall, D.C., Lexington, Kentucky
E.M. Gustafson, D.C., Washington, D.C.	Harley Scanlan, D.C., Sheldon, Iowa
A.B. Kesler, D.C., Salt Lake City	Elizabeth Walker, D.C., Fort Smith, Arkansas
Wilbern Lawrence, D.C., Meridian, Mississippi	

(NCA), William A. Watkinson, D.C., offered a brief history of spinal manipulation and chiropractic in his 1959 address to students at the Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College (CMCC).⁴⁷ Later that year, a committee on chiropractic history (see Table 12) was mentioned in a report of the NCA's 1959 convention.⁴⁸ However, the activities of this group, if any, are not known to this writer. Interest in chiropractic history at CMCC was already apparent, in the form of a Committee on Archives chaired by Roger K. Partlow, D.C., who was also then serving as president of the Canadian Chiropractic Association. The committee's efforts to document the institution's early developments included brief accounts in the school's periodical and plans to produce a pamphlet describing the college's growth.^{49,50}

Establishment of the Toronto school roughly coincided with Canadian and American efforts to memorialize the founder in the form of a statue placed in Port Perry, Ontario (then thought to be the D.D. Palmer's place of birth). Fundraising for the sculpture apparently commenced with the dedication Palmer Park along the shores of Lake

Scugog during the 1938 convention of the NCA in Toronto. Fundraising efforts were under the supervision of future CMCC dean John S. Clubine, D.C. World War II delayed the dedication ceremonies until 1946, when the international gathering in the rural village captured the attention of chiropractors. Dave Palmer and his family visited the monument in August 1961, shortly after his investiture as the third president of the Palmer School. He later purchased a building in Port Perry which was erroneously thought to be the birthplace of the founder.

F. Maynard Lipe, D.C., N.D., a 1933 graduate of the National College, was an organizer of the orthopedics movement within the profession^{51,52} and succeeded J. Gordon Anderson, D.C., N.D. as dean of the "graduate school" at Los Angeles College of Chiropractic (LACC) in 1965 (53, pp. 152–3). In the late 1960s his initiative resulted in the formation of a "Chiropractic Archives Center." Lipe used the school's widely circulated periodical, the *Chirogram*, to solicit donations to the collection from the field:



Figure 15 Campus of the newly opened Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College at 252 Bloor St., Toronto; from the October 1945 issue of the *National Chiropractic Journal*



Figure 16 Mrs. Cecil C. Clemmer and John S. Clubine, D.C. pose with the not yet dedicated statue of D.D. Palmer; from the *National Chiropractic Journal* for March 1942



Figure 17 David D. Palmer, D.C. addresses a gathering at the Palmer Memorial in Port Perry, Ontario on 17 August 1961 (photo courtesy of Herbert K. Lee, D.C.)

WANTED!

Particularly, all School pamphlets, curricula, brochures, and catalogues are needed as well as books and any other pertinent data, relative to subjects taught and the number of hours given in their respective semesters and school years.

Dated material, especially before 1922 in California and other States is most welcome and needed. Of course all such



Figure 18
Dr. F. Maynard Lipe,
circa 1965

data after 1922 is also desired. Many doctors and friends of School personnel may have in their possession, in old trunks, boxes or other forgotten locations, such material that will be destroyed or thrown away by relatives, or others who have no particular interest in these items.

The purpose and intent is to gather together into one place all such material and make it available, by photocopy or microfilming to those who may be in need of proving that certain subjects were taught at specific times. No original material that is on file could be taken from the Archives, but may be copied, as stated. All such material is to be stored in fireproof vaults, and a microfilm copy of all material is to be placed elsewhere for failsafe keeping.

The time is NOW. Please send to the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic, 920 E. Broadway, Glendale, California all such data for processing. Direct such mailing to the Chiropractic Archives Center at the stated address. Query all the old timers that you know or have heard about, concerning their possession of any material at all, that may be of inestimable use to the profession, even though they or you

may think that what they have is not of great importance. Send it anyhow, and the data will be collated and catalogued and disposed of accordingly. Be aware of this necessity and act immediately.

The Chiropractic Archives Center is now a fact, make it a permanent, live, useful one.⁵⁴⁻⁵⁶

Presumably, it was this initiative which filled the shelves in the LACC library's Rare Books Collection and

prompted the reproduction in the *Chirogram* of various early LACC graduation composite photographs (see Table 13). Lipe's efforts at LACC were paralleled and greatly exceeded at the Logan College of Chiropractic in St. Louis, where alumni from the first graduating class (1939), Drs. Arthur and Vi Nickson, quietly began amassing historical documents and artifacts sometime in the late 1960s, and applied the guidelines of the American Association of Archivists in their cataloguing of the collection. The

Table 13
Reproductions of early LACC graduating classes appearing in the *Chirogram*, 1976–77

Class of 1917. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (Jan); 43(1): 23	LACC class of 1926. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (Sept); 43(9): 22–3
Class of 1919. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (Feb); 43(2): 19	LACC graduating class – December 1929. <i>Chirogram</i>
Class of 1920. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (Mar); 43(3): 25	1976 (Oct); 43(10): 21
Faculty and class of 1922. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (Apr); 43(4): 25	Class of (June) 1930. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (Nov); 43(11): 21
Class of 1923 (ECC). <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (May); 43(5): 24	Class of December 1930. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (Dec); 43(12): 20
LACC class of 1923. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (June); 43(6): 24	Class of 1931 (pictorial). <i>Chirogram</i> 1977 (Jan); 44(1): 20
LACC class of 1925. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (July); 43(7): 23	Class of December 1932. <i>Chirogram</i> 1977 (Feb); 44(2): 18–9
LACC class of 1926. <i>Chirogram</i> 1976 (Aug); 43(8): 16–7	

Table 14
Institutional resources for historical research and preservation

American Medical Association Historical Health Fraud & Alternative Medicine Collection; AMA Division of Library & Information Management, 515 North State Street, Chicago IL 60610 USA; Tel: 312-464-5000

The AMA's collection related to chiropractic includes 8.0 cubic feet (26 boxes) spanning the period 1908–1983; see the AMA's *Guide to the American Medical Association Historical Health Fraud & Alternative Medicine Collection* for details.

Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City, Library Archives; Jetta Nash, B.A., Archivist, 6401 Rockhill Road, Kansas City MO 64131 USA; Tel: 816-501-0100

Includes the collected papers of the Cleveland family, as well as those of T.F. Ratledge, D.C. The Ratledge papers include most of the surviving correspondence of the founder (in 1911) of what later (1955) became the Cleveland Chiropractic College of Los Angeles. Ratledge was a driving force in the 1922 initiative enactment of licensing for chiropractors in California

Life University/BJ Palmer Museum; (contact: Life University: 1269 Barclay Circle, Marietta GA 30062 USA)

The BJ Palmer Museum is a restoration of Dr. Palmer's winter home in Sarasota, Florida, just down the road from Ringling Brothers Circus' winter camp. This will delight those interested in the life and times of Dr. B.J. Palmer

Logan College Archives, 1851 Schoettler Rd, Chesterfield MO 63017 USA; Tel: 314-947-8755; APARRY@logan.edu

The Logan College Archives contains one of the largest collections of chiropractic historical artifacts. Contact Allen Parry, D.C., curator

Palmer College of Chiropractic, 1000 Brady St., Davenport IA 52803 USA; Tel: 319-326-9600

The Palmer College Library Special Collections and the artifact collection of the Palmer Foundation for Chiropractic History are collectively the most thorough accumulation of documents, periodicals and historical artifacts in the profession. Contact Glenda Wiese, M.A., *Archivist*, Special Collections, and Alana Callender, M.S., *Director*, Palmer Foundation for Chiropractic History

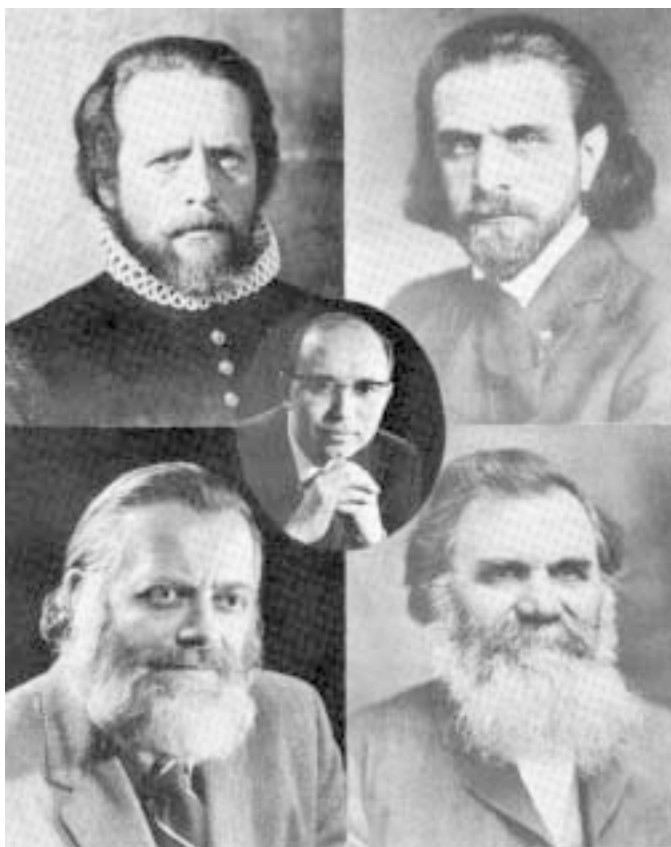


Figure 19 Caption for this collage from the May/June 1972 issue of the *Digest of Chiropractic Economics* reads: “Principal actors in make-up for other roles, with people they will represent in the new movie. Upper left, Patrick McGoohan as he appears in the movie, ‘Mary, Queen of Scots’; upper right, Dr. B.J. Palmer; center, Dr. L. Ted Frigard; lower left, Max Showalter as he appears in the movie, ‘The Moonshine War’ and lower right, Dr. D.D. Palmer.”

Nicksons were co-founders of the AHC, and the society honored their archival labor of love in 1982.⁵⁷ Arthur Nickson passed away in 1989; Vi Nickson, D.C. is *Director Emeritus* of the AHC. The Logan College Archives continues today under the supervision of alumnus Allen Parry, D.C.

In the early 1970s California chiropractor L. Ted Frigard, already well known to the profession for his writings on whiplash (e.g.,⁵⁸), sought to capture the imagination of the profession with his efforts to stimulate a movie on the early history of chiropractic. Frigard organized the Chiropractic Documentary Film Corporation and inter-

ested one of his patients, producer-actor Patrick McGoohan,⁵⁹ known for his work on television (*Secret Agent; The Prisoner*) and film (e.g., *Ice Station Zebra*), in directing and starring in the “documentary”.⁶⁰ Plans were made for some of the filming to take place at Palmer College and on other chiropractic school campuses, and Frigard looked to the profession for financial support of the project. A quarter million dollars, he suggested, would enable the profession to put its story, tentatively entitled “Healing Hands,” before television and movie audiences.⁶¹ Frigard and McGoohan visited Palmer College to meet with Dave Palmer, D.C. and his executive committee.⁶² However, the project never came to fruition.

Most if not all chiropractic college libraries maintain at least a small collection of historical books and documents. For many this amounts to little more than a closet where the “old stuff” is kept. However, several schools in North America have made a greater commitment to historical preservation and display. Relatedly, during 1908 through 1983 the American Medical Association amassed and organized chiropractic and other alternative medicine literature, and has published a hard-bound catalogue of its collection.⁶³ Several of the more important archival and display centers are noted in Table 14. As well, the Chiropractic Library Consortium (CLIBCON) has offered a review of chiropractic college historical collections in Canada and the United States.⁶⁴ The non-profit web-site (www.chiro.org) maintains a digital collection of historical notes and scanned images which may be viewed and downloaded.

Birth of the AHC

Credit for the conception and birth of the AHC rests primarily with four individuals: William S. Rehm, D.C. (founding president), Fern L. Dzaman (publisher/editor of *Who's Who in Chiropractic*), Russ Gibbons (founding editor of *Chiropractic History*) and Vern Gielow (biographer of D.D. Palmer). Less directly, credit for the motivation to form the society derives from the International Chiropractors' Association (ICA), its former executive director, Bruce Nordstrom, D.C., and an archivist at the Smithsonian Institute. Rehm, a graduate of the National College who interned at Spears Hospital in the 1950s, has related that the “ICA was completely responsible for the exhibit” of chiropractic’s saga, which opened to the public in 1980⁶⁵ at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of



Figure 20 Founders of the Association for the History of Chiropractic; from *Chiropractic History* 1981

American History. Concerned that the exhibit focused almost exclusively on the early story of the Palmers, Rehm approached Dr. Nordstrom to share his misgivings about the incompleteness of the display, and to suggest the addition of information about Leo Spears, D.C. Nordstrom referred the soon-to-be founding father to Dr. Edward Jackson, curator of the museum. When Jackson inquired whether the profession had an historical society, Rehm replied “Yes. It’s being organized right now”.⁶⁵ A few months later, on 18 October 1980, a group of 15 met at Spears Hospital in Denver to establish the new organization.

Several of these folks had already made significant contributions to the profession. Rehm was editor of his state society’s journal in Maryland. Fern Dzaman had commenced her biographical work on the profession in the early 1970s. She organized and copyrighted the first edition of *Who’s Who in Chiropractic, International, 1976–78* in 1977. The second, expanded edition⁵³ included Russ Gibbons’ treatise, “The rise of the chiropractic educational establishment, 1897–1980” and Bill Rehm’s “Necrology”.⁶⁶ The necrology provides extensive biographical information on deceased members of the profession, which Rehm had solicited from far and wide through the pages of the *Digest of Chiropractic Economics*:

Historical data sought

Do you know about these chiropractic pioneers – where and when they were born and died, their educational backgrounds, their foremost contributions: George S. Blogett, Charles R. Bunn, A.P. Davis, Alva Gregory, Craig Kightlinger, Solon Langworthy, Joy Loban, Frank Margetts, George H. Patchen, Lenora Paxton, Warren L. Sausser, Oakley Smith, Lewis Trubenbach, W.T. Pruitt, J. Robinson Verner, Alfred Walton???

The editors of WHO’S WHO IN CHIROPRACTIC would like to know.

Those named above are just a sampling of the chiropractic notables about whom biographical data is being sought for inclusion in the new edition of the book.

Fern L. Dzaman, publisher and editorial director, is requesting individual doctors of chiropractic, state associations and their auxiliaries to assist in this endeavor aimed at helping to preserve and record the profession’s history. She hopes that the worthiness and timeliness of the project will be recognized. “We are heartsick whenever told



Figure 21 Russell W. Gibbons, circa 1981

that historical records are lost or have been discarded because somebody didn’t recognize their worth.”

Data on eminent deceased leaders from every state and Canadian province is sought. Information submitted can be in the form of published materials from journals, reference books, yearbooks, newspapers and personally written narratives.

The new edition of WHO’S WHO, to be dedicated to the ‘deceased notables of chiropractic,’ is tentatively scheduled for publication in late 1979. Participating in its preparation are, among others, Russell W. Gibbons and Eleanor Blaurock-Busch, both well-known writers on chiropractic.

Contributions of data or requests for additional information should be directed to WHO’S WHO IN CHIROPRACTIC INTERNATIONAL...⁶⁷

Another AHC co-founder, Leonard Fay, D.C., was executive vice president of the National College of Chiropractic, and had played a significant role as president of the Council on Chiropractic Education in 1974, when the accrediting agency was first recognized by the U.S. Office of Education. Canadians A. Earl Homewood, D.P.T., D.C., N.D., LL. B. and Herbert K. Lee, D.C. were among the original faculty (in 1945) at the CMCC. Homewood, a 1942 alumnus of Western States College, subsequently served as president of the CMCC, as business administrator for the Lincoln Chiropractic College, and as dean and president of the LACC.⁶⁸ Dr. Lee, who is now *professor emeritus* at CMCC and president of the Canadian Chiropractic Historical Association (sister society to the AHC), has continued to teach at the Toronto institution. Joseph E.

Maynard, D.C. and Richard C. Schafer, D.C. are well-known chiropractic authors (e.g.,^{69–72}). The late Ernest G. Napolitano, D.C. is well remembered as the long-time president (1959–1985) of the Columbia Institute of Chiropractic, later renamed the New York Chiropractic College. He was serving as the third president of the AHC at the time of his death in 1985.⁷³



Figure 22
Dr. John Willis

Since its inception, the two most important functions of the AHC have been the organization of an annual history conference (see Table 1) and the publication of its periodical. Much of the success of the AHC's journal goes to its founder and editor (from 1981 through 1995), Russ Gibbons. *Chiropractic History* has become the most extensive forum for periodical literature regarding chiropractic history. Gibbons' efforts have been admirably continued by the current editor, John C. Willis, M.A., D.C. Much of the work and activities of the society are documented in the pages of *Chiropractic History* and a few other sources (e.g.,^{74–76}), and need not be repeated here.

Contributors, supporters and affiliates

In its 20 years of operations the AHC has drawn administrative talent (see Table 15) and financial support from a variety of sources. The dues of the society (currently US\$50/year; US\$20/year for students) are an important source of funding, but membership has been difficult to sustain. An all time high of 724 dues-paying members was noted in 1988,⁷⁷ but the roster of the AHC (and its affiliates) has hovered between 350 and 450 members during most of the past decade. Most members of the AHC are chiropractors; in 1992 the heaviest concentrations of mem-

bers (20 or more per jurisdiction) were found in California, Iowa, Maryland, New York, and Ontario.⁷⁵ Fortunately, additional sources of support have been forthcoming.



Figure 23
Dr. Louis Sportelli,
circa 1990



Figure 24
Dr. Arlan W. Fuhr,
1987

The various chiropractic colleges which have co-sponsored the AHC's annual Conference on Chiropractic History (see Table 1) are noteworthy for their financial aid, especially given that low attendance has sometimes produced a net financial loss. The Association of Chiropractic Colleges deserves mention as a repeated co-sponsor of paper sessions at the AHC conferences and at their own annual convention, and as one of several major financial supporters of the AHC (see Table 16). The National Chiropractic Mutual Insurance Company has been the greatest single contributor to the AHC's coffers. The AHC is grateful also to *Dynamic Chiropractic* for its many in kind contributions, most especially its creation and co-management of the Association's website (www.chirohistory.org). A partnering arrangement with the National Institute of Chiropractic Research (NICR) has provided up to \$1,000 in annual prize money for the best student history paper presented at the AHC conferences. The NICR also operates a fund for chiropractic historical research and preservation efforts, and has made a number of small grants (less than US\$2,000) to several AHC members to assist in their scholarly projects.

The AHC's affiliates include the Australian chapter of the AHC (AHC-A) and the Canadian Chiropractic History Association (CCHA). The AHC-A was organized in 1991 in Sydney by Rolf E. Peters, D.C., Mary Ann Chance,



Figure 25 Dr. Herbert J. Vear, 1995.

D.C., Stanley P. Bolton, D.C., Dennis Richards, D.C., David Byrne, D.C., James Maxwell, D.C. and Peter Cowie, D.C.⁷⁸ The CCHA was chartered in January 1993 by Donald C. Sutherland, D.C., Herbert J. Vear, D.C. and James L. Watkins, D.C. The new society held its first board meeting on 15 May 1993. Elected as officers were

Herbert K. Lee, D.C., president, Dr. Sutherland, vice president, and Dr. Watkins, secretary.⁷⁹ Members of the AHC-A and the CCHA receive *Chiropractic History* as a membership benefit. Not accidentally, the *Chiropractic Journal of Australia* and the *Journal of the Canadian Chiropractic Association* have become frequent publishers of scholarly works in chiropractic history, although neither periodical is formally affiliated with the AHC.

Conclusion

Historical scholarship in chiropractic has a lengthy tradition dating to the first few decades of the profession, and there has accumulated a substantial literature of story-telling and analysis in the form of books and journal articles. However, these efforts have been sporadic. It is only in the last quarter century that systematic and sustained efforts to discover, preserve and disseminate the saga of chiropractic have become apparent. Growth in interest and membership in historical societies in Australia, Canada and the United States has been difficult to accomplish. Development of organized efforts to promote historical scholarship in other regions of the world has yet to emerge. Several

Table 15
Presidents and executive directors of the Association for the History of Chiropractic

William S. Rehm, D.C., <i>President</i> , 1980–82 (Maryland)	Alana Callender, M.S., <i>Executive Director</i> , 1990–95 (Iowa)
Herbert K. Lee, D.C., <i>President</i> , 1982–85 (Ontario)	Arnold Goldschmidt, D.C., <i>President</i> , 1993–1995 (New York)
William S. Rehm, D.C., <i>Executive Director</i> , 1984–90 (Maryland)	Joseph C. Keating, Jr., Ph.D., <i>President</i> , 1995 (California)
Ernest G. Napolitano, D.C., <i>President</i> , 1985 (New York)	Alana Callender, M.S., <i>President</i> , 1995–98 (Iowa)
Russell W. Gibbons, <i>President</i> , 1985–86 (Pennsylvania)	Glenda Wiese, M.A., <i>Executive Director</i> , 1995–2000 (Iowa)
Leonard E. Fay, D.C., N.D., <i>President</i> , 1986–89 (Illinois)	Mildred Kimbrough, D.C., <i>President</i> , 1998–2000 (Georgia)
William S. Rehm, D.C., <i>President</i> , 1989–90 (Maryland)	P. Reginald Hug, D.C., <i>President</i> , 2000– (Alabama)
Herbert J. Vear, D.C., F.C.C.S.(C), <i>President</i> , 1990–93 (Ontario)	Alana Callender, M.S., <i>Executive Director</i> , 2000– (Iowa)

Table 16
Major contributors (\$1,000 or more) to the Association for the History of Chiropractic, 1985–2000*

American Chiropractic Association	Connecticut Chiropractic Association	National Chiropractic Mutual Insurance Company
Association of Chiropractic Colleges	George T. Fleet, Jr.	Louis Sportelli, D.C.
Melvin Belli	International Chiropractors' Association	Sidney E. Williams, D.C.
Chiropractic Centennial Foundation	Life University (formerly Life Chiropractic College)	

*This list does not take into account those individuals and organizations whose cumulative contributions over the years may equal or exceed \$1,000

substantial archival resources for historical investigations are available, and merit greater scrutiny and support within the profession. It's time to bring the skeletons out of the closet.

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