

The Short Life & Enduring Influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930



Joseph C. Keating, Jr., Ph.D., *Professor*

Los Angeles College of Chiropractic

16200 E. Amber Valley Drive, P.O. Box 1166

Whittier CA 90609 USA

(310) 947-8755, ext. 633

E-mail: JCKeating@aol.com

filename: ACA 1922-30, 3/24/96

word count: 9,984

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Pamela Bjork, M.L.S. of the W.A. Budden Library, Jetta Nash, B.A. of the David D. Palmer Health Sciences Library and William S. Rehm, D.C. for their valuable input. Preparation of this paper was supported the National Institute of Chiropractic Research and the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic.

Outline:

Introduction

The Infant ACA

The Schism Widens

The ACA Matures

The Amalgamation

Conclusion

References

The Short Life & Enduring Influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930

Abstract

The American Chiropractic Association (ACA) of the 1920s is an ancestor of today's ACA. Established in 1922 as an alternative to B.J. Palmer's protective society, the Universal Chiropractors' Association (UCA), the ACA floundered under its first administration, but found its way when Frank R. Margetts, D.D., LL.B., D.C. was elected its second president in 1923. A skilled orator, Margetts toured the nation to rally support for the new society's policies and programs: independence from any school, higher educational standards, opposition to basic science legislation, national publicity, a clinical research program, and malpractice insurance and legal aid for its members. The ACA accepted straight and mixing chiropractors, but rejected applicants with only correspondence school diplomas. The ranks of the ACA grew after Palmer's 1924 introduction of the neurocalometer and the consequent decline in UCA membership. Following BJ's ouster from the UCA, the two societies commenced the lengthy negotiations for amalgamation which produced the National Chiropractic Association (NCA) in 1930. The NCA became today's ACA in 1963; the enduring influence of the 1920s ACA upon the present day ACA are considered.

Introduction

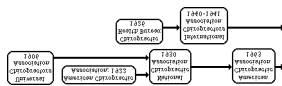
The present day American Chiropractic Association (ACA) is at least the fifth organization to bear that name. The first, apparently a derivative of the National Association of Chiropractic Doctors established by Daniel W. Reiland, D.C. and Solon M. Langworthy, D.C. in Minnesota circa 1905 (Gibbons, 1981a; 1993), was one of several would-be national societies operating in the state in that period (e.g., The United, 1906), and was a competitor of B.J. Palmer's Universal Chiropractors' Association (UCA). This first ACA seems to have continued as the Minnesota-ACA at least into the 1930s (Keating & Rehm, 1993; Minnesota, 1924; Putnam, 1935). The second ACA (see Table 1), organized in Oklahoma City circa 1911 (Cooley et al., 1911; Officers, 1911), functioned as an extension of Alva Gregory, M.D., D.C.'s Palmer-Gregory College of Chiropractic. This society may not have lasted much beyond August, 1913, at which time the Palmer-Gregory School merged (temporarily) with the St. Louis Chiropractic College in Missouri (Herrington, 1913).

Table 1: Officers of the Oklahoma City-based American Chiropractic Association in May, 1911 (Officers, 1911)

Executives	Directors	Publication Committee
Albert G. Dennis, D.C., <i>President</i> ;	Albert G. Dennis, D.C.;	Edward L. Cooley, D.C.;
C. Sterling Cooley, D.C., <i>First Vice-President</i> ;	Alva A. Gregory M.D., D.C.;	J. Shelby Riley, D.C., D.O.;
J. Shelby Riley, B.S., D.O., D.C., <i>Second Vice-President</i> ;	Edward L. Cooley, D.C.;	Albert G. Dennis, D.C.
Alva A. Gregory, M.D., D.C., <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	T.S. Starkey, D.C.;	
	P.E. Courtney, D.C.;	
	G.E. Elliott, D.C.;	
	Mrs. A.M. Gregory	

The fourth ACA, organized sometime in the early 1940s (Wernsing, 1963) and based in Hollywood, California, was a "non-profit, non-political corporation" which operated "in the interest of the advancement of the Science of Chiropractic and service to Chiropractors" (Willis, 1962). This group, whose influence seems not to have extended much beyond California, offered malpractice insurance to its members (About, 1962) and published a quarterly *ACA Journal* which included advertisements for chiropractic and naturopathic products. Perhaps this ACA's most famous officer was A.A. Wernsing, D.C., known to chiropractors for his work in upper cervical adjusting. The fifth and current ACA was created in 1963 (see Figure 1) through the merger of the National Chiropractic Association (NCA) and a splinter group from the International Chiropractors' Association (Griffin, 1988; Plamondon, 1993).

Figure 1: Sequence of organizations that became the International Chiropractors' Association (ICA) and today's American Chiropractic Association (ACA)



The third ACA, and the topic of this paper, was organized in Chicago in September, 1922. Impetus for the formation of this ACA derived from the activities of Palmer's UCA, which had established a National Board of Chiropractic Examiners (NBCE) in 1921 (no relation to today's NBCE) (Report, 1922; Turner, 1931, p. 168). Palmer (1931a, p. 5) aptly described the ACA as "born of opposition to the UCA and all it stood for.." Many chiropractors were particularly incensed by the UCA's "Cleaning House" policy (Julander, 1922):

The UCA has 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 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... (Report, 1922).

The UCA acted on this threat, and generated great hostility in the field (Fenner, 1963). Lyndon E. Lee, D.C., a Palmer graduate and president of the New York State Chiropractic Society (NYSCS), was furious when the local Palmer/UCA organization interfered with his society's efforts to obtain legislation in the Empire State:

The manner in which the U.C.A. invaded New York has so aroused the chiropractors of this state that the New York State Chiropractic Society actually shows a larger number of new members than it did last year and to prove further how sadly mistaken Dr. Palmer is, I point your attention to the fact that we have just closed the largest Convention which the State Society has held during my connection with the organization and that goes back for nearly nine years...

It always has been our desire to secure a bill which would permit a natural growth and development of chiropractic; which would establish it as a separate entity, clean and undefiled; impose proper educational standards upon chiropractic schools and allow graduates of these schools to be examined by a Board of Chiropractors. It is this unselfish policy of the New York State Chiropractic Society that has kept New York State open for you new chiropractors. The New York State Chiropractic Society, and that Society alone, is deserving of your thanks for the opportunity of continued practice here (Lee, 1923).

In New York, Nebraska and elsewhere the UCA insisted that only its "Model Bill" should be proposed to state legislatures. This draft legislation called for a restricted scope of practice definition which construed chiropractic as little more than "palpating and adjusting the articulations of the human spinal column by hand only" (Report, 1922). The model bill also restricted educational requirements for licensure to the 18-month curricular length offered at the Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC). BJ was explicit:

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 (Palmer, 1919d).

Many state societies complied with Palmer's and the UCA's edicts, but even in these jurisdictions individual protests were apparent (e.g., Rehm, 1980, pp. 302-3). The legislative issue was of great concern to the profession, since organized medicine had been vigorous in its prosecution of chiropractors, and licensing laws were an important means of avoiding jail. Indeed, historian Chittenden Turner (1931, pp. 292-3) noted that the first 30 years of chiropractic saw as many as 15,000 prosecutions for unlicensed practice. Although only 20% of these trials resulted in jail terms (Wardwell, 1992, p. 115), the failure of the "straights" and "mixers" to reach consensus in their legislative campaigns could have very serious consequences for practitioners in all states without legislation.

The Infant ACA

The ACA was formed on the motion of J. Lewis Fenner, D.C., then secretary of the NYSCS, to "organize a body free from any school domination" (Fenner, 1963a). The seminal meeting of the organization may have been held in Chicago or in New York City (Carver, 1936, p. 67), but the articles of incorporation for the ACA were filed in the state of Delaware on September 22, 1922 (Fenner, 1923; Delaware, 1943). Decades later National College graduate Vera B. Young, D.C. suggested that William C. Schulze, M.D., D.C., president of her alma mater from 1918 to 1936 (Keating & Rehm, 1995a&b), had had a hand in the ACA's formation (Young, 1983). This may have been so, but Schulze and all other college administrators and faculty were officially prohibited from holding office in the new national society, a fact that ACA widely and repeatedly proclaimed:

The by-laws of the A.C.A. provide that no one, connected with a Chiropractic school can hold an office or be elected to its directorate. On the other hand, the new organization is already supported enthusiastically by five of the leading schools and the support of the others is assured (Phillips, 1923).

and

A Few Reasons Why You should Join the ACA

It establishes a Chiropractic democracy.

It emphasizes agreement on fundamentals instead of differences over inconsequential.

It spreads Chiropractic fraternity.

It stands for protective legislation.
It protects Chiropractic legislation already secured.
It furnishes the means of closing 'diploma mills.'
The ACA is an organization composed of practicing Chiropractors.
It is NOT officered nor controlled by any school or special interest.
It furnishes a channel through which YOU may voice your ideas and have your vote count...
It advocates higher standards in school and practitioner's office...
It encourages worthy Chiropractic schools... ([Located, 1925](#)).

and

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. ([Sauer, 1925a](#)).

In his unpublished *History of Chiropractic*, Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C., founder and president of chiropractic schools in Oklahoma City, Denver, New York and Washington, D.C., remembered that the original intent had been to establish a federation of state organizations, "much on the order of the United States Congress" ([Carver, 1936](#), pp. 67-8). Failing this, the ACA was organized as a membership society which offered malpractice insurance and legal aid to its subscribers, and at a lower cost than that of the UCA ([Carver, 1936](#), pp. 68-9). Eventually, each state elected its own vice-president.

The ACA's determined independence from school leaders produced alienation among a few college presidents ([Fenner, 1924a](#)), but was strongly endorsed by the administrators of the Eastern Chiropractic Institute in New York City (precursor to the Chiropractic Institute of New York), the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic, the National College in Chicago, Ross Chiropractic College in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and the Universal Chiropractic College (UCC) of Pittsburgh. The journals published by these schools became outlets for ACA news releases. Willard Carver quickly lent his enthusiastic support to the new society, suggesting that "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" ([Carver, 1923](#)). Leo J. Steinbach, D.C., dean of the UCC, was appointed Director of the society's Research Bureau almost as soon as the ACA was established, and commenced publication of the *Bulletin of the Research Bureau of the American Chiropractic Association* in June, 1924 ([Keating et al., 1995](#)). Steinbach's successors as directors of research for ACA included John Monroe, M.A., D.C. of West Virginia, A.B. Chatfield, D.C. of the Chiropractic University in Washington, D.C. and Clarence W. Weiant, D.C., faculty member and later dean of the Eastern Chiropractic Institute.

The first president of the ACA was John P. Phillips, D.C. (see [Figure 2](#)), a UCC graduate who had just relocated from Tennessee to New York City. His service in this capacity was rather brief, however, owing to the failure of several promised financial supporters of the organization to follow through on their pledges ([Fenner, 1963a](#)). J. Lewis Fenner, D.C., the first secretary of the organization and another UCC graduate, was appointed to the position of "chief executive," and his private offices in Brooklyn, New York became the ACA's second headquarters ([Fenner, 1963a&b](#)). Fenner resigned in 1923 or 1924 when his authority as "chief executive" was challenged and his ouster demanded by the newly elected president, Frank R. Margetts, D.D., LL.B., D.C., Ph.C., whose nomination Fenner had secured ([Fenner, 1963a](#)).



Figure 2: John P. Phillips, D.C., first president of ACA; photo courtesy of the Palmer Archives (from the *Bulletin of the ACA* 1925 [June]; 2[5]: inside front cover)



Figure 3: Frank R. Margetts, D.D., LL.B., D.C., second president of the ACA; photo courtesy of the Palmer Archives (from the *Bulletin of the ACA* 1929 [Apr]; 6[2]: 2)

Margetts (see [Figure 3](#)), an ordained Baptist minister and 1893 graduate of the Chicago College of Law ([Rehm, 1980](#), pp. 305-6), was a 1920 graduate of the National College of Chiropractic, where he reportedly held a "Professorship of Symptomatology and Physical Diagnosis while yet a student" ([One, 1924](#)). He taught symptomatology and jurisprudence and functioned as "night clinic supervisor" at his chiropractic alma mater for two years while earning his "Ph.C." degree and while his wife completed her doctorate at the National ([Rehm, 1980](#), pp. 305-6). In 1922 the couple relocated to Denver, where Margetts established a practice and was soon elected president of the Colorado Chiropractic Association ([One, 1924](#)).

When approached by Fenner to take over the fledgling national society, he initially demanded that his position as president of the

ACA not interfere with his private practice. In later years, however, Margetts would abandon his practice to devote his full time to the organization, his salary guaranteed by the leaders of the Universal and National Colleges ([Fenner, 1963a](#)); this fact seems to belie the ACA's professed independence from any school. As traveling representative and pointman for the ACA he lectured throughout the nation.

His talks were characterized as energetic and as fostering a "brotherly feeling," and he attracted large crowds of chiropractors and laymen (Breach, 1924; Sauer, 1924a&b).

The Schism Widens

Margetts came to symbolize the ACA and its programs and policies in the same way that B.J. Palmer was synonymous with the UCA. While the UCA campaigned for low educational standards, Margetts pressed for better schools, liberal chiropractic legislation for unlicensed jurisdictions, acceptance of broad-scope and straight practitioners alike, and separation between the school leaders' authority and that of the membership society. Membership in the ACA was not available to correspondence school graduates, and the society prided itself on a better quality of chiropractor. B.J. Palmer, D.C., self-styled "Developer of Chiropractic," dismissed the ACA as "a playground for mixers who wanted the fruit of Chiropractic without earning the right to Chiropractic by helping to sustain it" (Palmer, 1931a, p. 5).

When Palmer introduced his spinal-heat-sensing device, the neurocalometer (NCM), at the 1924 homecoming of the PSC (Keating, 1991; Palmer, 1924), he further alienated many members of the profession, including straights and mixers. Palmer asserted that no chiropractor, himself included, could detect subluxations by palpation as well as the NCM detected them, and that further practice of chiropractic without an NCM was therefore unethical. BJ would not sell the device, but instead offered a ten-year lease of the instrument at the exorbitant price of \$2,200. He also threatened to sue anyone who attempted to market any similar instruments. Moreover, BJ heralded the NCM as a means of saving chiropractic from the mixers. President Margetts responded forcefully on the cover page of the ACA's newly founded *Bulletin*:

Does Chiropractic Need a Saviour?

by Dr. F.R. Margetts, *President*

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 have 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. It is true that it is menaced by foes within and foes without, but it cannot be destroyed. Its worth has been proven in hundreds of thousands of cases, and, if every friend it has were to repudiate it tomorrow, it would survive in spite of all.

Those who believe that its existence is dependent upon some saviour may be thought of in terms of the Scripture, "Oh, Ye of little faith." I have more confidence in its vitality. For chiropractic has decisively proven that it is healing truth, and truth once revealed so thoroughly can never again be hidden, much less destroyed.

"Truth crushed to earth, shall rise again.
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error, wounded, writhes in pain,
and dies among his worshippers."

Neither does chiropractic need a guardian, nor nurse. It requires no coddling. It is not a weak, puny infant. It is in sturdy manhood.

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, 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 that 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 standard 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 (Margetts, 1924).

Palmer's NCM campaign would accelerate the continuing decline in UCA membership (Hayes, 1931; Turner, 1931, p. 178), which had peaked at 5,000 in the early 1920s (Fenner, 1924b) and would fall to 1,500 by the end of the decade. As the UCA members fell away, membership in the ACA began to climb, eventually matching or exceeding the 1,500 remaining UCA members (Carver, 1936, pp. 67-9; Margetts, 1929a). Disaffection with BJ and the NCM would be widespread; it reached into the PSC's faculty (see Table 2) and precipitated the formation of the Lincoln Chiropractic College of Indianapolis in 1926 (Stowell, 1983). Although the Lincoln College maintained an official separation from any national organization, its founders remained loyal to the UCA and opposed to Palmer (Cleveland, 1926), particularly following BJ's ouster from the UCA in 1925. However, they also participated in ACA affairs (e.g., Sauer, 1927a).

Table 2: Faculty members of the Palmer School of Chiropractic who resigned following B.J. Palmer's introduction of the neurocalometer

Faculty Member	Years on Faculty:	Education & Scholarly Works
*James N. Firth, D.C., Ph.C.	1911-1925	graduate, Arenac County Normal College ('06); studied, Ferris Institute; DC (PSC '10), author, <i>Textbook on Chiropractic Symptomatology and Chiropractic Diagnosis</i>
*Harry E. Vedder, D.C., Ph.C.	1913-1926	high school graduate; DC (PSC '12), author, <i>Textbook on Chiropractic Physiology, Textbook on Chiropractic Gynecology and Chiropractic Advertising</i>
*Steven J. Burich, D.C., Ph.C.	1913-1926	graduate, Beloit College ('13); DC (PSC '13); author, <i>Textbook of Chiropractic Chemistry</i>
E.A. Thompson, D.C., Ph.C., <i>Director, Palmer X-Ray Laboratories</i>	1914-1925	DC (PSC '14), author, <i>Text of Chiropractic Spinography</i>
*Arthur G. Hinrichs, ¹ D.C., Ph.C.	1920-1925	studied, Butler University; DC (PSC '20), co-author, <i>X-Ray Technique & Spinal Misalignment Interpretation</i>

*Co-founder in 1926 of the Lincoln Chiropractic College, Inc. of Indianapolis

¹Dr. Hinrichs later changed his name to Hendricks

Dissatisfaction with Palmer, the NCM and the UCA spread to other college leaders who had previously supported BJ and his policies. Craig M. Kightlinger, M.A., D.C. (see [Figure 4](#)), founder and president of the New York City-based Eastern Chiropractic Institute, was no less a straight chiropractic advocate than was the Davenport leader, but felt compelled to resign as vice-president of the UCA in the wake of the NCM. His April, 1925 letter ([Kightlinger, 1925](#)) to the officers and board of directors of the UCA was published in the ACA's *Bulletin*:

Dear Sirs,

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, than 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 and 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.

Requesting that my resignation take effect at once, I am, Chiropractically yours,

Craig M. Kightlinger

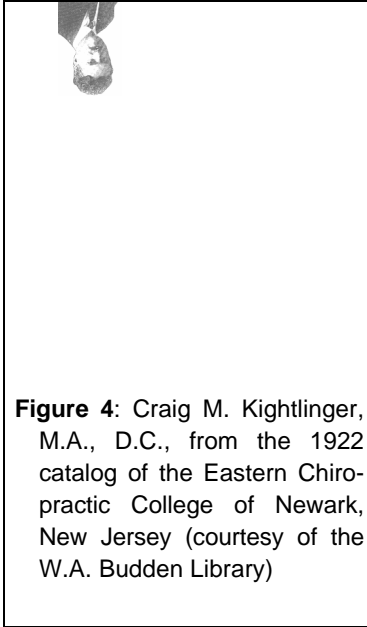


Figure 4: Craig M. Kightlinger, M.A., D.C., from the 1922 catalog of the Eastern Chiropractic College of Newark, New Jersey (courtesy of the W.A. Budden Library)

Kightlinger's departure from UCA "was said to hasten the merger of the UCA with the old ACA" ([Rehm, 1980](#), p. 298). It was followed by that of Tom Morris, LL.B., who had served as chief legal counsel to the UCA since its initial courtroom success in the trial of Shegataro Morikubo, D.C. in LaCrosse, Wisconsin in 1907 ([Rehm, 1986](#)). Despite BJ's plea that the attorney support the NCM program, Morris addressed the UCA's "tempestuous convention in Chicago, 1925" to express his dissatisfaction with the device, which he had 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 ([Turner, 1931](#), pp. 177-80).

Palmer made another bid for re-election as UCA secretary at the old protective society's August, 1926 convention. Failing in this, he founded the Chiropractic Health Bureau (CHB) on September 4, 1926 ([Metz, 1965](#), p. 55; [Turner, 1931](#)) and served as its first president until his death in 1961. (CHB

would be renamed the International Chiropractors' Association in 1940 or 1941.) Turner (1931, pp. 182-3) noted that Palmer's new society:

...organized in Davenport, Iowa, by Dr. Palmer, September 4, 1926, has gained strength 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.

Now there were three national organizations: the ACA, the CHB and the UCA. Soon there would be a fourth, for in the same month that the CHB was born, an International Congress of Chiropractic Examining Boards (ICCEB; a forerunner of today's Federation of Chiropractic Licensing Boards) was established at a Kansas City meeting of examining board representatives and school leaders (Cridler, 1936; Sauer, 1927b; Turner, 1931, p. 168). Unlike the ACA, CHB and UCA, the ICCEB had only institutional members, and did not compete with the national membership associations in the malpractice insurance business. Among its first concerns was the regulation of the chiropractic colleges:

Standard curricula was first brought to the fore by a resolution adopted by the International Congress of Chiropractic Examining Boards on Sept. 10, 1926, at Kansas City, wherein the schools and colleges were requested to form an organization as early as practical, and also that this association establish a standard curricula upon which the State Examining Boards could base their recognition (Cridler, 1936).

Palmer's departure from the UCA fostered a belief that unity could be created through the merger of the ACA and UCA (Minutes, 1926a&b, 1927). However, the established rivalry between the two groups, and perhaps the strong personalities of their respective leaderships, delayed the amalgamation for several more years. Decades later Fenner, ACA's first secretary, recalled that the society "did not unify the profession - was not intended to - but it was an important and necessary step in that direction..." (Fenner, 1963a).

The ACA Matures

The second secretary of the ACA was Benjamin A. Sauer, D.C., a 1914 Palmer graduate and lifelong resident of Syracuse, New York (Rehm, 1980, p. 291). When Sauer (see Figure 5) took over the office of ACA secretary vacated by Fenner in 1924-25, he also inherited the role of editor and publisher of the *Bulletin of the ACA*. During his service to the ACA he founded a patient magazine for the society, the *Lifeline*, which would continue under the NCA as *Healthways Magazine*. When the ACA merged with the UCA to form the NCA in 1930, Sauer continued as secretary of the new organization, and was the first editor of the *Journal of the National Chiropractic Association* (succeeded in 1933 by Loran M. Rogers, D.C.). In the mid-1930s he became an early and enthusiastic endorser of Hugh B. Logan, D.C.'s "Basic Technique," and served as a founding member and secretary-treasurer of the International Chiropractic



Figure 5: Benjamin A. Sauer, D.C.; photo courtesy of the Palmer Archives (from the *Bulletin of the ACA* 1925[Mar]; 2(2): inside front cover)

Research Foundation, a precursor of the Logan Basic College in St. Louis (Annual, 1934; News, 1934). When John Hurley, D.C., co-founder of Aquarian Age Healing (from which Basic Technique derived), accused Logan of theft of his ideas, Sauer came to Logan's defense (Sauer, 1934).

As ACA secretary Sauer helped to arrange the malpractice insurance protection that the new society offered its members (Sauer, 1925b), thereby maintaining its competitiveness with the UCA. He also served on the ACA Amalgamation Committee, established in 1927 to bring the ACA and UCA together (Margetts et al., 1927). Sauer's private offices in Syracuse became the headquarters of the ACA, and placed him at the hub of the society's activities. When he sought to step down in 1929, his resignation was rejected by the ACA's board of directors (Sauer, 1929). If Margetts is remembered as the pointman for the organization, Sauer was its anchor.



Figure 6: F. Lorne Wheaton, D.C. of New Haven CT, vice-president of the ACA; courtesy of the Palmer Archives (from the *Bulletin of the ACA* 1927 [Mar]; 4[2]: inside front cover)

The ACA's growth also brought several of its vice-presidents and directors (see [Table 3](#)) to national visibility within the profession. Among these was Canadian-born F. Lorne Wheaton, D.C., a 1916 graduate of the Universal Chiropractic College (see [Figure 6](#)). Wheaton taught briefly at his alma mater before enlisting in the U.S. Army during World War I ([Rehm, 1980](#), p. 297). After discharge from the service he established his practice in New Haven, Connecticut, where he became a close friend of the future NCA Director of Education, John J. Nugent, D.C. ([Gibbons, 1985](#)). Wheaton held most offices in the Connecticut Chiropractic Association, and for nine years served as a member of the state board of examiners in chiropractic. In the 1930s he was elected president of the NCA, and in 1944 was a co-founder of the Chiropractic Research Foundation ([Keating et al., 1995](#); [Rehm, 1980](#), p. 297), which evolved into today's Foundation for Chiropractic Education and Research.

The brothers Lee, both 1915 graduates of the PSC, became influential in the ACA. The elder brother, Lyndon, established his practice in Mount Vernon, New York, and worked ceaselessly for five decades to secure that state's 1963 licensing legislation ([Rehm, 1981](#)). In 1927 Lyndon Lee was elected ACA's first "Vice-President-at-Large" during the association's convention in Louisville. In 1929-30 Lee served as chair of the society's Committee on Schools and Scholarship. He loudly denounced the "rule or ruin policy of the Palmer-UCA combination" ([Lee, 1927](#)), but in 1930 he "was instrumental" in the ACA's merger with the UCA ([Association, 1983](#)). Lyndon Lee is fondly remembered as the first recipient (in 1981) of an honorary membership in the Association for the History of Chiropractic (AHC); the AHC's Lee-Homewood Heritage Award for lifetime contribution to chiropractic commemorates his many years of service to the profession.

The Short Life & Enduring Influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930

Table 3: Dates and locations of the annual convention, executive officers, vice-presidents and directors of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-30

Annual convention date & location	Executive officers	Vice-President(s)	Directors
Foundation meeting in Chicago? or New York? ; ACA incorporated on September 22, 1922 in Delaware	John P. Phillips, New York City, <i>President</i> ; J. Lewis Fenner, Brooklyn NY <i>Secretary</i> ; Seth A. Becker, New York City, <i>Treasurer</i>	Albert B. Cochrane, Chicago; Charles A. Gatter, Philadelphia; James T. McGranaghan, San Francisco; S.T. McMurrain, Dallas; E.H. Tunison, Brooklyn NY	C.A. Lenville, Massachusetts; Paul H. Strand, Youngstown OH; Francis X. Sauchelli, New York
1923, Chicago	Frank R. Margetts, Denver, <i>President</i> ; J. Lewis Fenner, <i>Secretary</i> , was succeeded by Benjamin A. Sauer, Syracuse NY, <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	?	?
1924, Atlantic City NJ	Frank R. Margetts, Denver, <i>President</i> ; Benjamin A. Sauer, Syracuse NY, <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	Albert B. Cochrane, Chicago; Peter N. Hanson, Wichita; S.T. McMurrain, Dallas; W.W. Tait, Berkeley CA	E.D. Argraves, Wisconsin; L.V. Gray, West Virginia; J.P. Phillips, New Jersey; Paul H. Strand, Youngstown OH; G.G. Wood, Minot ND; S.T. McMurrain, Dallas
July 24-26, 1925, Denver	Frank R. Margetts, Denver, <i>President</i> ; Benjamin A. Sauer, Syracuse NY, <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	Charles R. Bunn, Denver; L.V. Gray, West Virginia; M. James McGranaghan, San Francisco; W.W. Tait, Berkeley CA	E.D. Argraves, Wisconsin; S.T. McMurrain, Dallas; Paul H. Strand, Youngstown OH; Guy G. Wood, Minot ND
July 7-11, 1926, Milwaukee	Frank R. Margetts, Denver, <i>President</i> ; Benjamin A. Sauer, Syracuse NY, <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	E.E. Clark (DC, MD), Atlanta; J.H. Durham, Louisville KY; Lyndon E. Lee, Mt. Vernon NY; W.W. Tait, Berkeley CA; F. Lorne Wheaton, New Haven CT	Peter N. Hanson, Wichita; Ruland W. Lee, Newark; S.T. McMurrain, Dallas; Paul H. Strand, Youngstown OH; Guy G. Wood, Minot ND
July 11-16, 1927, Louisville KY	Frank R. Margetts, Denver, <i>President</i> ; Benjamin A. Sauer, Syracuse NY, <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	Lyndon E. Lee, <i>Vice-President-at-Large</i> , Mt. Vernon NY, plus 41 state vice-presidents, including James Compton, Sacramento CA; F. Lorne Wheaton, New Haven CT; A.B. Cochrane, Chicago; Harry K. McIlroy, Indianapolis; Anna M. Foy, Topeka; J.A. Ohlson, Louisville KY; E.A. Thompson, Baltimore; J.N. Monroe, Wheeling WV	Peter N. Hanson, Wichita; Wilbern Lawrence, Meridian MS; Ruland W. Lee, Newark; S.T. McMurrain, Dallas; Paul H. Strand, Youngstown OH
1928, Yellowstone National Park	Frank R. Margetts, Denver, <i>President</i> ; Benjamin A. Sauer, Syracuse NY, <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	N.A. Jepson, <i>Vice-President-at-Large</i> , Seattle, plus 41 state vice-presidents, including C.L. Fishback, Fresno CA	B.F. Gilman, Brooklyn NY; Peter N. Hanson, Wichita; Wilbern Lawrence, Meridian MS; Ruland W. Lee, Newark; Paul H. Strand, Youngstown OH
July 1-6, 1929, Buffalo NY	Frank R. Margetts, Denver, <i>President</i> , resigns and replaced by Albert B. Cochrane, Chicago, <i>President</i> ; Benjamin A. Sauer, Syracuse NY, <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	Cecil E. Foster, <i>Vice-President-at-Large</i> , Jacksonville FL plus 39 state vice-presidents, including C.L. Tennant, Detroit; Stanley Hayes, Princeton WV	C.W. Campbell, Spokane; B.F. Gilman, Brooklyn NY; Peter N. Hanson, Wichita; Wilbern Lawrence, Meridian MS; Ruland W. Lee, Newark; S.T. McMurrain, Dallas; Paul H. Strand, <i>Chairman</i> , Youngstown

		OH
July 14-18, 1930, Cincinnati	Albert B. Cochrane, Chicago, ? <i>President</i> ; Benjamin A. Sauer, Syracuse NY, <i>Secretary</i> - <i>Treasurer</i>	B.F. Gilman, Brooklyn NY; Peter N. Hanson, Wichita; Wilbern Lawrence, Meridian MS; Ruland W. Lee, Newark; Paul H. Strand, <i>Chairman</i> , Youngstown OH

Ruland W. Lee, D.C. (see [Figure 7](#)) practiced in Newark, New Jersey throughout his career, and "was identified with passage of the state's two chiropractic licensing laws" ([Rehm, 1980](#), pp. 293-4). He was appointed "Assistant to the Chair of Chiropractic Philosophy" at the Eastern Chiropractic Institute in Newark in 1922 by Craig M. Kightlinger, M.A., D.C., who was chairman of the school's Philosophy Department ([Eastern, 1922](#)), but presumably did not continue on the faculty after 1923, when the Institute was relocated to New York City. Lee was first elected to the ACA's board of directors at the society's 1926 convention in Milwaukee, and participated in the joint ACA/UCA meeting in 1930 in Chicago which gave rise to the NCA. He served on the first board of directors of the NCA, and in 1934 succeeded Lillard T. Marshall, D.C. to become the second president of the new organization ([Keating, 1993](#); [Lee, 1934](#)).



Figure 7: Ruland W. Lee, D.C. of Newark NJ, Director of the ACA; courtesy of the Palmer Archives (from the *Bulletin of the ACA* 1927 [June 15]; 4[4]: 4)

Thirty-nine states had passed licensing laws for chiropractors by 1927 ([Legislatively, 1927](#)). Educational standards for licensing varied among jurisdictions from 18 to 27 months or more of instruction, and admissions standards (e.g., high school graduation or equivalency) were prescribed in a number of statutes. B.J. Palmer believed that it was his prerogative to set school standards. By virtue of the Davenport institution's preeminence in training the overwhelming majority of chiropractors, the PSC's 18-month program set a de facto standard which did not prepare students to meet licensing criteria in many states. Although he opposed correspondence programs and claimed, falsely, that the Palmer School had never offered such, he insisted that 18 months of training should be a maximum requirement for licensure. On at least one occasion (Nebraska in 1923) Palmers' followers were successful in their efforts to have educational requirements for licensure lowered ([Resolution, 1924](#)).

The ACA's growing concerns for the improvement of chiropractic education and the suppression of correspondence schools received a boost on April 17, 1925 when West Virginia passed a "law which provides that a Chiropractor to be eligible for examination to practice his profession in the State of West Virginia must be a graduate of a chiropractic school or college recognized by the American

Chiropractic Association" (Sauer, 1925c). The bill called for a 24-month curriculum ("3 of 8"), high school equivalency as an admissions standard for chiropractic students, and examination by a composite healing arts board comprised of chiropractors and medical physicians (Monroe, 1925). The West Virginia bill foreshadowed the authority that would be vested in the Council on Chiropractic Education (CCE) 50 years later, when federal recognition of CCE prompted many states to require graduation from a CCE-accredited school as a condition for licensure. However, just as the ACA was staking its claim to leadership in chiropractic education, the threat of "Basic Science" was introduced by organized medicine.

Basic science laws were first introduced in Wisconsin and Connecticut during 1925 (Gevitz, 1988; Sauer, 1932). These statutes required that applicants for examination and licensure in the healing arts (chiropractic, medicine, naturopathy, osteopathy, etc.) first pass an examination in subjects such as anatomy, physiology, pathology and microbiology. These tests were administered by separate boards, typically comprised of basic science faculty from university departments of biology, and not infrequently faculty members from medical schools. Sauer noted that the first (unsuccessful) attempts to pass such legislation occurred in Wisconsin in 1921 and 1923; he credited William C. Woodward, Executive Secretary of the American Medical Association's (AMA's) Bureau of Legal Medical and Legislation as the "author of what they term the model Basic Science bill, after which all Basic Science legislation is patterned" (Sauer, 1932). The wording of Connecticut's 1925 basic science legislation was reluctantly crafted by John J. Nugent, D.C., future NCA director of education, as a compromise to sustain licensure for chiropractors in that state (Cleveland, 1949).

Gevitz (1988) attributes the introduction of basic science laws to "the unsuccessful battle by orthodox physicians to prevent these groups [chiropractors and osteopaths] from obtaining legal standing, rights and privileges." Basic science exams as a "gatekeeping mechanism" extended over the next five decades, and produced their desired effects. Exemplary was the impact of the basic science legislation introduced in Nebraska in 1928, which prevented further licensing of chiropractors until 1950 (Metz, 1965, p. 100; Nebraskan, 1950). Although successful in obtaining chiropractic licensing by convincing legislatures that medicine should not hold a monopoly in the healing arts, chiropractors were usually unable to counter organized medicine's assertion that basic science examinations and competence were fair and reasonable minimum standards for all health care practitioners.

In 1927, at the urging of Willard Carver and perhaps in response to the growing threat of basic science legislation, a "Chiropractic Educational Institutions Board of Counselors" (Schools, 1928), comprised of the deans of chiropractic colleges, was established at the ACA's 1927 convention in Louisville (Sauer, 1927a). Homer G. Beatty, D.C., N.D. of the Denver Chiropractic University served as chairman, Linnie A. Cale, D.O., D.C., N.D., dean of the Los Angeles College was secretary, and

Carver served as "marshall" (School, 1928a). The Board of Counselors soon earned the approval of W.A. Budden, D.C., N.D., dean of the National College, James R. Drain, D.C., dean of Texas Chiropractic College, Sinai Gershanek, D.C., dean of the American School of Chiropractic in New York City, and W.H. Jobe, dean of the Akron College of Chiropractic (Voice, 1928). The ACA's Board met annually (School, 1930), but despite the promptings of some college leaders (e.g., Haring, 1925), the idea of standardizing and raising chiropractic educational standards seems not to have proceeded beyond the discussion stage. In this early period of resistance to basic science laws, the National College was among the few institutions which chose to meet the threat by significantly improving facilities and course offerings (Keating & Rehm, 1995a; National, 1928). The ACA did establish an endowment committee to raise funds for the "aid of schools of non-profit character recognized by them as worthy" (Sauer, 1928; School, 1928b). Very few schools of that day would have been able to meet the non-profit stipulation.

Table 4: Radio stations participating in the American Chiropractic Association's weekly *Life Line* broadcast series (Bulletin, 1930)

KOA, Denver CO	KYW, Chicago IL	WSYR, Syracuse NY	WTNT, Nashville TN	KOH, Reno NV
WJR, Detroit MI	WOV, New York NY	WGR, Buffalo NY	KGIR, Butte MT	KFI, Los Angeles CA

The ACA's national publicity efforts were somewhat more successful. In addition to Margetts' nationwide lecture tours, the society published a widely disseminated patient magazine, the *Life Line*, which would be continued by the NCA in the 1930s (Keating & Rehm, 1993). Beginning in April, 1930 the *Life Line* magazine was reinforced by a nationwide *Life Line* radio program (see Table 4). The ACA obtained the cooperation of a number of chiropractic colleges, which provided faculty members to make these "radio talks." Among these were the Carver Chiropractic College of Oklahoma City, Denver Chiropractic University, Eastern Chiropractic Institute, the Lincoln Chiropractic College of Indianapolis, Missouri Chiropractic College in St. Louis, the O'Neil-Ross College in Ft. Wayne, Texas Chiropractic College, the Universal Chiropractic College in Pittsburgh, and even the PSC (The radio, 1930).

The Amalgamation

As the 1920s drew to a close the leaderships of the ACA and UCA increased their efforts to create a larger, unified society which would represent the rank and file of the profession, and would stand in opposition to Palmer's and the CHB's policies. By 1930 a number of state associations had officially affiliated with the ACA, including societies in Alabama, California, Colorado, Idaho, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee, Washington, and Wyoming (Affiliated, 1930).

Tom Morris, LL.B., the UCA's longtime chief legal counsel, who had expressed reservations about an ACA/UCA merger ([Amalgamation, 1927](#)), died in September, 1928 ([Palmer, 1928](#)). His passing was followed by an increase in favorable comments about ACA and UCA in each societies' respective publications. Six months later Frank Margetts announced his resignation as ACA president, but continued to work behind the scenes for the ACA/UCA merger. Margetts was succeeded by Albert B. Cochrane, D.C. (see [Figure 8](#)), a former president of the National Federation of Chiropractors and a founding member and state vice-president of the ACA.



Figure 8: Albert B. Cochrane, D.C. of Chicago, ACA President, 1929-30; courtesy of the Palmer Archives (from the *Bulletin of the ACA* 1929 [Oct]; 6[5]: 1)

Cochrane's presidency may have been more ceremonial than substantive, since it was Margetts rather than Cochrane who met at Lexington, Kentucky in September, 1930 with UCA president C.E. Schillig, D.C. and Lillard T. Marshall, D.C. to hammer out the details of the proposed merger ([Rehm, 1980](#), p. 291). Marshall, a founding member and former president of the Kentucky Association of Chiropractors (KAC),

and chairman of the KAC's Legislative Committee, was also serving as president of his state's Board of Chiropractic Examiners, and was a member of the governing board of the ICCEB. Marshall was also a founding member and trustee of the American Society of Chiropractors, an ecumenical group of straights and mixers which sought to mount a nationwide fund-raising campaign for chiropractic publicity ([Nash & Keating, 1993](#)).

Table 5: Participants in the October, 1930 amalgamation meeting in Chicago which produced the National Chiropractic Association

Members of ACA's Board of Directors	Members of UCA's Board of Directors
Paul Strand, D.C., Youngstown OH	J.H. Durham, D.C., Louisville KY
Wilbern Lawrence, D.C., Meridian MS	A.W. Schweitert, D.C., Sioux Falls SD
P.N. Hanson, D.C., Wichita KS	J.H. Legge, D.C., San Antonio TX
Ruland W. Lee, D.C., Newark NJ	G.M. Guyselman, D.C., Jackson MI
B.F. Gilman, D.C., Brooklyn NY	T.W. Snyder, D.C., Shamokin PA

On October 3, 1930 the directors of the ACA and UCA (see [Table 5](#)) met at the LaSalle Hotel in Chicago and finalized arrangements for the NCA. The two boards combined to form the first governing body of the NCA. It was agreed the UCA president Schillig and ACA's Cochrane would step aside. Marshall, who served as chairman of the meeting, was elected the first president of the NCA ([Rehm,](#)

1980, p. 291), Cecil E. Foster, D.C. of Florida its first vice-president, and Lee E. Fuller, D.C. was elected the new organization's treasurer (Rehm, 1980, pp. 282-3). B.A. Sauer, the ACA's secretary, assumed this role in the ACA. On November 17, 1930 the NCA was incorporated in the state of Delaware (Delaware, 1943); the new organization assumed all of the assets and liabilities of the ACA and UCA.

Conclusion

Ninety years ago B.J. Palmer established what would become the largest and most enduring national society of chiropractors of its day, the UCA (1906-1930). Seventy-four years ago the ACA (1922-1930) was formed as an alternative to the BJ-dominated UCA, its "model bill" and its "house cleaning" policies. However, the UCA rejected its founder in 1925 and 1926, and sought unification with its mixer-tolerant, school-independent rival, the ACA. The product of this amalgamation, the NCA, would merge again in 1963 with a splinter group from Palmer's CHB (renamed ICA) to form the present ACA. On the surface, at least, the consistent theme of this organizational embryology seems to be opposition to B.J. Palmer and his policies. Then (1922-30) as now, however, a minority of chiropractors belonged to any national chiropractic group.

The lingering influence of this anti-Palmer trend is still seen in chiropractic national organizations in the United States today. Although the 1920s ACA and its descendants, NCA and today's ACA, rejected BJ's leadership, they adopted his extravagant advertising style, and perpetuated his tradition of making unsubstantiated claims for the value of chiropractic care. The Palmer imprint upon today's ACA may also be seen in the society's prohibition against full membership (the right to vote and to hold elected office in ACA) unless the member is in at least half-time private practice. This requirement, which disenfranchises most chiropractor-college faculty members, may be seen as a continuing reaction against BJ's school-domination of professional affairs. The on-going influence of the 1920s ACA is also seen in the sustained commitment to higher educational standards manifest in the NCA's and later the present ACA's struggle to improve chiropractic education and to establish federal accreditation for the schools. The earlier ACA's malpractice insurance function, patterned initially after the service provided by Morris and the UCA, would be vested in a separate corporate agency when the NCA leadership founded the National Chiropractic Mutual Insurance Company at the end of World War II.

The ACA of the 1920s was not, as Fenner (1963a) suggested, a unity movement in the sense that its successors, NCA and today's ACA, were. Yet the organization provided an important intermediate step on the road to the unification efforts of 1930, 1963 (Griffin, 1988) and the mid-1980s (Plamondon, 1993). Its legacy is all that chiropractic organization has accomplished and failed to accomplish since the end of ACA's short-life, 1922-1930.

The Short Life & Enduring Influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930

References:

- About your malpractice protection. *American Chiropractic Association Journal* 1962 (Jan/Mar); 4(1): 7
- Affiliated. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1930 (Apr); 7(2): inside front cover
- Amalgamation fact. *Supplement to the Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1927 (Mar); 4(2): whole issue
- Annual convention of the International Chiropractic Research Foundation. *The Chiropractic Journal* (NCA) 1934 (Oct); 3(10): 18
- Association notes: Lyndon Edmund Lee, D.C., 1887-1983. *Chiropractic History* 1983; 3: 7
- Biggs L. *No bones about chiropractic? The quest for legitimacy by the Ontario chiropractic profession: 1895 to 1985*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Behavioural Sciences, University of Toronto, 1989
- Breach CO. Letter to J.L. Fenner. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1924 (Aug); 1(3): 11
- Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1930 (Apr 1); 7(2): 7, back cover
- Carver W. Letter to T.F. Ratledge, D.C., June 27, 1923 (Ratledge papers, Stockton Foundation for Chiropractic Research)
- Carver W. *History of chiropractic*, unpublished, circa 1936
- Cleveland CS. Letter to S.L. Ashworth, D.C., August 10, 1926 (Ashworth papers, Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City)
- Cleveland CS, Jr. Letter to B.J. Palmer, "Quoting - Dr. John Nugent at Cleveland Chiropractic College, Homcoming, 1949" (Cleveland papers, Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City)
- Cooley EL, Riley JS, Dennis AG. The editor's chair. *The American Drugless Healer* 1911 (May); 1(1): 16-7
- Crider WF. Accredited colleges: definite action on standard curricula. *The Chiropractic Journal* (NCA) 1936 (Jan); 5(1):10, 36, 38, 40
- Delaware Secretary of State. Letter to Cleveland Chiropractic College, September 28, 1943 (Cleveland papers, Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City)
- Eastern College of Chiropractic, catalogue*. Newark NJ: the College, 1922 (Western States Chiropractic College, Library Archives)
- Fenner JL. Some A.C.A. facts. *National (College) Journal of Chiropractic* 1923 (May); 10(10): 19-20
- Fenner JL. Editorial: proud of it - but sorry. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1924a (Sept); 1(4): 4
- Fenner JL. Editorial: UCA seeing light? *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1924b (Sept); 1(4): 3, 6
- Fenner JL. Letter to Stanley Hayes, D.C., January 19, 1963a (Collected papers of Stanley Hayes)
- Fenner JL. Letter to Stanley Hayes, D.C., March 9, 1963b (Collected papers of Stanley Hayes)
- Gevitz N. "A coarse sieve"; basic science boards and medical licensure in the United States. *Journal of the History of Medicine & Allied Sciences* 1988; 43: 36-63
- Gibbons RW. Solon Massey Langworthy: keeper of the flame during the 'lost years' of chiropractic. *Chiropractic History* 1981a; 1:14-21
- Gibbons RW. Chiropractic's Abraham Flexner: the lonely journey of John J. Nugent, 1935-1963. *Chiropractic History* 1985; 5: 44-51
- Gibbons RW. Minnesota, 1905: who killed the first chiropractic legislation? *Chiropractic History* 1993 (June); 13(1): 26-32
- Griffin LK. Merger almost: the ICA unity efforts and formation of the American Chiropractic Association. *Chiropractic History* 1988 (Dec); 8(2): 18-22
- Hayes S. The future of chiropractic. *Bulletin of the West Virginia Chiropractors' Society* 1931 (May/June); 3(6): 1-10
- Harring HC. A solution. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1925 (June); 2(5): 8
- Herrington EB. Consolidated. *The American Drugless Healer* 1913 (Aug); 3(4): 75-6

The Short Life & Enduring Influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930

- Julander SE. Letter "To the Iowa Chiropractors," October 26, 1922 (Cleveland papers, Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City)
- Keating JC. Introducing the neurocalometer: a view from the Fountain Head. *Journal of the Canadian Chiropractic Association* 1991 (Sept); 35(3): 165-78
- Keating JC. At the crossroads: the National Chiropractic Association celebrates chiropractic's fortieth anniversary. *Chiropractic Technique* 1993 (Nov); 5(4): 152-67
- Keating JC, Green BN, Johnson CD. "Research" and "science" in the first half of the chiropractic century. *Journal of Manipulative & Physiological Therapeutics* 1995 (July/Aug); 18(6): 357-78
- Keating JC, Rehm WS. The origins and early history of the National Chiropractic Association. *Journal of the Canadian Chiropractic Association* 1993 (Mar); 37(1): 27-51
- Keating JC, Rehm WS. William C. Schulze, M.D., D.C. (1870-1936): from mail-order mechano-therapists to scholarship and professionalism among drugless physicians, Part I. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia* 1995a (Sept); 25(3): 82-92
- Keating JC, Rehm WS. William C. Schulze, M.D., D.C. (1870-1936): from mail-order mechano-therapists to scholarship and professionalism among drugless physicians, Part II. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia* 1995b (Dec); 25(4): 122-8
- Kightlinger CM. Letter to the officers and board of directors of the UCA. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1925 (June); 2(5): 14
- Lee LE. Saving the bacon for New York State. *National (College) Journal of Chiropractic* 1923 (Oct); 11(2): 23-5
- Lee RW. The president's message to the chiropractic profession the world over! *The Chiropractic Journal* (NCA) 1934 (Sept); 3(9): 5
- Legislatively speaking: recent enactments pertaining to chiropractic. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1927 (June); 4(4): 3
- Located in the city of contentment... *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1925 (Sept); 2(8): 17
- Margetts FR. Does chiropractic need a saviour? *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1924 (Sept); 1(4): 1
- Margetts FR. To the members of the chiropractic profession. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1929a (Apr); 6(2): 1
- Margetts FR, Strand PH, Sauer BA. Amalgamation facts. *Supplement to the Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1927 (Mar); 4(2): 1-10
- Metz M. *Fifty years of chiropractic recognized in Kansas*. 1965, Shadinger-Wilson, Inc., Abilene, Kansas
- Minnesota branch, ACA, unites with the national organization. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1924 (Sept); 1(4): 8
- Minutes of the Kentucky Association of Chiropractors, June 23, 1926a (Palmer College West, Library Archives)
- Minutes of the Kentucky Association of Chiropractors, October 29-30, 1926b (Palmer College West, Library Archives)
- Minutes of the Kentucky Association of Chiropractors, July 14, 1927 (Palmer College West, Library Archives)
- Monroe JN. West Virginia passes chiropractic licensing law. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1925 (Apr/May); 2(3-4): 7-8
- Nash J, Keating JC. The birth of the chiropractic angel. *Chiropractic History* 1993 (Dec); 13(2): 26-9
- National (College) Journal of Chiropractic* 1928; 5(14): 12
- Nebraskan seeks license. *ICA Review* 1950 (Jan); 4(8): 4
- News flashes: New York: Research foundation organized. *The Chiropractic Journal* (NCA) 1934 (Jan); 3(1): 28
- Officers of the American Chiropractic Association. *The American Drugless Healer* 1911 (May); 1(1): 16-7
- One who is doing it. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1924 (July); 1(2):2
- Palmer BJ. *Fountain Head News* 1919d (Nov 1) [A.C. 25]; 9(7): 11

The Short Life & Enduring Influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930

- Palmer BJ. *The hour has struck*. Davenport IA: Palmer School of Chiropractic, 1924
- Palmer BJ. "Tom" is dead. *Fountain Head News* 1928 [A.C. 32] (Nov 10); 16(7): 1
- Palmer BJ. The ACA-UCA Union - what does it actually mean? *Fountain Head News* 1931a (Feb) [A.C. 35]; 18(3): 5-11
- Phillips JP. The American Chiropractic Association. *New York School of Chiropractic Newsletter* 1923 (Apr); 2(4): 7
- Plamondon RL. Mainstreaming chiropractic: tracing the American Chiropractic Association. *Chiropractic History* 1993 (Dec); 13(2): 30-5
- Putnam WS. The chair gangs profess fairness but actually discriminate. *The Chiropractic Journal* (NCA) 1935 (Dec); 4(12): 8, 38
- Rehm WS. Who was who in chiropractic: a necrology. In Dzaman F et al. (Eds.): *Who's who in chiropractic*. Second Edition. Littleton CO: Who's Who in Chiropractic International Publishing Co., 1980
- Rehm WS. In tribute to a living pioneer: Dr. Lyndon E. Lee. *Chiropractic History* 1981; 1: 46-50
- Rehm WS. Legally defensible: chiropractic in the courtroom and after, 1907. *Chiropractic History* 1986; 6:50-5
- Report of Conference of State Associations, held on B.J.'s Porch. 6 October 1922 (Cleveland papers, Cleveland Chiropractic College/Kansas City)
- Resolution adopted by Nebraska Chiropractic Association at its annual convention. *National (College) Journal of Chiropractic* 1924 (July); 11(11): 23
- Sauer BA. Letter to F.R. Margetts. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1924a (July); 1(2): 12
- Sauer BA. Letter to J.L. Fenner. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1924b (July); 1(2): 12
- Sauer BA. Editorial: a statement of fact. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1925a (Mar); 2(2): 5
- Sauer BA. Another step forward. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1925b (Mar); 2(2): 6
- Sauer BA. A national organization of the profession. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1925c (Apr/May); 2(3): 6
- Sauer BA. The 1927 convention. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1927a (Sept); 4(5): 1-6
- Sauer BA. International Congress of Chiropractic Examining Boards. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1927b (Sept); 4(5): 10
- Sauer BA. That Yellowstone convention. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1928 (Oct); 5(5): 1-3
- Sauer BA. Your secretary resigns. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1929 (Oct); 6(5): 9-10
- Sauer BA. Basic science - its purpose, operation, effect. June 10, 1932; unpublished letter to the officers of the NCA and state chiropractic associations (Cleveland papers, Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City)
- Sauer BA. Letter to Hugh B. Logan, D.C. *The Chiropractic Journal* (NCA) 1934 (Nov); 3(11): 31
- School men meet. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1928a (Oct); 5(5): 3
- School endowment fund. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1928b (Oct); 5(5): 5
- School deans to meet. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1930 (June); 7(3): 8
- Stowell CC. Lincoln College and the "big four": a chiropractic protest, 1926-1962. *Chiropractic History* 1983; 3: 74-8
- The radio program. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1930 (June); 7(3): 13
- The United Chiropractors. *The Naturalis* 1906 (Jan); 1(1): 6
- Turner C. *The rise of chiropractic*. 1931, Powell Publishing Company, Los Angeles
- Voice from the schools. *Bulletin of the American Chiropractic Association* 1928 (Jan); 5(1): 28

The Short Life & Enduring Influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930

Wernsing AA. Letter to Stanley Hayes, D.C., October 9, 1963 (Collected papers of Stanley Hayes)

Willis JE. Professional code of the American Chiropractic Association. Hollywood CA: the association, 1962 (brochure)

Young VB. Letters to Joseph Janse, D.C., March 24 and March 30, 1983 (National College Library, Special Collections)

March 25, 1996

John Willis, M.A., D.C., Editor

Chiropractic History

P.O. Box 1045
200 Allegheny Street
Richlands VA 24641

Dear John,

Enclosed please find two copies of my manuscript, "The short life and enduring influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930," which I submit for your consideration to publish in *Chiropractic History*. Please note the slight change in title from that submitted with my Abstract.

The two copies enclosed are identical in wording, but I've printed them in two formats: 1) reader friendly with figures and tables embedded, and 2) typesetter friendly, in 12 point Geneva, and figures and tables at the end. It was Russ Gibbons' custom to cluster all figures/photos before the first page of an article, and all tables at the end, which made reading/finding figures and tables rather difficult and disconnected from the text. I'm hopeful that you will see the wisdom of embedding figures and tables in the text, as suggested by the reader friendly version of the current manuscript.

The photographs which constitute Figures 2-8 are not enclosed, since I have not yet received them from the Palmer Archives (they were ordered many weeks ago). However, since the given deadline for submission of manuscripts is April 4, I figured it would be best to send you the manuscript without the photos. As soon as they arrive here from Palmer, I will number them and send them along to you. Hope this makes sense.

Let me know what additional information, if any, you may require. See you at Sherman in a few weeks.

Sincerely,

Joseph C. Keating, Jr., Ph.D.
Professor

cc: Bart N. Green, D.C.

Join the Association for the History of Chiropractic!

Glenda Wiese, M.A., Executive Director, 1000 Brady Street, Davenport IA 52803 USA
\$50/year regular membership; \$20/year for students

February 14, 1996

Chairman, Symposium Publication Committee
Association for the History of Chiropractic
1000 Brady Street
Davenport IA 52803

Dear Committee Chairman (Alana? Glenda? John?),

Enclosed please find the abstract for my manuscript, "The short life and lingering influence of the American Chiropractic Association, 1922-1930," which I submit for your consideration to present at the AHC's Conference on Chiropractic History at Sherman College in May, and for publication in Chiropractic History.

Sincerely,

Joseph C. Keating, Jr., Ph.D.
Professor

cc: Bart N. Green, D.C.

Join the *Association for the History of Chiropractic!*
Glenda Wiese, M.A., Executive Director, 1000 Brady Street, Davenport IA 52803 USA
\$50/year regular membership; \$20/year for students

May 8, 1996

John Willis, M.A., D.C., Editor

Chiropractic History

P.O. Box 1045
200 Allegheny Street
Richlands VA 24641

Dear John,

Per our conversation in Spartanburg, I'd like to request that you change the caption for Figure 3, from:

Figure 3: Frank R. Margetts, D.D., LL.B., D.C., second president of the ACA; photo courtesy of the Palmer Archives (from the *Bulletin of the ACA* 1929 [Apr]; 6[2]: 2)

to:

Figure 3: Frank R. Margetts, D.D., LL.B., D.C., second president of the ACA; photo courtesy of the National College of Chiropractic

Hope this makes sense. Thanks much.

Sincerely,

Joseph C. Keating, Jr., Ph.D.
Professor

Join the *Association for the History of Chiropractic!*
Glenda Wiese, M.A., Executive Director, 1000 Brady Street, Davenport IA 52803 USA
\$50/year regular membership; \$20/year for students