

Before Nugent took charge: early efforts to reform chiropractic education, 1919–1941

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John J. Nugent, D.C. is remembered by many as either the “Abraham Flexner of Chiropractic” or the “anti-Christ of Chiropractic.” From 1941 until his forced retirement in 1959, the Irish-born Palmer graduate was one of the most important factors in the profession’s educational reforms. Yet Nugent’s work as the National Chiropractic Association’s (NCA’s) director of research was not the beginning of the campaign to upgrade chiropractic education. This paper looks at earlier influences and events which set the stage for Nugent’s campaign. Among these were the introduction of licensure for chiropractors, the self-defeating actions of B.J. Palmer, the introduction of basic science legislation, the lethargy of the schools, and the struggle for control of education between the schools, on the one hand, and the NCA and the Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards on the other (JCCA 2003; 47(3):180–216)

KEY WORDS : chiropractic, education, history.

Plusieurs praticiens reconnaissent John J. Nugent, D.C., comme étant le « Abraham Flexner de la chiropractie » ou encore l’« antéchrist de la chiropractie ». De 1941 jusqu’à sa retraite obligée en 1959, ce chiropraticien, natif de l’Irlande, élève diplômé de Palmer, fut l’un des plus importants initiateurs des réformes de l’enseignement de la profession. Toutefois, le travail de Nugent en tant que directeur de la recherche à la National Chiropractic Association (NCA) n’est pas à l’origine de la campagne ayant pour but de rehausser la formation dans le domaine chiropratique. Cette étude examine les événements et les influences à l’origine de la campagne de Nugent. Parmi ces antécédents, on note l’obligation d’un permis pour les chiropraticiens, les actions de B.J. Palmer en termes de promotion pour contrer la méfiance des citoyens à l’égard de la chiropractie, l’introduction d’une législation de base en science, la léthargie des écoles, et la bataille pour le contrôle de la formation entre les écoles, d’une part, et la NCA ainsi que le Conseil des commissions d’évaluation de la chiropractie dans les États (Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards), d’autre part. (JACC 2003; 47(3):180–216)

MOTS CLÉS : chiropractie, formation, histoire.

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Figure 1 Dr. John Nugent, NCA Director of Education, addresses the society’s 1947 convention in Omaha while NCA president Floyd Cregger, D.C. listens (NCA photo collection).

Introduction

The role of John J. Nugent, D.C. in guiding chiropractic schools toward higher standards and federal accreditation is well established.^{1,2} His work as director of education for the National Chiropractic Association (NCA; current ACA’s immediate predecessor) during 1941 through 1959 involved creation of accreditation standards, inspection and evaluation of chiropractic schools, consolidation of numerous small, proprietary chiropractic schools into several larger, non-profit colleges (e.g., Chiropractic Institute of New York, Los Angeles College of Chiropractic), formation in 1947 of the NCA Council on Education (precursor of today’s CCE-USA), spokesman for the profession before state and national legislative bodies, spokesman for school leaders to the NCA Board of Directors, and punching bag for the straight chiropractic wing of the profession. B.J. Palmer, D.C., president of the Chiropractic Health Bureau (CHB; renamed ICA in 1941) and president of Nugent’s alma mater, the Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC), referred to the Irish-born educational crusader as the “anti-Christ of chiropractic”.¹ Nugent garnered the praise and enmity of many in the profession.

However, Nugent did not initiate the reform movement in those earlier days of chiropractic, nor was he the first to offer evaluation criteria and ratings for the chiropractic

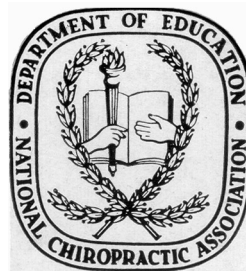


Figure 2 Logo of the NCA Department of Education.

schools. Recognition of the need to standardize and improve the quality of training for DCs was several decades old when the NCA House of Counselors voted at its 1941 convention at Baltimore to create the education directorate. By this time, battle lines between the broad-scope tolerant NCA and the straight chiropractic community were already clearly drawn, the result in part of the fumbling efforts of other reformers and the inevitable resistance of school owners who rejected intrusion upon their private businesses and their “philosophical” beliefs.

Led by several successive groups of state boards of chiropractic examiners (BCEs), agitation and some commitment of resources for reform had been in evidence for several years prior to Nugent’s appointment. Parts of this saga have been available (e.g., 1–3), but a more complete picture has been lacking, owing in part to the loss of records of one of the most important players, the Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards (COSCEB). In preparing a history of this Council (forerunner of today’s Federation of Chiropractic Licensing Boards), a more detailed picture of the pre-Nugent campaign to upgrade chiropractic education has emerged.

From the Fountain Head to the International Chiropractic Congress

Like so many aspects of early chiropractic organization, the earliest known efforts to set standards for the training of DCs were initiated by B.J. Palmer. Spurred by the emerging phenomenon of chiropractic statutes and BCEs, Palmer and the Universal Chiropractors’ Association (UCA) brought representatives of the several existing BCEs together in 1919 to discuss various aspects of legal regulation. High on the list of issues of concern was the content and length of chiropractic college curricula. Palmer’s contention that 18-months should be the standard for the profession was generally accepted; at the time, many schools still offered briefer courses of instruction.

And though many board representatives were in agreement with the Davenport doyen that a “straight” curricular content was to be preferred, each state board reserved to itself the ultimate decision for content as prescribed by its respective statute.

Concurrent with the UCA’s negotiations with the BCEs, the national membership society was also engaged in “purging” mixers from the profession’s ranks through a policy known as “cleaning house”.⁴⁻⁶ The policy demanded that state associations expel members who did not adhere to straight chiropractic,⁷ or else the UCA would establish a competing society within the jurisdiction. Several states, including Nebraska and New York, endured this UCA-mandated schism when they failed to comply with Palmer’s edict. Perhaps not surprisingly, the UCA’s early educational reforms were unsuccessful. As well, its heavy-handed

actions prompted formation of a competing national membership organization, the American Chiropractic Association (forerunner of the NCA).⁴

As the 1920s unfolded, new initiatives to improve and standardize chiropractic training arose, prompted in part by the introduction of the first basic science laws.⁸ Basic science legislation created independent boards of basic science examiners who were authorized to test candidates for licensure in chiropractic, medicine, naturopathy and osteopathy prior to the candidates’ sitting for examination in their respective disciplines. The stated intent of basic science legislation was to eliminate unorthodox healers (i.e., non-allopaths) from practice. Basic science examiners were often drawn from the faculties of state university medical schools, and the question they posed to license applicants were frequently slanted to favor the knowledge



Figure 3 A conference of state examining boards held conjointly with the Board of Directors of the UCA, January 11–12, 1919 at the PSC; left to right, front row: B.J. Palmer DC and Tom Morris, LLB; left to right, middle row: G.G. Woods DC of ND (license #1); W.P. Love DC of NC; H.A. Post DC of KS; J.C. Lawrence DC of NE; Anna M. Foy DC of KS; C.I. Carlson DC of NC; O.A. Henderson of ND; left to right, rear row: F.G. Lundy DC of UCA; Lee E. Fuller DC of UCA; C.J. Carlson DC of CT; H.J. Foster DC of NE; John A. Kellar DC of CT; Lee W. Edwards MD, DC of UCA; W.S. Whitman DC of UCA; original located at the Kansas Historical Research Center (courtesy of Jim Edwards DC).

base of medical graduates. The injustices of basic science examinations are reviewed elsewhere.^{2,8,9} First introduced in Connecticut and Wisconsin in 1925, they were eventually adopted by more than two dozen American and Canadian jurisdictions. Of footnote interest is the fact that Nugent, then a recently graduated practitioner, drafted the wording for Connecticut's basic science statute, for which he would be vilified in years to come. All in all, basic science statutes were very successful as barriers to licensure for a great many chiropractic and other "unorthodox" healers. However, they were also a stimulus to chiropractic schools to improve the instruction offered in basic science subjects.

The formation of the International Congress of Chiropractic Examining Boards (ICCEB), earliest precursor to today's Federation of Chiropractic Licensing Boards, may have been prompted by the ominous shadow of basic science legislation. The ICCEB was established at Kansas City in 1926.^{2,10} High on the ICCEB's list of priorities was the formation of a council of college leaders, through which, it was hoped, reforms could be implemented and the challenge of basic science examinations be met. The schools' council idea led to the formation of the International Chiropractic Congress (ICC), an expansion that included the ICCEB as well as a "Congress of School Heads"¹⁰ and a division of state association presidents. Some years later Wayne F. Crider, D.C. recalled the:

... formation of the Congress of School Heads on Sept. 7, 1927, whose secretary, on Sept. 8th, filed a report on recommendations with the Boards. During this same meeting a committee, composed of Drs. Harry Vedder of the Lincoln College and Bera Smith of Carver College, made further recommendations. Both reports were adopted. The substance of the reports was, 'that 2000 hours with a minimum of three hours per day and not over eight hours per day to be the minimum number of months of three years of six months each.' Unanimously carried. It was later reconsidered and the following addition adopted:

BE IT RESOLVED: That the International Congress classify the major subjects such as Anatomy, Physiology, Histology, Symptomatology, or Diagnosis, Principles of Chiropractic and Chiropractic Art.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Congress defer for further investigation by their School Classification Committee a definite commitment of the number of hours and the sub-classifications under these major subjects.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Board of Directors of School Investigation Committee of the Congress be given power to act and instructed to consummate their conclusions at the earliest possible moment. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Elementary Bacteriology and Chemistry were added at the Denver meeting, July, 1930. The Congress felt justifiably pleased with its efforts which met with general approval.¹⁰

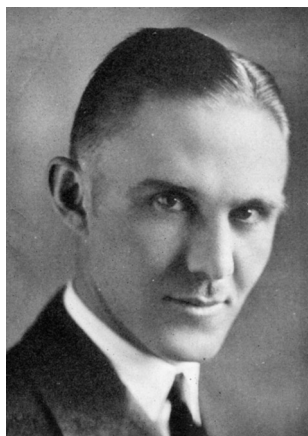


Figure 4 Dr. Homer Beatty, president of the Colorado Chiropractic University.



Figure 5 Dr. Linnie Cale, dean of the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic.



Figure 6 Dr. Willard Carver, president of Carver Chiropractic College.

The school division of the ICC met repeatedly over several years, often in conjunction with the annual meetings of the ACA,¹¹ which established an “endowment fund” for the colleges at its 1928 convention in Yellowstone Park.¹² The Yellowstone meeting also saw the formation of the ACA’s own “Chiropractic Educational Institutions Board of Counselors,” which included Homer G. Beatty, D.C., N.D. of the Colorado Chiropractic University, Linnie A. Cale, D.C., D.O., dean of the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic, and Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C. of Carver Chiropractic College in Oklahoma City.¹³



Figure 7
Benjamin A. Sauer, D.C., secretary-treasurer of the ACA, photographed during the national society’s 1928 convention at Yellowstone Park (courtesy of Tom Lawrence, D.C.).

The International Chiropractic Congress did not last beyond 1934. Many of its organizational structures and activities were absorbed by the NCA, which was formed in 1930 through the merger of the UCA and ACA,¹⁴⁻¹⁶ a noteworthy exception was the establishment of an independent Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards (immediate forerunner of today’s Federation of Chiropractic Licensing Boards). A council of school leaders was established within the NCA, and this body continued discussions, but with apparently little success in implementing reforms.

Prelude to Action

By 1935 the chiropractic healing art was legally recognized and regulated in 40 of 48 American states. The hold-outs, often referred to as “open states,” were Alabama, Delaware, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. Louisiana presented a special situation, and was referred to as a “closed state,” because its statutes and court rulings more or less explicitly judged chiropractic to be the practice of medicine. Of the 40 licensed states, six grudgingly granted chiropractic licensure through a composite healing arts board, comprised of medical doctors and chiropractors, and nine jurisdictions required the would-be licensee to pass a basic

Legal Status of Chiropractic in 1935

State or Commonwealth	Professional Education Required	Preliminary Education	Date of Examination	Type of Board
Alabama Open State—No Chiropractic Board of Examiners				
Arizona	3 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	1st wk.—Jan., July	C-B
Arkansas	3 yr.	H. S. or Equiv.	2nd Mon.—Jan., July	C-B
California	3 yr. of 6 mo.—2400 hrs., 90%	H. S. or Equiv.	1 Tue. after 2 Mon.—Jan., July	C
Colorado	2800 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	2nd Tue. of June and Dec.	C
Connecticut	4 yr. of 9 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 wk.—Jan., April, June, Oct.	C-B
Delaware Open State—No Chiropractic Board of Examiners				
Florida	3 yr. of 6 mo.—3000-45 m. hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	2 Mon.—Jan., July	C
Georgia	3 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 wk.—Apr., Oct.	C
Idaho	3 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	2 Thurs.—Jan., July	C
Illinois	4 yr. of 9 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	Set by Board	MX
Indiana	4 yr. of 8 mo.	H.S.& 2yr.Col.		MX
Iowa	3 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	Apr., Aug., Dec.	C-B
Kansas	3 yr. of 9 mo. or 2700 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 wk.—Jan., Apr., June, Oct.	C
Kentucky	2200 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 Tue.—June, Dec.	C
Louisiana Closed State—Standard Medical Qualifications Only				
Maine	3 yr. of 6 mo.—2000 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	3 Tue.—June	C
Maryland	3 yr. of 6 mo.—2000 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 wk.—Jan., July	C
Massachusetts Open State—No Chiropractic Board of Examiners				
Michigan*	2750 hrs. (45 min.)	H. S. or Equiv.	Set by Board	C
Minnesota	4 yr. of 8 mo.—Sep. cal. yrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 Tue.—Mar., Sept.	C-B
Mississippi Open State—No Chiropractic Board of Examiners				
Missouri	3 yr. of 9 mo.—2045 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	Set by Board	C
Montana*	4 yr. of 8 mo.	High School	1 Tue.—Oct.	C
Nebraska	3 yr. of 9 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	June, Nov.	C-B
Nevada	3 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 Mon.—Mar., Aug., Nov.	C
New Hampshire	3 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	Set by Board	C
New Jersey	4 yr. of 7 mo.—sep. cal. yrs.	H. S. or Equiv.		MX
New Mexico	2400 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	2 Mon.—Jan., July	C
New York Open State—No Chiropractic Board of Examiners				
North Carolina	4 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	May	C
North Dakota	3 yr. of 8 mo.	H.S.& 2yr.Col.	1 Tue.—Jan., July	C
Ohio	4 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.		MX
Oklahoma	4 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	2 Mon.—Jan., July	C
Oregon	3 yr. of 9 mo.—3600 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 Tue. after 2 Mon.—Jan., July	C-B
Pennsylvania Open State—No Chiropractic Board of Examiners				
Rhode Island	3 yr. of 9 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 Mon.—Mar., Aug., Nov.	MX
South Carolina	3 yr. of 6 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	Between 10 and 20 of May, Nov.	C
South Dakota*	4 yr. of 6 mo.—2400 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 Mon.—June, Dec.	C
Tennessee	3 yr. of 6 mo.—2400 hrs.	H. S. or Equiv.	1 Mon.—Jan., July	C
Texas Open State—No Chiropractic Board of Examiners				
Utah	4000 Class hrs.	H.S.&1-yr.Col.	Set by Board	C
Vermont	3 years.	H. S. or Equiv.	Set by Board	C
Virginia	4 yr. of 8 mo. in sep. cal. yrs.	H.S.& 2yr.Col.	Set by Board	M
Washington	2 yr. of 9 mo.	H. S. or Equiv.	Set by Board	C-B
West Virginia	3 yrs. (Calendar) of 8 mo.	H.S.& 2yr.Col.	Set by Board	MX
Wisconsin*	3 yr.—4000-30 min. hrs.	H.S. or Equiv.	2nd Mon.—Jan., July	C-B
Wyoming	3 yr. of 9 mo.	H.S. or Equiv.	Set by Board	C

KEY: C=Chiropractic. M=Medical. MX=Mixed. C-B=Chiropractic and Basic Science.

*License Renewal Subject to Attendance at Annual Educational Course

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Figure 8 “Legal status of chiropractic in 1935,” from the NCA’s *The Chiropractic Journal* for January 1936.

science examination prior to testing by a board of chiropractic examiners (BCE). The profession's earlier and rapid success in establishing the legal right to practice had dwindled to a long, drawn-out phase; another four decades would be necessary to complete the process.

Notwithstanding B.J. Palmer's continuing insistence upon an 18-month curriculum (approximately 2,000 hours of training), by 1935 about half the American states had enacted chiropractic statutes requiring a lengthier course of study. The problem was complicated by the demands of basic science examining boards, which sometimes placed greater requirements on the applicant than the corresponding licensing authority. The rigors of the basic science examinations also prompted additional study, in order to compensate for the poor quality of instruction available at the chiro schools. When John B. Wolfe, a civil engineering graduate of the University of Minnesota, returned from the Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC) with his 18-month doctorate in 1938, he found he "would need additional education to pass the basic science exams".¹⁷ Some PSC alumni found it necessary to repeat all or part of their training at the "Fountain Head" in order to satisfy the hourly requirements of some BCEs. A trend among state legislatures to increase curricular length was well underway.

By the mid-1930s, discussion of the need for reform in

the training of chiropractors had been a topic within in the profession for a decade.¹⁰ However, most chiropractic colleges were still for-profit ventures, and all were heavily tuition-dependent. The nation was still in the midst of the Great Depression, student enrollment prospects were tenuous, and many chiropractic schools had already fallen on hard times. Even those schools which were willing in principle to make the necessary improvements in their coursework, facilities and faculties looked to the NCA and the field for the additional funds they needed to implement significant upgrading.

For a number of chiropractic college leaders, the prospect of submitting to an external authority in the operation of their schools was odious. The objections extended beyond their financial concerns as owners of proprietary corporations, and into the realm of "chiropractic philosophy." With the trend toward lengthened curricula had come an expansion in the range of subjects taught, often as necessitated by the hated basic science boards. A growing number of college heads were alarmed that "medicine," in the form of greater diagnostic, basic science and physiotherapeutic and naturopathic instruction, was or might be forced upon them. The sentiment was captured in a 1938 letter from Craig M. Kightlinger, M.A., D.C.,¹⁸ president of the Eastern Chiropractic Institute in New York City, to

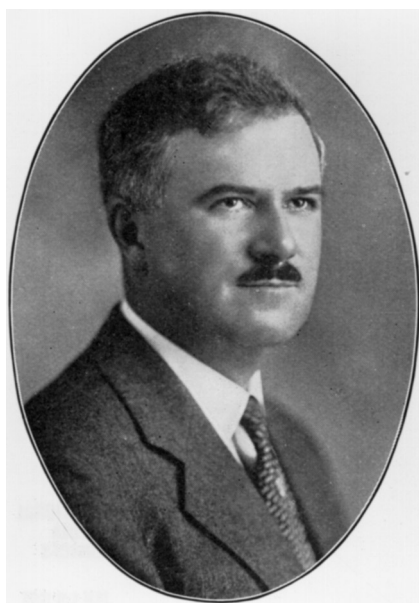


Figure 9 Dr. Craig M. Kightlinger, circa 1930.



Figure 10 Dr. Kelly Robinson, 1939.

Kelly C. Robinson, D.C., who was soon to be elected president of the NCA. What justification, Kightlinger asked, was there for chiropractors with little or no training as educators to intrude on the work of the schools? As well, he reminded the NCA leader, the schools were heavily tuition-dependent for their operating budgets, and could be forced out of business by demands for reforms they could not afford.

Additionally, by the 1930s a few states had begun to mandate one or two years of liberal arts college, or pre-professional training, as a condition for licensure.¹⁹ T.F. Ratledge, D.C., feisty owner and president of the Los Angeles school that bore his name, was determined to maintain the “purity” of his chiropractic instruction. B.J. Palmer was actively engaged in court actions in several states to prevent the expansion of DCs’ scope of practice.^{20–24} But it seemed as though their efforts to maintain the status quo might well be overruled by the licensing authorities.

The administrative leaders of the more liberal chiropractic institutions had their doubts too. Although they could see the wisdom of standardizing chiropractic education, and might well prefer the prospect of dealing with

one, centralized rating agency rather than have to establish accreditation with 40 or more licensing authorities, the reform process would necessarily involve some degree of loss of control. In the midst of economic hard times, and in a highly competitive business environment (i.e., competition among schools for chiropractic students), an institution’s ability to cater to students might well mean the difference between survival or demise.

However, after years of discussion without resolution, and with basic science laws spreading from state to state, leaders within and beyond the schools were increasingly aware that something must be done. How to proceed was not exactly clear (1), but a growing list of voices seemed to converge in favor of change. William A. Budden, D.C., N.D., president of the Western States College, recalled the sentiments of that era:

That the private ownership of the institutions in a measure militated against a generous and wholesale upsurge to finance this idea is true and must be taken into account in appraising the situation prevailing at that time. Only an optimist, however, and one quite unfamiliar with the economics of chiro-

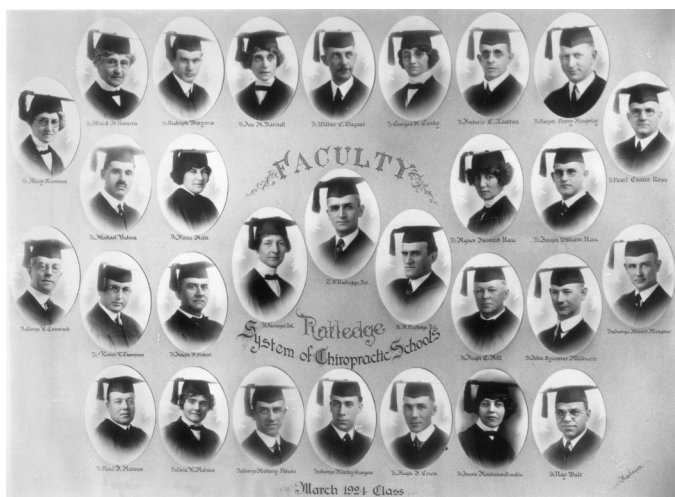


Figure 11 Ratledge College graduating class, March 1924 (courtesy of Cleveland Chiropractic College of Los Angeles).

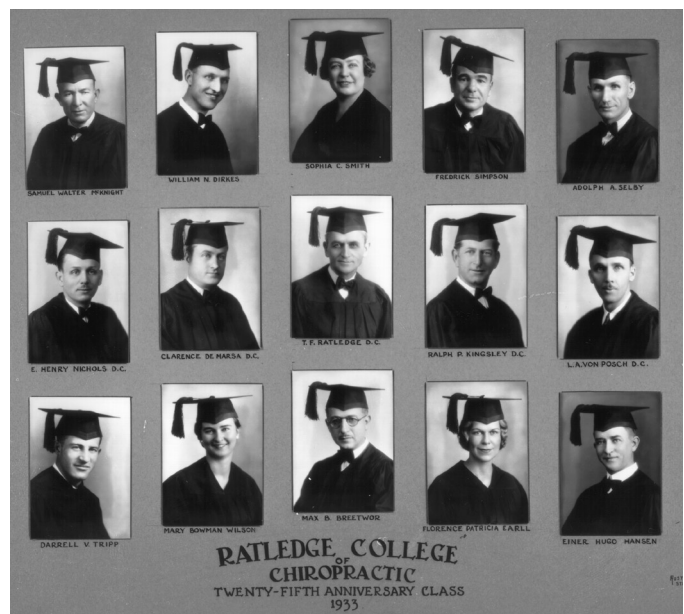


Figure 12 Ratledge College graduating class, 1933; the difference in class size from 1924 is presumably attributable to the Great Depression (courtesy of Cleveland Chiropractic College of Los Angeles).

practic schools and colleges would suggest that, by advancing scholastic requirements, more money could be made. The facts being quite the contrary, as we have intimated, the “school men” as a group hesitated. Some suggested that while the idea was a good one, the time was not yet. Nevertheless, Dr. E.J. Smith, young graduate of the National College and of Western Reserve University in 1921, gave the first real impetus toward what is now so far developed by establishing a four-year school in Cleveland, Ohio. The Metropolitan College of Chiropractic opened its doors to the first four-year students and the new era had begun. Shortly after this pioneer effort, the National College proclaimed that it would issue certificates of graduation “cum laude” to those who successfully negotiated its thirty-two months course. The writer of this article initiated this action and signed as “Dean” the first diplomas. It should be stated here, and with no sense of derogation of those who took a leading part in this advance, in the case of the N.C.C. certainly, the fact that a medical board of examiners held sway over chiropractic activities in Illinois, and to some extent in Ohio, tended powerfully to fertilize the soil in which the actual four-year course took root.

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

Now another voice from the far west was added to the growing debate. The pages of the *National Journal* began to reflect the views of C.O. Watkins of Montana. Logical, incisive persistent “C.O.” hammered away at the bulwarks of the short-course school of thought. There can be no doubt that his rapid rise to a leading place in the councils of the NCA brought powerful aid and comfort to the four-year idea.

It was, however, to Dr. R.D. Ketchum, of Bend, Oregon, that credit must go for giving final impulse toward definite action by the NCA. The doctor was at that time state delegate for Oregon, and was generally admitted to be one of the most



Figure 13
C.O. Watkins, D.C. appeared on the cover of the March 1940 issue of the *National Chiropractic Journal*.

influential and respected members of the then [NCA] House of Counselors. It was as such that he issued his call to arms. Said he at the close of a short but powerful exhortation, “We have talked a lot about the four-year course, let us get busy and do something about it.”

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

Powerful aid now also came from members of the Executive Committee. The secretary, Dr. L.M. Rogers, as an executive, long a silent sympathizer, became effectively articulate on the affirmative side. Drs. Gordon M. Goodfellow, of California, Downs, of Montana, Hariman, of North Dakota; men from Iowa, from Illinois, from Minnesota, from Wisconsin, stood up to be counted for the new day in education. Thus ended phase one.²⁵

Budden recalled the impetus for the educational reforms begun in the 1930s as originating from the profession’s

academic community. And there was indeed an encouraging willingness among some schools to cooperate toward a common goal of improved training for chiropractors. But the first significant push for these reforms came not from the schools, nor even from the NCA, which would eventually pick up the ball and run with it. Rather, it was the profession's regulatory authorities, members of the various state BCEs, who would kick the program into gear. This reality was not lost on ultra-straight Dr. Ratledge, who observed that the chiropractic boards seemed to be leading the charge in the direction of "medicine":

The more I analyze the problems confronting Chiropractic, and the schools in particular, the more I am convinced that the Chiropractic examining boards under present policies and tendencies constitute the greatest menace we have ever had to meet. Their failure to give proper examinations constitutes the greatest force for undermining the whole of Chiropractic with which we have ever had to contend. They are unwittingly delivering Chiropractic into the hands of the proponents of "Basic Science" legislation.

They are the "Frankenstein" of Chiropractic and if not checked will crush Chiropractic, by reason of which they came into existence...

Examining Boards should stay out of the school questions and quit trying to become the controlling power in the profession.²⁶



Figure 14 Dr. Wayne Crider is attired in his Civil Air Patrol uniform, presumably during World War II (photo courtesy of Wayne S. Crider).

The mission

The newly re-organized Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards (COSCEB) had its work cut out for it. Rising to the challenge, the agency's new president in 1934,^{27,28} Wayne F. Crider, D.C. of the Maryland BCE, took the proverbial bull by the horns. The process began at the 1934 NCA convention in Pittsburgh, when the COSCEB took on the task of forming a set of criteria for grading the schools.²⁹

Dr. Crider, born 1 January 1900 in Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, earned his B.S. from Valparaiso University in



Figure 15 On track for the NCA's 1935 convention in Los Angeles (NCA photo collection).



Figure 16
Banquet during the NCA’s 1935 convention in Los Angeles.

Indiana before enrolling at the National College of Chiropractic (NCC) in Chicago, where the doctorate was awarded in 1922.³⁰ He had served as secretary of the ICCEB, and was active in the Civil Air Patrol during World War II, in which he rose to the rank of major. By that time, Crider had proved to be a tenacious, determined and frequently detested advocate and arbiter of standards for the schools in the earliest days of chiropractic’s educational reforms. It was his pen that announced the reborn council of examining boards to the profession in the pages of the NCA’s *Journal*.²⁸

During the next several years (1935–1941), Crider alienated a significant number of the “school men.” As president of COSCEB, Crider, his Council and the affiliated NCA Committee on Educational Standards released criteria for rating chiropractic schools (e.g., 10, 31), issued directives to chiropractic educators demanding their compliance with information requests (e.g., 32, 33), and rated³⁴ and published lists of COSCEB-recognized schools.^{29,35}

These early, fumbling efforts by COSCEB initially paralleled and later combined with the work of the NCA Committee on Education. The NCA’s education committee was established upon a motion from Montana delegate C.O. Watkins, D.C. during the national society’s 1935 convention in Los Angeles.^{36–39} Watkins, a 1925 PSC alumnus, editor and publisher of his state society’s newsletter, had agitated for reforms in chiropractic for several years (e.g., 40–43), and continued in this vein for decades.⁴⁴

False starts

Despite Watkins’ role as chairman of the NCA’s Committee on Education, Crider and the COSCEB issued the first

official school standards as members of a joint committee (see Table 1) comprised of COSCEB leaders and the officers of the NCA Council of Educational Institutions (CEI). These early criteria, first proposed by CEI president Homer Beatty and adopted by the 19 BCEs¹ who sent representatives to the COSCEB meeting during NCA’s 1935 convention in Los Angeles,^{10,45} had been circulated to a number of school leaders:

Visits were made to Chicago and Indianapolis, following the convention, consulting Drs. Schulze, Bader and Golden of the National, and Drs. Vedder, Firth and associates of the Lincoln, thus ironing out more of the scales’ faults, and obtaining the general reaction after these groups had time to study copies of the scale. It has not been heretofore mentioned that similar tactics were practiced on the journey to the meeting. Universal of Pittsburgh and Metropolitan of Cleveland were given copies and they forwarded their approval, in principle, of the proposal. Dr. B.J. Palmer was also contacted with similar intent. However, the astute qualities usually ascribed to him were evidently lacking upon this occasion as he was unwilling to even listen “to anything that smacked of NCA” – in spite of repeated declarations that the National Council of State Examining Boards on the contrary was separate and distinct from any and all other organizations.¹⁰

Palmer was quite correct in recognizing the close collaboration between COSCEB and the NCA. However, the joint committee was sincere in its attempt to accommodate the various factions within the educational community, and accepted a two-track system for school evaluations. Either way, the time had come, they reasoned to move



Figure 17
Homecoming of the Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City in July 1934 featured Drs. James Drain and James Slocum (third and fourth from left at head table) as guest speakers.

Table 1 Members of the joint committee of the Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards (COSCEB) and the NCA Council of Educational Institutions (NCA-CEI), 1936¹⁰

From the NCA-CEI	From the COSCEB
Homer G. Beatty, D.C., N.D., University of Natural Healing Arts, Denver	Wayne F. Crider, D.C., Maryland Board of Chiropractic Examiners
William A. Budden, D.C., N.D., Western States College, Portland	C.O. Hunt, D.C., California Board of Chiropractic Examiners
James R. Drain, D.C., Ph.C., Texas Chiropractic College, San Antonio	Frank O. Logic, D.C., Michigan Board of Chiropractic Examiners

beyond the 18-month curriculum that had been more or less standard for nearly 15 years. Initially, a 24-month curriculum would be required of straight schools, and 32 months for broad-scope institutions. Eventually, these minimums would be raised to 27 and 36 months respectively. Crider related:

It is interesting to note that the schools’ opinions were still sharply defined and divergent – while the State Boards were unanimously in favor of higher standards.

A synopsis of the Joint Committee’s findings is as follows:

1. – It will be necessary to rate schools teaching the orthodox methods and those teaching the more liberal methods in separate categories as regards list of class hours and equipment.

2. – All authorities agree, two thousand sixty-minute hours is the maximum that can be taught in three years of six months. This basis, although somewhat less intent, is used in compiling the scale and setting it as regards to curriculum.

3. – It must be comparable with other professions’ standards.

4. – The Schools being commercial in character (with very few exceptions) it is necessary to give due consideration to financial stability of the Institution.

5. – In accordance with the tendency of all state laws, wherever amended, the trend being upward from the three years of six months level, it became obvious the scale minimum for grade A probationary rating must be twenty-four months for the fundamental course and four years of eight months for the liberal course.

6. – In order that all schools may have an opportunity to meet the final requirements of fundamental (three years of nine months) and the liberal (four years of nine), one calendar year – until Jan 1, 1937, is given for probationary ratings of all Chiropractic Schools and colleges.

7. – The scale must be so constructed as to include from the minimum of set requirements to the maximum as taught by any Chiropractic school of today.

The Council of State Boards will not enter into a discussion of the definition of Chiropractic. Suffice it to say that each type of thought is recognized and given opportunities to develop. We, therefore, have divided the schools into two groups – the Basic or Fundamental Schools (teaching only Chiropractic) and the Liberal or Physical Therapy Schools (teaching Chiropractic and Physical Therapy).¹⁰

The COSCEB president offered an overview of the initial standards to the profession in the pages of the NCA's *Journal*:

Standards for Accrediting Chiropractic Schools

Adopted by the Council of State Boards

Fundamental Schools –

Requirements for Grade A – 80 – 100%

Requirements for Grade B – 70 – 80%

Unclassified – less than 70%

Liberal Schools – increased percentage over and beyond these percentages, approximating the value of the additional credit allowed (about 6%) is required.

General Heading of Standard

Matriculation Requirements	10%
Length of Course	5%
Curriculum	65%
Subjects	30%
Staff	20%
Equipment	15%
Location	20%
Clinic	8%
Post Graduate Internship	8%
Class Rooms	2%
Library	2%

The percentages of the scale are so set that for Grade A probationary rating a school in the Fundamental bracket will be required to teach a minimum course of four years of six months each. The Liberal Schools will be required to teach four years of eight months each. This probationary rating shall exist for a period of one calendar year (until January 1, 1937) after which the requirements will be increased to three years of nine (fundamental) and four years of nine (liberal).

Should any school or group of schools take issue with the Council as to final ratings or other points they may feel are out of order, they have recourse to a hearing before the Council at any annual meeting, providing said hearing is requested in writing and filed with the Executive Secretary at least sixty

days previous to any scheduled meeting. The next meeting will be in Indianapolis during the early part of August.

Some may take the militant attitude that whenever individual state laws are changed requiring the increase, they will meet it – even though they are well aware this attitude is responsible for enactment of the present Basic Science laws and the many dangers requisite to the opening of existing acts. It may also be cited that the Council, composed of a larger number of State Boards operating under eighteen months statutes, is in no position to impose the Standard. Speaking in the strict, legal sense this may be the situation, however, precedent decrees otherwise. I am firmly convinced that the logic of the proposal will survive the many assaults it is bound to meet.

Ultimate incorporation of the requirements of the Standard by means of portions of Acts, amendments so worded as not to endanger the present statutes and privileges, will be presented by the various State associations. This legislative program will cover a period of years, but should not be a financial drain upon its sponsors unless other inclusions setting forth additional privileges are incorporated. Legislators look with favor upon such proposals...¹⁰

The joint committee set about to implement the new standard by soliciting information from the schools via 9-page questionnaires. The American states were divided into regions, and the sub-committee wrote to the various chiropractic colleges. Dr. Hunt, secretary of COSCEB and of the California BCE, sought to assure school administrators of the committee's wish for cooperation:

The furnishing of this data or information is entirely a voluntary act upon the part of the School. No School will be visited or graded except upon its invitation, and full consent and cooperation. The questionnaire covers all phases of the school work, from the entrance requirements, curriculum, teaching staff, to the graduation of the student...³³

Voluntary or not, some chiropractic school owners would have none of it. Ratledge promptly replied to Hunt's request by noting that:

We have closely and hopefully observed the workings and proposals of the "National Council of Boards of Examiners" and it is with keen disappointment and genuine regret that we have been forced to the conclusion that, as at present organ-

ized and with its present policies and procedure, it is, and without radical change cannot be otherwise, of no possible value, if not an actual menace, to the advancement of the science of chiropractic...³⁴



Figure 18
Dr. James R. Drain,
circa 1937.

Internal struggle

Jim Drain of the Texas Chiropractic College indicated that he would work from within the NCA's schools' council to block any increase in educational standards. To this end, he was elected president of the NCA Council of Educational Institutions at the national society's annual meeting in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1937. Describing the 1935 Los Angeles meeting between schools leaders and state board representatives as a "hot time," he asserted that "the only standard which should be set is the minimum and let the maximum be flexible to fit the various boards".⁴⁶

Several straight chiropractic colleges, such as the proprietary Eastern Chiropractic Institute in New York City, made sincere efforts to comply with COSCEB's inquiries, and promptly returned the requested information. They seemed committed to improvements in chiropractic training, within financial limitations. A preliminary attempt to rate the various schools based upon the questionnaires returned to COSCEB may have been made at the Council's meeting in Indianapolis during the NCA convention in August 1936,²⁶ but Crider was still waiting for more questionnaires to be returned in December.⁴⁷

A few months later the COSCEB president's tone had changed decidedly. Gone was the notion earlier expressed by Hunt that the rating of schools was a voluntary process.

In a letter to Ratledge on COSCEB stationery, Crider and fellow committeeman R.E. Tripp, D.C. grew insistent:

Dear Dr. Ratledge,

The Committee regrets to note you have failed to furnish the necessary information in order that the Ratledge College could be evaluated by comparison with the Standard for Accrediting Chiropractic Schools and Colleges. Since this program is equitable in every respect there is no alternative. Either furnish the information request[ed] or receive an unapproved rating until such time as said information is voluntarily rendered.⁴⁸

What next transpired was a series of pointed letters between these two strong-willed chiropractors. In July 1937 Ratledge wrote to Crider:

Replying to your letter of May 17, 1937, I desire to impress upon you and your organization that you have no powers over this institution because it has never associated itself with you in any official way such as becoming a member or otherwise having submitted its policies to the "Council of Chiropractic Examining Boards."

Neither is the Ratledge College or myself, nor have we or either of us ever been members of the National Chiropractic Association, nor have we had membership in your "Council of Chiropractic Examining Boards" and it is my candid opinion that for either the N.C.A. or any of its [sic] subdivisions or affiliated organizations to assume any authority whatsoever in relation to the Ratledge College is highly presumptuous and unwarranted, and further, that it is not justifiable under the laws of the land under which this institution is privileged by direct authorization to do business.

Your organization is in no position to "require" any "information" from this institution and our refusal to comply with the presumptuous demands of the "Council of Chiropractic Examining Boards" is no sufficient or proper reason for the threat to arbitrarily classify this institution by your "Grading Committee" or any reference to the Ratledge College, directly or indirectly, or in anyway whatsoever, to be published in any connection with the Council's findings.

In accordance with the foregoing paragraph you are hereby again warned definitely that you shall not include the Ratledge Chiropractic College in any "classification" you may make relating to chiropractic teaching institutions. Should this institution be included in such classification by your Council of Chiropractic Examining Boards we shall be forced to protect

ourselves in the courts where we will seek damages commensurate with the damages incurred thereby.⁴⁹



Figure 19
Dr. Loran M. Rogers, 1940.

The irascible Los Angeles educator, protégé of attorney-chiropractor Willard Carver,^{50,51} followed this note up three days later with a message to Loran M. Rogers, D.C., executive secretary of the NCA:

Your affiliate council, the “Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards, through its President, Dr. Wayne F. Crider of Hagerstown, Maryland, has notified me in writing of its avowed purpose of classifying the Ratledge Chiropractic College in spite of our previous written objection thereto.

On July 9th. we notified Dr. Crider that we would not consent to any classification whatsoever by the N.C.A. or any of its affiliates and definitely warned that in case he or the Council does attempt to so classify our institution among Chiropractic teaching institutions we will resort to the courts to recover any damages which we believe to have resulted to said Ratledge Chiropractic College by such classification.

This letter is to serve notice upon you, the N.C.A., or anyone authorized by you to classify or grade chiropractic teaching institutions, that you will be held responsible for any reference to the Ratledge Chiropractic College in any purported “grading” or Classification of said institutions where, by any comparison with other chiropractic teaching institutions, any unfavorable impression would result from such alleged “grading” or classification.

You are further notified that you shall not publish or cause to be published anything concerning the Ratledge Chiropractic College in any verbal or written statement wherein it is purported that chiropractic teaching institutions have been “graded” or classified as related to any purported or alleged

“standard” for chiropractic teaching institutions established or purported to have been established.

We regret to feel it necessary to call your attention to this matter but in view of the very arbitrary position assumed by the Council of State Boards of Chiropractic Examiners, whose purpose and ability are both highly questionable, from our point of view, we feel that we would not be fair with you if we did not advise you in advance of Dr. Crider’s threat and of our defiance to same.⁵²

Fearing they had little other recourse, four straight chiropractic college presidents now began to consider the wisdom of organizing an independent association of chiropractic colleges.^{53–56} Established in the final months of 1937, the Associated Chiropractic Colleges of America (ACCA) was the earliest known association of straight chiropractic schools not affiliated with a membership society. From this body would later evolve the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions (ACEI)⁵⁷ an accrediting body which eventually affiliated with the International Chiropractors’ Association (ICA; formerly the Chiropractic Health Bureau/CHB).

Watkins and his Committee on Education apparently played a very low-key role in the NCA’s early collaborations with COSCEB. However, the Montana chiropractor nonetheless managed to antagonize the straight community, as suggested by a commentary from Herbert E. Weiser, D.C., dean of the Texas Chiropractic College, which appeared in the third issue of the *ACCA News*. Like Ratledge and others, Weiser saw the educational reform initiatives as an effort to “medicalize” chiropractic:

Can you imagine a representative group of three men telling Chiropractic boards what to do and trying to dictate the policies for Chiropractic schools? The first is not even a member of an examining board; the second is a member of a Basic Science board; and the third is a man on a board of drugless healers. We can’t feel that such leadership is Chiropractic in any way.

In the June issue of the *Montana ChiroLite*, Dr. C.O. Watkins, editor, speaking of our attitude toward medical control and public opinion stated: “However, we might find it wiser to conform than reform, and infinitely more practical.” There is a very fine line of distinction between “conform,” “mimic” and “comply.” There are those who are fighting tooth and toenail in the profession today to have us conform or comply

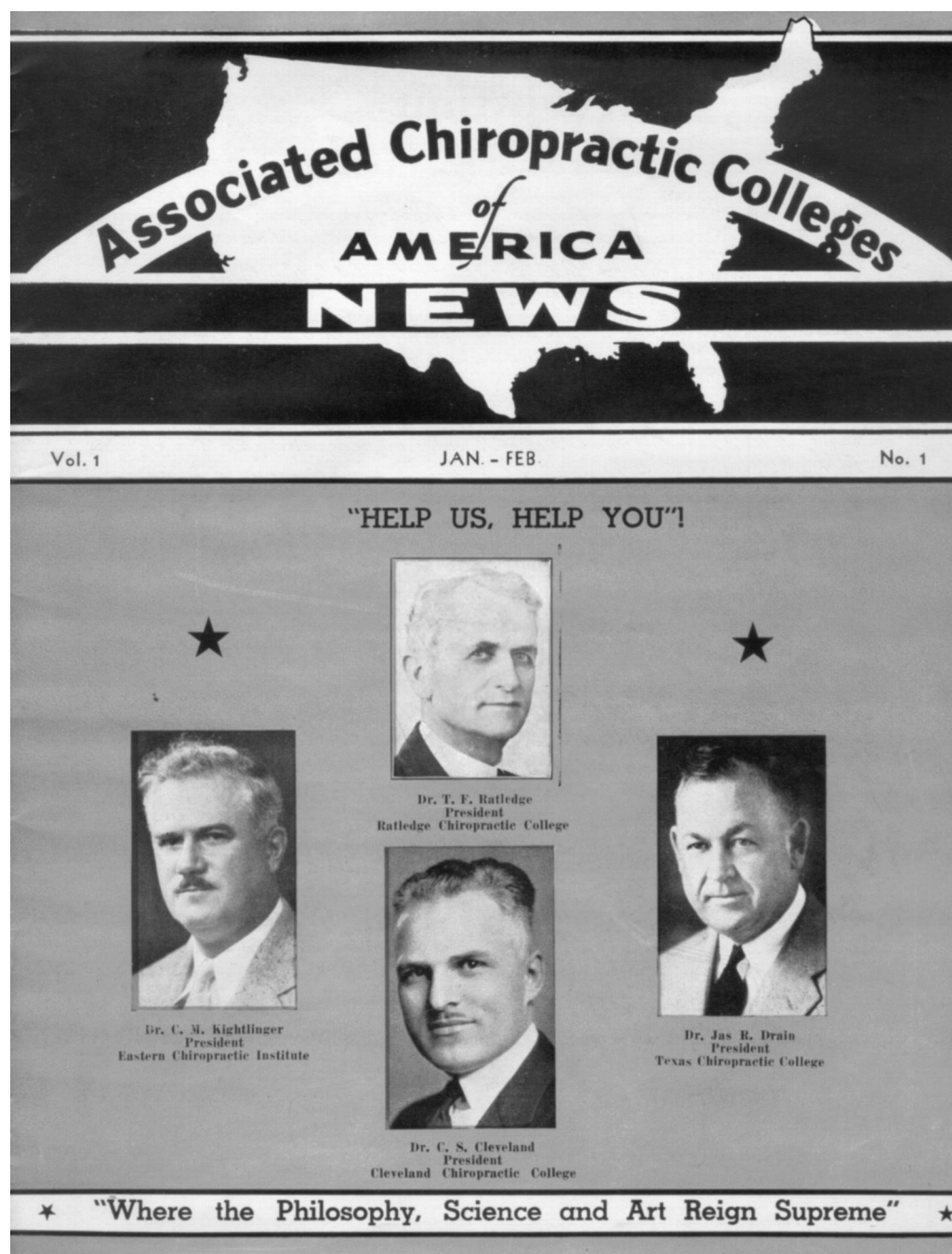


Figure 20 Cover of the first issue of the *ACCA News*, 1938 (courtesy of Cleveland Chiropractic Colleges).

with the demands of the medical profession or of the public through the medical profession. Supposing D.D. Palmer had complied or conformed? Supposing every Chiropractor conformed with the general medical public idea of the healing

art? Where would Chiropractic be today? Surely following the road of least resistance may be the easier way; it may, for the time being, be very practical, especially for personal comfort and gain. But, the road of reform is the road that has



Figure 21
Dr. Herbert Weiser, circa 1938.

placed Chiropractic at the pinnacle of the healing arts. I believe it is wiser and a whole lot more honest and practical to reform others to your convictions than to conform or comply to the demands of those in power.⁵⁸

A gathering storm

The straight chiropractic school leaders continued to be antagonized by various edicts issuing from the COSCEB and the NCA. Although there was a reported agreement during the 1937 NCA convention in Grand Rapids between COSCEB and the NCA schools' council concerning a plan for the school accreditation process, the national association's House of Counselors pushed the envelop by recommending an "educational standard of four years of eight months each".⁵⁹ This seemed to suggest that the earlier proposed two-track system of ratings, one for straight and one for mixer schools, would be abandoned in favor a lengthier course for all. Harry E. Vedder, D.C., president of the Lincoln Chiropractic College in Indianapolis, noted a letter from Crider indicating that "The Council of School Heads in Grand Rapids signed a pledge wherein all agreed to discontinue matriculating eighteen month students after January 1st, 1938," but Vedder was unaware of any such action.⁶⁰ Crider apparently took it upon himself to commence ratings of individual schools (although not yet publicly), as suggested in the following note from fellow COSCEB officer John Nugent to college president Craig Kightlinger:

With head bent low and very penitent I return Crider's and Vedder's letters. Thanks for sending them on. The holidays and my absence for several days, as well as procrastination,

are responsible for the delay in returning them.

Frankly I do not agree with Crider's ruling. I am writing him to-day to ask where he got the yardstick by which he is grading schools. The one which he originally concocted was voted down and it was understood that the committee was to prepare a new one. So far as I know none has yet been suggested by anyone and evidently Crider himself is setting up some rules of his own. I have great respect for Crider's intentions and motives but that is too important a step to take without asking the rest of the committee to sit in on the gradings.

I hope he will avoid further trouble and dissention by not publishing any list until our committee has had full opportunity to express themselves upon the matter...⁶¹

Kightlinger also expressed his consternation in a note to Kelly Robinson:

... In regard to the school situation I realize that there are a lot of people in the field trying to correct our schools. They have a lot of remedies to benefit the profession through the schools, but I am wondering what the profession would think if the schools would turn around and try to regulate the profession, and there are many things in the profession that I know should be regulated... This school [Eastern Chiropractic Institute] teaches a three year course of ten months each. Most of professors are graduates from college, not all and yet some individual located in some State that doesn't even understand the situation in New York State wants to regulate us.

At the last meeting of the National Association when I arrived there this school was about fifth on the list and the schools that had adjuncts and taught physiotherapy were in the lead, way up front. Three of my graduates went to one of these schools in the middle West and came back after three weeks disgusted. The curriculum was chucked full of medical subjects, physiotherapy and what not. The last thing that was ever given was a Chiropractic adjustment and yet this school was rated ahead of ours. This can be easily verified by any member of the National Association. Why was this rating given? Why are schools that are working to preserve Chiropractic in States that are not legalized, that are fighting a battle of bare existence, being placed in an uncomplimentary position. I found this proposition and the whole thing was ditched, which shows the trend of thought ...

I am for higher education but I want it along Chiropractic lines, not along the lines of adjuncts and I resent the attitude of

some individuals who are in practice and perhaps never even had a high school education, trying to regulate my school and others, for the sake of the profession, when they do very little if anything to help the schools along.¹⁸

“The profession,” Kightlinger further opined, “is trying to regulate the schools and I feel they haven’t any right to do this unless they lend their [financial] support...”⁶² The New York school leader acknowledged the authority of BCEs to “regulate and classify schools,” and actually found them easier to deal with than some of the NCA’s “radicals” (presumably here referring to Drs. Crider and Watkins).⁶² Crider, too, was growing frustrated, as he noted in a letter to Kightlinger:

... You, personally, have endeavored to cooperate, but the thing that I cannot understand is this – outside of suggesting that nothing but Chiropractic subjects be recognized in any Standard for grading Chiropractic Schools you haven’t in any way offered a constructive suggestion, nor, to my recollection has any other member of your group.

I came to Grand Rapids last year with all cards on the table; appeared before your group and graded a hypothetical school. Presumably some of your fellows objected to the method. The most strenuous objectors were Cleveland and Carver, two who have been repeatedly invited to express their views and have refused to do so. I recognize the fact there were some objective features. It is quite true we don’t operate schools, therefore it is necessary for us to have the counsel of school men. Without stating your reason you knock down the entire proposal and in the same breath accept a revamped medical set-up which cannot be put into operation simply because the schools won’t accept the responsibility of assisting in policing the situation, and there isn’t a Chiropractic organization in

existence able to finance annual inspections of all schools. This is proven by the very fact of the schools promising to eliminate the shorter course and going ahead just as of old. You were not the first one to tell me you had documentary evidence to the fact longer term schools were taking short term students...⁶³

Their mutual frustration with one another would wax and wane over the next few years.

In 1938 the NCA designated Toronto for its annual convention, and an extensive program was arranged (see Table 2). As had been the custom, the COSCEB planned its annual meeting in conjunction with the NCA gathering. The details of the exchange between the various state board members, school leaders and the NCA Committee on Education have been lost, but Crider later noted that:

The Council of State Examining Boards meeting in Toronto adopted the following:

The Standard minimum requirement to be three or four years totaling 3000 – 60 minute hours (4 years of 27 weeks or 3 years of 32 weeks each) going up to four years of 32 weeks each as of January 1, 1941.

The NCA House of Counselors, after hearing the presentation of the different proposed programs, voted the following Standard, effective Sept. 1, 1938 – 4 years of 27 weeks each to be increased to four years of 32 weeks, with 3200 hours the minimum on Sept. 1, 1941.⁶⁵

Kightlinger characterized the stormy session:

When I left Toronto on Friday noon the battle was still on. The State Boards were charging up one side, the schools were slowly retreating on the other and into the main gap General



Figure 22 Gathering of the NCA at Niagara Falls during the society’s 1938 convention visit to Toronto.



Figure 23 Archie W. Macfie, D.C., secretary-treasurer (1934–1946) of the licensing authority for drugless practitioners (chiropractors, naturopaths and osteopaths) in Ontario (courtesy of Herbert K. Lee, D.C.).



Figure 24 On a tour boat during the NCA convention in Toronto in 1938, Dr. C.O. Watkins greets John S. Clubine, D.C., future co-founder and dean of the Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College (NCA photo collection).

Watkins was throwing his forces for higher education.

I have seen no reports in any of our war Journals as to the results of this battle, but I know you have been reappointed to head the committee and I would like you to tell me just what transpired and happened. We have a lot of time, there is no hurry...⁶⁶

Upon his election to NCA's Board of Directors in 1938, C.O. Watkins turned over chairmanship of the NCA Committee on Education to former NCA president Gordon M. Goodfellow, D.C., N.D. of Los Angeles. Goodfellow, born in Quebec in 1900 and a 1925 alumnus of the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic,⁶⁷ was active in the broad-scope faction of California chiropractors, and served on the board of trustees of the College of Chiropractic Physicians and Surgeons.⁶⁸ Goodfellow in turn appointed several members of COSCEB to serve on the NCA Committee on Education, thereby integrating the work of the Council and

the national membership society. His choices were Wayne Crider, D.C., John J. Nugent, D.C. of New Haven, Connecticut, F.A. Baker, D.C. of Mankato, Minnesota and Lewis F. Downs, D.C. of Billings, Montana,³⁹ all members of their respective state boards and active in NCA affairs. Although the NCA and the COSCEB both continued to emphasize their independence from one another, the reality of the situation was clearly otherwise. At the time, there were an estimated 37 chiropractic schools in operation, and the combined committee received information from 15 of these.³⁹

Ratledge's response to Goodfellow's appointment was predictably negative. While the COSCEB "Frankenstein" threatened the profession nationwide, Goodfellow was a local monster in the eyes of the feisty Los Angeles school owner. Obstinate and adamant in his views about the profession, Ratledge had two years earlier expressed his opinion of Goodfellow in a letter to several other straight chiropractic college leaders:

I wish to call your special attention to the fact that the man [Goodfellow] elected to the presidency of the N.C.A. for the

Table 2 Several speakers at the National Chiropractic Association's 1938 convention in Toronto⁶⁴

Speaker	Title/Affiliation/Address*	Topic
J.M. Anderson, D.C.	Galt, ON	"The Spirit of Ontario"
Cash Asher	Publicity Director, NCA, Washington, D.C.	"Publicity Tends in the National Capital"
Sylva L. Ashworth, D.C.	Lincoln NE	Scientific Subject Contest
Major Dent Atkinson	Dean, Columbia Institute of Chiropractic, NYC	"The Law and the Doctor"
Omer Bader, D.C., N.D.,	Dean, National College of Chiropractic, Chicago	"Chiropractic Adjustment"
Homer G. Beatty, D.C., N.D.	President, University of Natural Healing Arts, Denver	"The Incline Plane"
Rangnar C. Bertheau, D.C., N.D.	President, College of Chiropractic Physicians & Surgeons, Los Angeles	"Prerequisites of Success"
W.A. Budden, D.C., N.D.	President, Western States College, Portland OR	"Debate: Resolved, that Chiropractic Educational Standards are Adequate. Negative"
William Budreau, D.C.	Chairman, NCA Legislative Committee, Miami	report of the Committee
Willard Carver, D.C., LL.B.	President, Carver Chiropractic College, Oklahoma City	"Debate: Resolved, that Chiropractic Educational Standards are Adequate. Affirmative"
Carl S. Cleveland, D.C.	President, Cleveland Chiropractic College, Kansas City	"Dissection"
J.S. Clubine, D.C.	President, Associated Chiropractors of Ontario	"official welcome"; "Radionic Diagnosis"
C. Sterling Cooley, D.C.	Member, NCA Board of Directors, Tulsa	
E.S. Detwiler, D.O.	Secretary, Ontario Academy of Osteopathy, London ON	"Acute Anterior Poliomyelitis"
Julius Dintenfuss, D.C.	Editor, Science Sidelights, New York City	"An Evaluation of Scientific Trends"
Lee W. Edwards, M.D., D.C.	Omaha	"How Far Have We Come?"
H. Eugene Gardner	Attorney, Glenside PA	"Medical Liberty in the Balance"
Gordon M. Goodfellow, D.C., N.D.	Chair, NCA By-Laws Revision Committee; Chair, NCA Committee on Educational Standards, Los Angeles	report on the By-Laws Revision Committee
George E. Hariman, D.C.	Secretary, National Council of Hospitals and Sanitaria, Grand Forks ND	"Hospitalization As An Ideal"
Henry C. Harring, D.C., M.D.	President, Missouri Chiropractic College, St. Louis	"Studies of the Brain"
Arthur T. Holmes	Chief Legal Counsel, NCA, LaCrosse WI	report on NCA Legal Department
Dr. H.H. Hon	Anabolic Food Products, New York City	"The Prostate Gland"
Emery C. Ingram, D.C.	President, Committee on Methods and Apparatus, Portland OR	report of the Committee
Gladys Ingram, D.C.	President, National Council of Chiropractic Women, Chillicothe MO	report of the Council
R.G. Jackson, M.D.	Toronto	"A Doctor Looks at Life"
Robert D. Jones, D.C.	NCA Delegate for District of Columbia	need for a national legislative representative in Washington
Craig M. Kightlinger, D.C.	President, Eastern Chiropractic Institute, New York City; President, National Council of Educational Institutions	"Endocrinology as a Science"; report of Council activities
Charles C. Lemly, D.C.	National Council of Hospitals and Sanitaria; National Foundation and Development Committee	report of the Council; report of the Committee
Frank O. Logic, D.C.	Chairman, NCA Committee on Insurance Investigation; Member, NCA Board of Directors, Iron Mountain MI	report of the Committee on Insurance Investigation
Archie W. Macfie, D.C., N.D.	Chairman, Ontario Board of Regents	
Lillard T. Marshall, D.C.	President, NCA Gavel Club	"Where Do We Go From Here?"
Thure C. Peterson, D.C.	New York School of Chiropractic, New York City	"Neurological Findings"
Waldo G. Poehner, D.C.	President, National Council of Roentgenologists, Chicago	"Soft Tissue X-ray Technic"; report of the Council
Kelly C. Robinson, D.C.	Chairman, NCA Membership Committee; President, NCA, New York City	report of Membership Committee; "President's Message"
Loran M. Rogers, D.C.	Secretary-Treasurer, NCA, Webster City IA	
Margaret Schmidt, D.C.	Seattle	Scientific Subject Contest
John A. Schnick, D.C.	Vice President, NCA; NCA Delegate from Ontario, Hamilton ON	
Arthur W. Schwietert, D.C.	Member, NCA Board of Directors	report of the NCA Board of Directors
James E. Slocum, D.C.	Chairman, NCA Department of Public Relations, Research Director, NCA, Des Moines	"Changing the Public Attitude"
Ernest J. Smith, D.C.	President, Metropolitan Chiropractic College, Cleveland	"Gynecological Technic"
Leo J. Steinbach, D.C.	Dean, Universal Chiropractic College, Pittsburgh	"Symposium on the heart"
Mrs. Leo J. Steinbach	Governor, National Women's Chiropractic Auxiliary, Pittsburgh	"Chiropractic on the Offensive"
Dr. L.M. Tobison	National College of Chiropractic, Chicago	"Practical Laboratory Interpretation"
Loren H. Trotter, D.C.	NCA Delegate from Missouri; President, Trotter Park Sanitarium, Kansas City MO	
Harry E. Vedder, D.C.	President, Lincoln Chiropractic College, Indianapolis	"Symposium on the chest"
H.A. VonNieda, D.C.	Editor, Chiropractic Home Magazine, Harrisburg PA	"Avenues of Ethical Publicity"
G.O. Walters, D.C.	Chairman, NCA Student Loan Fund Committee	report of the committee
C.O. Watkins, D.C.	Chair, NCA Committee on Education; Member, NCA Board of Directors; NCA Delegate from Montana, Sidney MT	"factual report of the educational standards of the Chiropractic profession as compared with other professions"
Clarence W. Weiant, D.C.	Eastern Chiropractic Institute, New York City	"Anthropological Aspects"
H.E. Weiser, D.C.	Dean, Texas Chiropractic College, San Antonio	"The Mechanics of the Spine"
F.L. Wheaton, D.C.	President, NCA, New Haven CT	

*If the individual's title/position within the NCA changed during the convention, both are listed

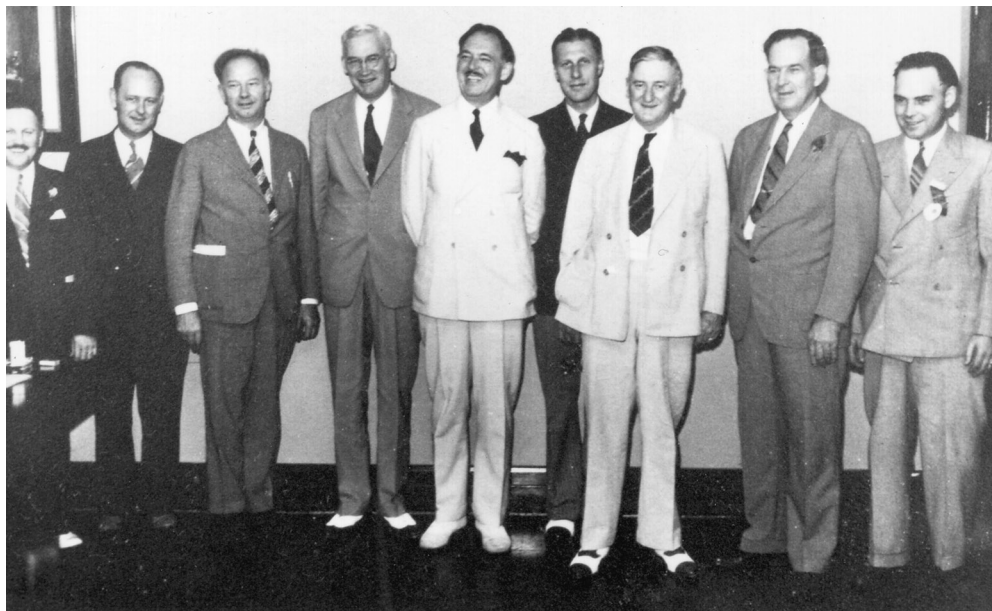


Figure 25
Officers and directors of the NCA, elected during the 1938 convention in Toronto; left to right are: Drs. Frank O. Logic, Loran M. Rogers, C. Sterling Cooley, E.M. Gustafson, Kelly C. Robinson and John Schnick; Arthur T. Holmes, NCA chief legal counsel; and Drs. Wilbern Lawrence and C.O. Watkins. At least two of these men, Drs. Logic and Cooley, served on their states' BCEs, and both were active in the COSCEB or its predecessor, the ICCEB.

coming year is one of the most prominent and active members of the board of directors of the "College of Chiropractic Physicians and Surgeons" (whatever that may be) and will exert his influence through his office against the real CHIROPRACTIC schools and colleges of the country. The above mentioned institution, aided by a number of other so called Chiropractic schools in California and an organization known as the "Affiliated Chiropractors Association" used its utmost influence two years ago to destroy the Chiropractic law in



Figure 26
Dr. Gordon M. Goodfellow, from the cover of the *National Chiropractic Journal* for October 1941.

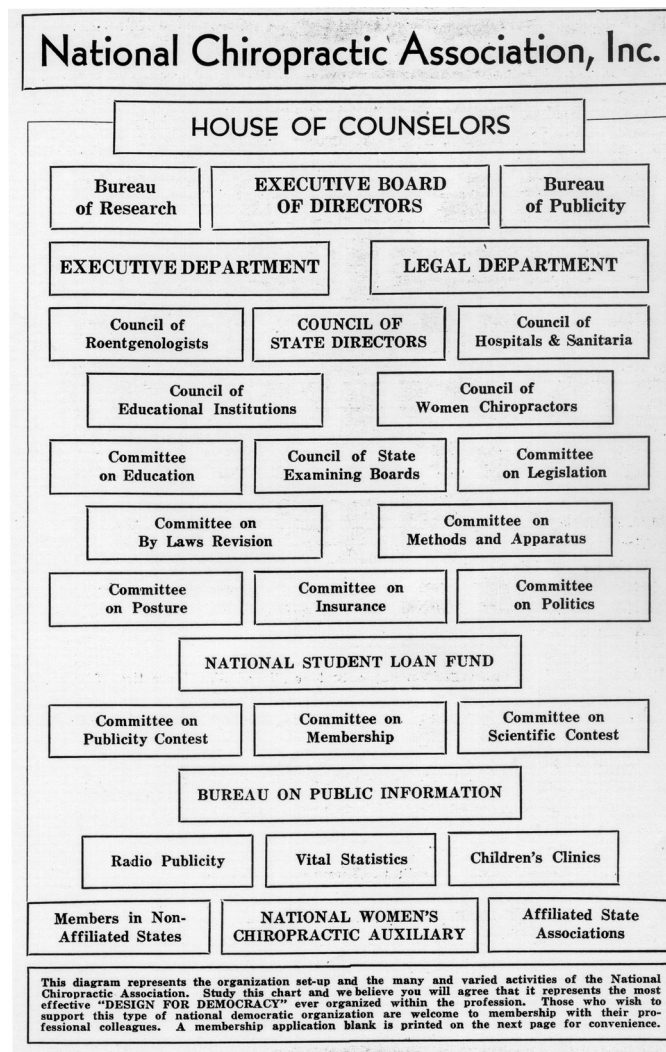


Figure 27 This schematic of the structure of the NCA, published in the May 1938 issue of the society's *Journal*, suggested that the Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards was a central part of the NCA.

California and was foolish enough to believe that it could be done. Also, they had the assistance of the N.C.A. in the person of Dr. Slocum in the attempt, but the people of this State were informed by the California Chiropractic Association, and the Ratledge College, that the proposal was highly objectionable to the better educated Chiropractors with the result that the attempt was overwhelmingly defeated.²⁶



Figure 28
Dr. Wayne F. Crider, circa 1950
(photo courtesy of Wayne S. Crider).

The storm breaks

Six months after the tempestuous meeting in Toronto, Crider issued the first public list of schools endorsed by COSCEB²⁹ (see Table 3). He reviewed the history of the criteria used in this process to readers of the *National Chiropractic Journal*:

The Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards of U.S. and Canada has been studying this question of Educational Standards for the past three and a half years ... it is now adopted by the Council of Examining Boards and the House of Counselors of the National Association, the Council of the Educational Institutions and the Committee on Education of the NCA, so all may understand and cooperate to the fullest extent ...

Many handicaps were experienced and most have been overcome, not the least of which was suspicion as to intent – “distrust.” Many school heads adopted the attitude that any increase in educational requirements would automatically put them out of business. Others positively refused to grant access to the schools’ records. Some falsified their declarations upon our forms. One and all feel their school is the best of all. A few who were requested to give the committee the benefit

of their views either ignored the request or refused. However, they were invariably on hand to criticize our efforts. The committee secure in the realization that this was to be expected continued its work, determined to crown conscientious effort with success.

It became evident early in the program that the State Boards could enforce their adoptions. However, it could be construed as being “mandatory” and therefore subject to possible legal action upon the part of disgruntled interests. This did not deter us. Realization that any program must be supported by a majority opinion in order to be effective, did warrant additional time and facts to break down organized resistance of militant minorities entrenched in and under the guise of “Chiropractic.” Our profession has had so many set-backs due to this type of controversy none further could be countenanced.

The schools are divided in two camps and the old phrase “Ne’er the twain shall meet” seems a befitting description of their attitude – each group positively refuses to recognize the rights of the other or to be classified together – each group is conscientiously imbued with the idea of their philosophy being the one ultimately and immediately to be adopted. It becomes obvious from this phase that any premature launching of a program or any partiality shown either group, each being organized within our Chiropractic organizations, could and would produce another division. It has been repeatedly threatened that “if we did not do so and so immediately” we would have another organization. We believe experience to be a very good teacher so relied upon previous incidents within our ranks to prevent same ...

We found quite a few schools with an excellent “front” to be not much more than paper institutions. Some advertised four year courses and as being approved by many states. An example – one claimed to be the oldest school in their section of the country, withal we have not been able to find a single graduate who has taken a State Board examination. Another – two schools located in the same state – one with a fine physical set-up, the other quite unsatisfactory – when their graduates take the State Board there is not sufficient difference to determine one from the other. Still another had four different sections and wished to be classed as one college. Quite a few differences were discerned in comparing these units – none were approved – today that school has reorganized – several units are closed – others still in legal process – one a going concern. And another school advertises three years of six months leading to D.C. degree. When contacted this school had ninety-nine per cent of its students on the

eighteen month basis, yet claims its regular course is 24 and 27 months. In contrast with this we find another short term (18–24 month) school putting out a product comparing favorably with the longer term (27–32 month) schools. I could continue this for some time but feel this will serve to acquaint you with our experiences.

If we offer criticism it should be accompanied by a remedy. Our schools being commercial institutions, if restriction should be placed on the number of applicants for matriculation, a concerted effort should be included to counterbalance the reduction – the vocational guidance program of the Committee on Education of the NCA, cooperative with the State Examining Boards, could well furnish this. Unfortunately the schools in the past have had many rosy promises of similar nature that failed to materialize. They cannot be unduly criticized for viewing this phase with a jaundiced eyes. It is our present duty to produce students for our colleges.

Our first gradings, with recommendations for improvement, were sent out under registered mail to the various schools. The reaction was immediate, anywhere from praise of our efforts to threats of reprisal through the courts in the event we published same. This grading was upon a mathematical basis to offset any possible discrimination upon the part of our examining committees. We knew it was not in final form but it was a basis for negotiation with the schools in order to draft a final Standard acceptable to all.

We divided the schools into two groups – Fundamental and Liberal (the nomenclature being our own with no thought of infringing on religious or other grounds, only a classification for our two types of philosophy), the Liberals were penalized a total of 6% in order to rate upon the same basis. Example – an approved school would have to average 75% in the Fundamental class and 81% in the Liberal in order to qualify as approved. Still it was felt by both groups that the rating was not equitable. During this time opinions had crystallized, the low standard group wished to be approved according to existing state laws. All schools so doing and teaching Chiropractic only would be approved. The high standard group insisted only four year course schools be approved – an impasse – recriminations were hurled back and forth with the State Boards holding the bag – a peacemaker without power to produce a compromise.

That was in Grand Rapids in 1937. Out of this meeting came several important developments. The Committee on Education of the NCA (of which I had been appointed to membership), was not empowered to continue an unequivocal

four of nine month attitude with official backing. The National Council of Educational Institutions held a joint meeting with the State Boards in an effort to reach an agreement. It was eventually agreed to discontinue the eighteen month course as of January 1, 1938.

We were now embarked on a course of cooperative endeavor, the Council of State Boards, the Educational Institutions and the Committee on Education. But none of the schools affected carried out the provisions, due to either misunderstanding or design.²⁹

Table 3 Approved schools, listed by the Grading Committee of the Council of State Examining Boards, 1939*²⁹

Cleveland Chiropractic College, Kansas City MO
 Eastern Chiropractic Institute, New York City
 Metropolitan Chiropractic College, Cleveland
 Missouri Chiropractic College, St. Louis
 National Chiropractic College, Chicago
 Universal Chiropractic College, Pittsburgh
 University of Natural Healing Arts, Denver
 New York School of Chiropractic, New York City
 Western States College, Portland, Oregon.
 Lincoln Chiropractic College, Indianapolis (27 month course only)

*Crider’s announcement also indicated that: “This list will be revised annually. Should any school not upon this list wish to appeal this decision, we shall be glad to hear their contentions and submit our data to the Appeals Committee at the next annual meeting in July, 1939, at Dallas, Texas.”

Crider went on to describe the process that COSCEB had employed in its effort to validate the preliminary criteria for school grading. In this matter he found resistance not only from the schools, but from several BCEs as well:

Another phase of investigation heretofore unexplored in testing the efficiency of our schools was to determine just what the average grades of each school’s graduates were before the collective State Boards of Examiners. Those boards examining the greater majority of graduates were contacted and asked to furnish the Council access to their examining records. The first response was discouraging; some ignored the request; others point blank refused, arguing, “it would

serve no good purpose.” You may judge by the following whether this type of thought was correct. Several refused upon the basis that such records were “not public property.” Final tabulations found we had the grades of 357 students from twenty (20) schools before sixteen (16) State Boards of Examiners.

We recognize the fact some State Boards may show preference for certain schools. This is overcome by the numbers of Boards participating in the program.

It was necessary to prove to each faction of the School Heads that no one group actually had a corner on the educational program. They were for the past three years in a state of impasse. Each felt superior to the other. The averages of 192 students from Fundamental Schools and 165 from Liberal Schools showed comparatively no difference in group per cent averages. We, therefore, can with assurance lay to rest one of our points for bickering – the oft repeated contention that one group does and the other group of schools does **not** teach Chiropractic.

It may surprise you to learn that one school quite high in reputation actually has but three subjects above the general average and ten below average; while another of equal reputation reverses the ratio with ten above average and three below.

The three highest average schools comprise two Liberals and one Fundamental. This Fundamental School course consists of 24 months while the Liberal Schools average 32 months. It is my prediction that when this Fundamental School raises its course to equal the term of the Liberal Schools it certainly will set a pace in student development that will be difficult for competition to equal.²⁹

Shorter courses had more often been offered by straight schools, which justified their briefer curricular lengths on the grounds that they did not teach the broad-scope subjects, such as various physiotherapies. The need for the two-track evaluation system was still under consideration:

There is still a point that is not settled – shall the Fundamental Schools be required to maintain a course of equal length to that of the Liberal Schools? Some of our best educators, thoroughly “fundamental” in principle, maintain that all should and will eventually embrace the four year standard collegiate year and have committed their schools to this program. While others, equally conscientious, insist the schools teaching more subjects should require a longer curricu-

lum. It appears both standpoints have merit and supporters ...

The Council School Grading Committee feels any school in the shorter term bracket having committed itself to the required 27 month Standard, enjoying a reputation beyond reproach, with faculty efficiency proven by averages heretofore outlined is entitled to the mark of approval. While other schools of either short term or long term curriculum, not backed by either reputation and/or favorable averages, should not be given such approval. Still other schools with favorable curricula, reputation in the making, and lacking support of averages must of necessity await such time as it may be possible to scrutinize them under similar conditions, after which a merited rating can be established ...

This list [Table 3] will be revised annually. Should any school not upon this list wish to appeal this decision, we shall be glad to hear their contentions and submit our data to the Appeals Committee at the next annual meeting in July, 1939, at Dallas, Texas.²⁹

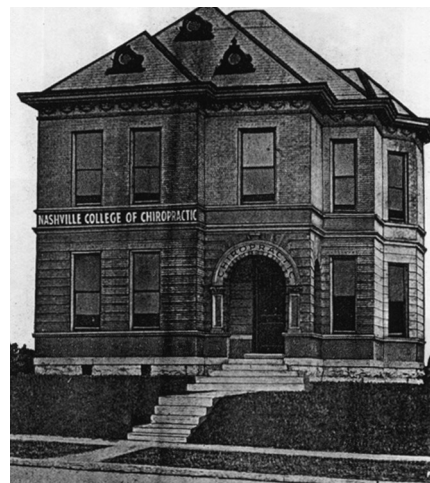


Figure 29
Campus of the
Nashville
College,
circa 1937.

With only 10 of an estimated three dozen chiropractic colleges receiving recognition from COSCEB, cries of outrage were to be expected, as Crider had noted. W. Guy Cheatham, D.C., N.D., dean of the non-COSCEB-accredited Nashville College of Drugless Therapy and chairman of the “NCA Standardization Committee”,⁶⁹ wrote to other school leaders, describing Crider’s release of the roster of recognized schools as “premature, ill-advised, and both very unfair and DAMAGING to EVERY college NOT on his approved list”.⁷⁰ In a note to Carl S. Cleveland, Sr., D.C., president of the Cleveland Chiropractic College of Kansas City (which Crider had endorsed), Cheatham wrote:

In reference to the Crider report on Educational Standards –

It seems that we have all been double crossed and the victim of various species of unexpected double dealing.

While your school is approved in his report, he has since written letters to various individuals in the field that he was not sure of your standing and if he made any revision of his list, your school would have to be taken off. He also makes this same statement in references to at least one or two other schools now on his approved list.

Under the circumstances and in view of the fact that he left off many large and well established schools, it is necessary that some other system of standardization be worked out, and we schools are going to have to do this ourselves.⁶⁹

Kightlinger, whose Eastern Chiropractic Institute was also endorsed by Crider, indicated that “I am so tired and disgusted with what this man does and writes that I feel like telling him to go to hell. He sets up standards, he goes ahead and does things without consulting, or anything else”.⁷¹ Cleveland worked behind the scenes to prevent Crider’s re-appointment to the Maryland BCE,⁷² and was apparently successful.⁷³ In a draft of a caustic letter to Crider (which may not have been sent), Ratledge likened the COSCEB’s work to several European dictators.

... I suggest that your efforts are being wasted in chiropractic where there is no room for such unamerican proposals and purposes and that you would do well to join the “Bund” where, if it succeeds, your emoluments would be in some measure commensurate with the high purpose of destruction to all who do not submit to Hitleristic rule by your committee.

Your program in relation to “educational” standards was premature and approached in a manner to cause resentment by any person who is in favor of American principles and procedure in matters of social relationship. Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin will never be popular persons in America because good Americans reserve the right to think independently and to express the results of their democratic reasoning and refuse to be driven or dictated to by the government or anyone else in matters that are of a purely personal nature, and you will have to admit that chiropractic is not so universal in its practice or in concepts of its scope of applicability that any group who represents only the technical governing (policing) idea can intelligently or fairly, or the future good of the science or the sick, can arbitrarily set up a formula for others to accept.⁷⁴

Ratledge also viewed Crider’s list as a wedge which COSCEB and NCA would use to divide the schools, as he noted in a letter to Cleveland:

What do you think of the N.C.A.’s classification of colleges? It becomes more and more apparent that they are out to crush the better chiropractic schools and to succeed in doing this they will “approve” a few of the schools they would even now rather not approve, but think it a safer policy. They expect to kill off the “Associated Chiropractic Colleges of America” by approving some of us while the others are left out.

God knows that I do not want their approval and know that such approval is just another fake idea which they seem to think will help them “Druglessize” chiropractic. Their approval means nothing as to standards, and their failure to approve means ditto. But I am concerned with defeating what I know to be their intention to make chiropractic relinquish its claims to a science, complete in itself, and accept a place among the hodgepodge of unscientific practices which make up “drugless” practices and Naturopathy. If I had desired the approval of the N.C.A. I would have been a member of the N.C.A. and as you know I have never been a member because I did not approve of their policies. I think less of them as time goes on for the reason that they repeatedly and consistently advocate and urge that which I know to be destructive to chiropractic.⁷⁵

The NCA, however, sought to distance itself somewhat from the furor; NCA executive secretary Loran M. Rogers, D.C. editorialized:

No doubt, there will be a transition period for some colleges, and it seems likely that approved ratings will be granted to additional colleges as rapidly as they qualify and these facts are called to the attention of the Council of State Chiropractic Examining Boards. Is it necessary to point out that the profession should not judge any college not on the approved list too hastily?

It should be understood that the National Chiropractic Association has taken no official action on accrediting colleges and has made public no list of approved colleges at this writing. The NCA Committee on Education has been studying the problem since the Indianapolis convention in 1936, and it is expected will submit an interesting and comprehensive report at the Dallas convention for official action by the House of Counselors at that time.⁷⁶



Figure 30 Scene from the NCA convention, Dallas, 1939 (NCA photo collection).

The new coalition

The national society's 1939 convention was held in Dallas, and marked a turning point in cooperation between the NCA Committee on Education and the accrediting team of the COSCEB. Committee chairman Goodfellow announced a new set of criteria jointly adopted by his committee and the COSCEB, and endorsed by NCA's House of Counselors; absent from this document was the previous notion of separate criteria for straight vs. mixer institutions. The new standards called for a curricular expansion to four years of eight months each, to be effective in September 1941; however, instruction in physiotherapeutics was not mandatory. Declaring the new criteria to be "the basis upon which all Chiropractic schools and colleges will be recognized in the future",⁷⁷ the chairman released the new standards to the profession in September 1939:

In a full spirit of tolerance and with an earnest effort to meet the schools' particular problems, the joint committee of the National Council of Examining Boards and the NCA Committee on Educational Standards present, for your consideration, the following code:

Physical Equipment: The school should own or enjoy the assured use of buildings or rooms sufficient in size and number to provide lecture rooms, class laboratories and clinic facilities for the number of students enrolled. They should meet the public health and sanitary requirements of the com-

munity in which located and should be of such in character as will not reflect discredit upon the profession where located.

There should be a library of modern text and reference books easily accessible to the student body.

Equipment: 1. – Adjusting Tables – at least one to every four students in the class.

2. – Diagnostic Equipment – Stethoscopes, Sphygmomanometer, thermometers, eye, ear, nose and throat equipment should be adequate and available in sufficient numbers to accommodate the class.

3. – Charts, manikens, anatomical, embryological, and pathological specimens and/or stereoptican, balioptican, or microprojectors or similar equipment should be employed for effective teaching purposes, and available for student reference.

4. – The school must own an adequate X-ray laboratory for effective teaching purposes.

5. – There must be an adequate chemical and bacteriological laboratory with sufficient equipment to accommodate the class and provide for effective teaching.

6. – Wherever incorporated in the curriculum, there should be sufficient physiological modality equipment for teaching purposes.

Faculty: The school should have a competent teaching staff, and it shall be graded on the basis of education, training and successful teaching experience.

Future faculty appointments must be made only from those who have graduated from schools approved by this code or from other professional colleges or universities approved by their respective rating boards, except that in the clinical departments appointments may be made from those who are graduates of a professional school or who are by reason of experience and training exceptionally well qualified to teach their subject.

No faculty member may instruct in more than two pre-clinical departments.

It is recommended that whenever possible pre-clinical subjects shall be taught by full time instructors. A full time instructor is one who devotes the major portion of the working day to school activities.

Clinical subjects may be taught by part time instructors.

The question of full time and part time appointments is not, at this time, as important as the qualifications of instructors, who should be specialists or well trained and qualified in the lines they are teaching.

Pre-requisite for Admission: 1. – Age – The admission of

candidates should be governed by the fact that each student be not less than 21 years of age at the time of receiving his degree.

2. – Education – All candidates must furnish proof of having completed a high school education or its equivalent acceptable to a Department of Education of a state, territory or province, provided that students who lack high school credits may, at the discretion of the admitting officer be enrolled and permitted to make up before graduation such deficiencies to the satisfaction of a department of education of a state, territory or province.

3. – Character – All candidates should be required to present evidence of good character and general fitness, the evidence of which should be investigated and duly weighed by the school concerned.

Curriculum – The course shall be grouped as set forth in the following schedule, each group to be allotted approximately the percentage of hours of the whole number of hours in the course.

	Approx. Per cent.	
Preclinical Subjects		
Anatomy, (Embryology & Histology)	18%	
Physiology	6%	
Pathology and Bacteriology	12%	
Biochemistry	4%	
Hygiene & Sanitation	4%	
Obstetrics & Gynecology	4%	
Diagnosis, including X-ray	<u>18%</u>	
	66%	
	Percentage of Clinical Subjects	
Clinical Subjects		
Chiropractic Principles, Technique & Practice	60%	19%
Theory & Principles of Physiological Modalities, or Other elective subjects	40%	<u>15%</u> <u>34%</u>
Total	100%	

Standard text books only should be used. The practice of teaching exclusively by notes or quiz compends must be discontinued.

Length of course – Effective September 1, 1941, schools

shall conduct a course of four years of eight months each of not less than 3600 hours.

Admission to Advance Standing: No student may be admitted except at the beginning of a semester.

For one school year after the effective date of this code full credit may be granted to applicants from other schools. Thereafter, students from other schools may be admitted to advance standing with such credits as may be determined by the admitting officer. However, all students admitted to advance standing must spend at least one year in the school before being graduated.

Financial Ability: No school should expect approval which can not demonstrate its ability to at least graduate its freshman class.⁷⁷

Increased and uniform curricular lengths, but without the requirement to teach physiotherapy, seemed to be in line with the NCA's emerging policy regarding naturopathy. Watkins, in his capacity as an NCA board member, reported on a 1939 Chicago meeting between the NCA, the CHB and the American Naturopathic Association (ANA).⁷⁸ The ANA sought chiropractors' political and legislative support for naturopathic statutes, arguing that these would provide a route for broad-scope chiropractic practice under naturopathic licensure. Watkins argued that 95% of the estimated 16,000 practicing DCs already engaged in liberal forms of chiropractic practice. Consequently, the NCA had resolved to "oppose any plan that would cause the passage of separate physiotherapy laws or naturopathic laws to cover liberal chiropractors, but rather favor liberalization of Chiropractic legislation where it is felt desirable to legalize liberal practice".⁷⁸ Not surprisingly, Palmer and the CHB were adamantly opposed. However, over the next 15 years the NCA pressured its affiliated schools to cease awarding doctorates in naturopathy. The last school to abandon naturopathic instruction was Western States College, and this only after its long time president, W.A. Budden, D.C., N.D., passed away in 1954.

Departing from the previous policy of leaving appointments to the Committee on Education to its chairman, the newly elected NCA president, John Schnick, D.C. of Hamilton, Ontario, named its members (see Table 4). All but Goodfellow were current or former members of their respective states' BCEs. The five-man commission would henceforth be known as the Committee on Educational Standards (CES), and, at the urging of COSCEB's newly



Figure 31
Dr. John Couch,
circa 1930.

elected president, John J. Nugent, D.C. (1), officially became a joint operation with the COSCEB. The Dallas meeting also saw the initiation of Nugent’s many inspection visits to chiropractic schools. Replacing Lewis Downs on the CES team was John K. Couch, D.C., F.I.C.C., a 1920 graduate of the Carver Chiropractic College who had served on the Oklahoma BCE during 1927–1935 and would

soon be re-appointed to the licensing authority.^{79,80} His service was brief, however, for he died on 2 August 1940. Downs was reappointed to the committee.

It was in his new role as president of COSCEB that Nugent may have made the first of his several memorable appearances (e.g., 1, 82) before the U.S. Congress. Accompanied by Emmett J. Murphy, D.C., NCA’s legislative representative in Washington, D.C., James Slocum, D.C., NCA research director, Morris Marsh, D.C., NCA legislative committee, and Cecil D. Strait, D.C., president of the Georgia Chiropractic Association, Nugent and his group addressed the Judiciary Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives in May 1940 in support of a bill introduced by Representative John H. Tolan of California’s 7th Congressional district which sought to provide compensa-

Table 4 Members of the NCA Committee on Educational Standards for 1939–40, appointed by President John A. Schnick, D.C.⁸¹

Gordon M. Goodfellow, D.C., N.D., <i>Chairman</i> , Los Angeles
F.A. Baker, D.C., Mankato, Minnesota
John K. Couch, D.C., M.C., Oklahoma City
Wayne F. Crider, D.C., Hagerstown, Maryland
John J. Nugent, D.C., New Haven, Connecticut



Figure 32
This photo from the *National Chiropractic Journal* for February 1939 shows (left to right): Wayne F. Crider, D.C.; Attorneys Lawrence Mills and Melvin C. Smith; Emmett J. Murphy, D.C.; G.W. Will, D.C.; Mr. Cash Asher; and E.M. Gustafson, D.C. The group had just attended hearings of the Farm Security Administration in Washington, D.C.



Figure 33
U.S. Representative John Tolan was identified as “A Good Congressman” in the NCA’s December 1940 *Journal*.

tion for chiropractic services rendered to federal employees.⁸³ This particular national legislative initiative would drag on throughout World War II, and was not successful, but it raised the visibility of the chiropractic profession, the NCA and Nugent in Washington corridors, and thereby had derivative benefits.

The opposition

While the COSCEB deliberated its next steps, leaders of the former ACCA joined in a new and broader league of straight schools opposed to Crider and his accreditation process. At a meeting called by Willard Carver, held at the NCA’s 1939 Dallas convention and attended by representatives of 13 colleges (see Table 5), the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions (ACEI) was established. Three of these schools, the Lincoln, Missouri and Universal, refused to resign from the NCA’s schools’ council, and withdrew from the ACEI’s proceedings. The new organization was formed of the remaining 10. Dr. Weiser of the Texas College was elected ACEI’s first president; Julian Jacobs, D.C. of the Eastern Chiropractic Institute was named vice president, and Ratledge served as secretary.⁸⁴ Ratledge wrote to B.J. Palmer the following month to invite the Davenport leader to join the ACEI; he was well aware of the long-standing feud between the “Developer” and Carver:

It becomes my duty as Secretary to invite all chiropractic schools who are willing to promulgate chiropractic alone into the association, and as you were not represented at the time of organizing, you are hereby invited and urged to join us and help us to better serve the great cause for which we have, too much, separately strived in the past ...

The issues transcend personalities and though any of us might not have the kindest feeling toward, or interest in, some of the individuals or institutions so associated, I still believe that it is a step in the right direction and will bear fruit sufficient to compensate the effort which we may severally put into it.

Personally, B.J. I would enjoy your association in the work of such an organization and I hope that you do join...⁸⁵

Table 5 Schools represented at the organizational meeting of the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions (ACEI) during the NCA/COSCEB meeting in Dallas, 1939⁸⁴

Carver Chiropractic College, Oklahoma City
Cleveland Chiropractic College, Kansas City MO
Columbia Institute of Chiropractic, New York City
Eastern Chiropractic Institute, New York City
*Lincoln Chiropractic College, Indianapolis
*Missouri Chiropractic College, St. Louis
New York School of Chiropractic, New York City
O’Neil-Ross College of Chiropractic, Fort Wayne, Indiana
Ratledge Chiropractic College, Los Angeles
Restview University of Chiropractic, Seattle
Standard School of Chiropractic, New York City
Texas Chiropractic College, San Antonio
*Universal Chiropractic College, Pittsburgh

*Three schools declined to withdraw from the NCA Council of Educational Institutions and to join the ACEI

In May 1940 Chairman Goodfellow, following in Crider’s footsteps, officially notified Ratledge of the CES’ intent to broadcast its standards and list of recognized schools to audiences beyond the profession:

At the Dallas convention the N.C.A. adopted a code which was presented and approved by the Committee on Educational Standards, appointed by the N.C.A. and the committee appointed by the Council on State Examining Boards.

We, the Committee on Educational Standards, at this time are enclosing a copy of this code so that you may be fully informed as to the requirements and at the same time seek your cooperation.

According to the resolution adopted by the N.C.A. this code will go into effect, September 1, 1941, and it is our plan to publish a vocational guidance booklet which will be ready for distribution March 1, 1941. In this booklet we plan to

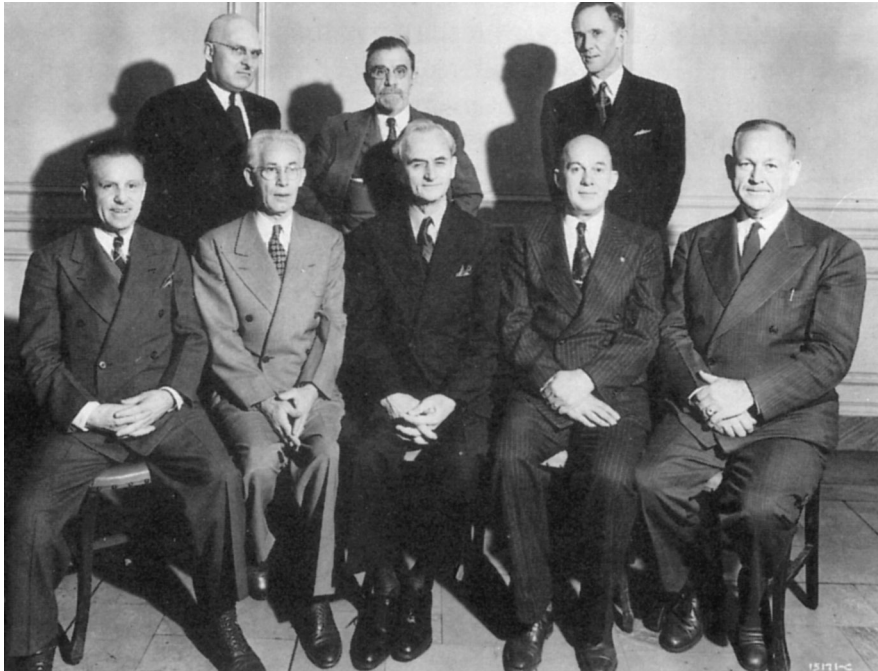


Figure 34

A meeting of chiropractic college leaders, circa 1939, included (standing, left to right): Carl S. Cleveland, Sr., D.C.; B.J. Palmer, D.C.; Homer G. Beatty, D.C., N.D. Seated (left to right) are: George M. O’Neil, D.C.; Hugh B. Logan, D.C.; T.F. Ratledge, D.C.; Henry C. Harring, D.C., M.D.; and James R. Drain, D.C. All but Drs. Beatty and Harring headed “straight” chiropractic schools.

publish the names, and addresses of all schools complying with this code, putting into effect this course as of September 1, 1941.⁸⁶

The CES’ strategy threatened the financial lifeblood of the schools: students’ tuition. Palmer did climb on board the ACEI ship, and joined the group for their historic meeting in Kansas City in July 1940. The session, held just weeks before the NCA convention in Minneapolis, issued an ultimatum (87) to the national society:

IN THE MATTER OF THE PRESERVATION OF
CHIROPRACTIC: AN ADDRESS

The Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions in convention assembled at Kansas City, Missouri, this the 20th day of July, A.D. 1940, present this address to the National Chiropractic Ass. and to the Chiropractic Health Bureau, and each and all allied or independent organizations professedly within the Chiropractic profession.

This organization of Chiropractic Educational Institutions recommends as its unswerving policy that Chiropractic in its simplicity and purity shall be protected and carried on without being encroached upon by any entangling alliances and without being placed in such relationship to any system, method or element of approach that its fundamentals, objects and aims

shall be in any manner or to any extent infringed or encroached upon.

As a means of carrying out the object just stated, this organization of educational institutions demands that any national organization within the Chiropractic profession that expects to carry on and expects to encourage and maintain the friendly cooperation of the educational institutions this organization represents must advocate that Chiropractic educational institutions shall teach maintain only a specific course in Chiropractic education, including such anatomic, physiologic, pathologic and symptomatologic facts as are necessary to prepare the student to definitely apply the fundamental principles of Chiropractic in his practice in a safe, constructive, and specific manner, and in this connection this organization advises that it will frown upon any profession that in any manner conflicts or attempts to conflict with the fundamental facts thus stated and laid down.

This organization of educational institutions, in order to be thoroughly well understood, as to what it means by the establishment of a Chiropractic course of study, leading to the practice of Chiropractic, says and declares and wishes it understood that all branches of medicine are particularly declared to be not a part or not a possible part of a course of study in Chiropractic. The prohibited subjects, it will thus appear, are the prescription and administration of drugs, the

practice of surgery by instrumental and intervention or use of instruments in any surgical effort, and this includes radionics, diathermy in any of its aspects, and all other allied machines generally classified as auxiliaries and professing any aspect of cure or relief. This also includes hydrotherapy, and all phases of naturopathy and all allied subjects thereto, which includes water cure and all so-called natural therapeutic methods.

This organization of educational institutions wishes it to be particularly understood that it is in favor of courses of sufficient length to impart the information required to safely and properly practice Chiropractic, and it is particularly opposed to the present method of extending courses of study in Chiropractic educational institutions for the purpose of permitting general instruction in the use of such auxiliaries as have already been mentioned and referred to, and it wishes it understood that it is definitely opposed to such courses teaching various aspects of medical and surgical practice for which the student is not prepared in proper courses of Chiropractic study.

The Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions wish to make a separate representation of its attitude and to make a separate demand for carrying out its fixed beliefs as to the present safe course of advancement for Chiropractic.

SEPARATE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

This organization definitely recommends that if physiotherapy, that is to say, instruction in the use of the modalities such as were heretofore pointed out and indicated, is to be given, that in order to do so, it will be necessary to establish a separate educational institution with a faculty that is ample and competent to teach each and all of the subjects of physical or physio-therapeutic, and that there shall be a fixed course of study which, if successfully finished, will lead to a proper degree showing the character of study completed, and that if practice under such degree so issued by said separately organized and facultied institution, shall be made, that it must be done in each state and province, under law definitely passed to regulate the practice of the particular art indicated by said diploma, and that if a Board of Examiners shall be graduates of such a physical or physio-therapeutical educational institution, and not otherwise; and such institution shall never employ Chiropractors as a part of its faculty, but must employ experts in the particular subject or subjects that are to be taught and that are to form a part of the instruction of students in that character of educational institution.

THE MORE SPECIFIC ULTIMATUM

To the National Chiropractic Association, the Chiropractic Health Bureau, and all allied organizations purporting to be within the Chiropractic profession, the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions goes on record and states that unless a reorganized plan of your bodies, association, or by whatever name known, reorganized, amend and change said organizations in such way as to be in conformity with the suggestions and demands of allied educational institutions, we find it is necessary that we shall withdraw all support that has ever come from the members of this organization to your organization in every way, shape and manner, and we say to you now in all kindness and truth that unless reorganization, amendments, etc., are accomplishments by you within a reasonable time, the members of the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions shall feel free to organize a separate national organization that will be strictly Chiropractic in all of its departments, and will look to carrying out, all and singular, the things that have been said in this address. This matter has been fully considered and unanimously passed by this organization, which has signed the same as such and each of its members has signed in his individual capacity.

Dated this 20th day of July, 1940

Signed: Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions
Per TF Ratledge, D.C., Secretary, Jas. R. Drain,
Acting President.

Individual Members,

B.J. Palmer	Palmer School of Chiropractic	Davenport, Iowa
Willard Carver	Carver Chiropractic College	Oklahoma City, Okla.
T.F. Ratledge	Ratledge Chiropractic College	Los Angeles, Cal.
Jas. R. Drain	Texas Chiropractic College	San Antonio, Tex.
C.S. Cleveland	Cleveland Chiropractic College	Kansas City, Mo.
Craig M. Kightlinger	Eastern Chiropractic Institute	New York, N.Y.
C.Y. Dean	Columbia Institute of Chiropractic	New York, N.Y.
Geo. M. O'Neil	O'Neil-Ross Chiropractic College	Fort Wayne, Ind.

Full speed ahead

As it turned out, not all of the listed signatories to the above document were actually present at the Kansas City meeting. Several, including Drs. Dean (Columbia), Kightlinger (Eastern) and O'Neil (O'Neil-Ross Chiropractic College) had submitted proxies to the actual attendees: Drs. Cleveland, Carver, Drain, Palmer and Ratledge.⁸⁸ Kightlinger and the Eastern Institute subsequently withdrew from the ACEI, arguing instead that "the day of short professional



Figure 35
NCA President John Schnick, D.C. is greeted at the Minneapolis airport in 1940 by convention organizer Robert Ramsay, D.C., founder and president (1908–1935) of the Minnesota Chiropractic College.

course is over”.⁸⁹ But his difficulties and dissatisfactions with the CES would continue for several more years. Although listed as the presiding officer for the NCA Council of Educational Institutions at the Minneapolis meeting in 1940, Kightlinger was absent owing to school business.⁹⁰

Indeed, most members of the ACEI did not attend the NCA convention that year, although it was noted with

appreciation that Carl Cleveland was present, and had defended the straight organization’s position before the school council and the CES.⁹¹ Nugent was re-elected president of COSCEB at the Minneapolis convention, and E.M. Bristol, D.C. of Oregon was named secretary,⁹² presumably succeeding Crider in this position. Goodfellow was re-appointed chairman of CES, and the committee continued its resolve to implement the accreditation standards adopted at the Dallas meeting on schedule: 1 September 1941.⁹³

Chairman Goodfellow issued what was as near to a reply to the ACEI’s July 1940 challenge as the rival school group would receive. Despite the many false starts, the NCA and COSCEB were determined to proceed with the accreditation plan:

... Questionnaires have gone out to every Chiropractic school of record, by which those who wish to conform may file with this committee full and complete data to their curriculum, equipment, financial ability, teaching staff, etc. Certain definite standards are demanded of all; a course of four years, sufficient equipment to properly present the subject matter taught, financial ability to graduate the students who matriculate, and a staff of instructors who have themselves been



Figure 36 Banquet during the NCA’s 1940 convention at the Hotel Nicollet in Minneapolis (NCA photo collection).

properly and thoroughly qualified.

Each student must be not less than 21 years of age at the time of receiving his degree, must possess a high school diploma, or the educational equivalent thereto, acceptable to a department of education of a state, territory or province, or if lacking that in part, must make up the necessary credits during his Chiropractic course and present evidence thereof before issuance of any diploma ...

No school is required to fill out this questionnaire. There is no punishment or ostracism threatened for those who fail to do so. We hold no power, legal or otherwise, to do so. We simply drop the matter, so far as they are concerned. But those who do answer, who fill out the questionnaire, who show their desire to co-operate with the practitioners in the field – to those we hold forth the promise of the reward they deserve; the full co-operation of the NCA in listing them as approved colleges in directing students to them.

The NCA will publish a Vocational Guidance Booklet in which the approved schools will be listed impartially. It will distribute this booklet to all inquiries interested in obtaining a Chiropractic education ...

The schools accepting this program, I believe, will prosper as never before. For every student who has been attracted by a short course at low cost, I believe two have been repelled. A better class of students will enter the classes, and better chiropractors will emerge.

It is regrettable, but nevertheless to be expected, that some schools will make no effort to meet this standard. One class will consist of those who could not hope to meet it. Another class, however, will consist of those who might qualify if they would but who, either resenting what they consider dictation from others, or from purely selfish motives, seek to follow their own course and will refuse to comply. That is their privilege and their business. We cannot compel them to fall in line, but they in turn cannot expect our help and co-operation in filling their classrooms with students...⁹³

Chiropractic schools were once again invited to complete and submit the CES' questionnaires, although the need for concurrent, on-site "inspection and interview" was readily apparent.⁹⁴ Nugent served as the inspector, and toured the nation's chiropractic schools;^{95,96} it was noted by the committee that his evaluation procedures were very similar to those by inspectors from Pennsylvania's state education department.⁹⁷ According to the COSCEB president:

Early in 1941 the joint committee invited those schools which wished to be accredited to file applications and to furnish certain data regarding their organization, administration, faculty and conduct of the courses. It had been observed early in this survey that questionnaires were not the most reliable source of information. No two persons interpret a question alike and no questionnaire, however carefully and elaborately drawn, can bring out the information which a personal inspection and interview will disclose. It was, therefore, decided to send a representative of the committee to every school making application. The inspection was to determine:

1 – Whether the schools during the transitional period had adjusted their standards and practices to conform to the code. If not, why not.

2 – Which schools, even though their transitions were not satisfactory, had the willingness, the organization, and the facilities to meet the new standards.

3 – What were the actual conditions in all our schools

The method of inspection was as informal and unobtrusive as possible but complete in its thoroughness. It was discovered that there were a number of schools which, if given aid and direction, had the willingness and possibilities to achieve a higher standard. These schools, if not entirely in compliance with the code, had intelligent pedagogical direction. Their faculties were competent and their deans had the willingness and ability to translate into practical operation the new conceptions of the code.

A crying need was apparent, however. Before standards of teaching methods could be discussed some effort would have to be made to bring about a uniformity of conceptions. It was obvious that common conceptions of educational principles could be secured only by modifying the point of view and broadening the interests of those responsible for Chiropractic education. It also became apparent that the majority of the schools could not resolve the problems by themselves; they would need aid and assistance in the effort.⁹⁴

Despite the continuing uncertainties, this time the Committee on Educational Standards got it right. After review of Nugent's findings during the NCA's 1941 Baltimore convention, a new list of schools, given "provisional" accreditation, was issued on schedule by the CES (see Table 6). The new roster of recognized colleges was very similar to that prepared by Crider two years earlier.²⁹ Cleveland College was no longer listed, but the Detroit

Table 6 Chiropractic colleges granted “provisional, approved ratings” by the NCA Committee on Educational Standards, 1941³⁵

Detroit Chiropractic College of Detroit
Eastern Chiropractic Institute of New York City
Lincoln Chiropractic College of Indianapolis
Metropolitan Chiropractic College of Cleveland
Minnesota Chiropractic College of Minneapolis
Missouri Chiropractic College of St. Louis
National College of Chiropractic of Chicago,
New York College of Chiropractic, New York City
Southern California College of Chiropractic, Los Angeles
University of Natural Healing Arts of Denver
Universal Chiropractic College of Pittsburgh
Western States College, Portland, Oregon.

Chiropractic College had been added. Also joining the CES-approved schools were the Minnesota Chiropractic College and the Southern California College of Chiropractic, bringing the total of provisionally accredited institutions to 12. At least three schools that had applied for recognition were denied: O’Neil-Ross, Nashville and the American School of Chiropractic in New York City. Several schools were directed to increase their instruction time in various basic science and clinical subjects. Discrepancies between hours listed in school catalogues and those actually offered was a common finding.

The Baltimore meeting was important not only for its finalization of the first list of schools recognized by the NCA, but also for the structural change in the accreditation process that the national society committed itself to. Goodfellow was elected to the NCA Board of Directors, and Dr. Cecil Strait was appointed to fill his seat on the CES. Crider was named to chair the committee, but it would be a position of lessened authority. With two former CES chairmen now serving on the NCA Board of Directors, the impetus for greater commitment to the process of educational upgrading was in place. The NCA “created the office of Director of Education” (95); Nugent stepped down from his post as president of COSCEB and accepted the directorate, a full-time position. For the next 20 years, the former COSCEB leader would guide the profession in its “bootstrapping” campaign for better training of chiropractors.¹

Although he had changed hats, Nugent would continue



Figure 37 Dr. Loran Rogers and wife (in hat), relax during the 1941 NCA convention in Baltimore (photo courtesy of Tom Lawrence, D.C.).

to see the work of the BCEs as vital to the improvement of chiropractic education. This was made clear in his first message to the field as Director of Education:

While standard curricula and improved faculties are important it is equally important that the students entering our schools be of a type or grade competent to absorb and assimilate what they are taught. The individuals who come out of our schools are the individuals who enter our profession. You cannot elevate the standards and ethical practices of your profession until you exercise some control of the students entering your schools. There should, therefore, be fixed and unvarying entrance requirements as regards the intellectual ability of the candidate and some effort made to broaden the cultural background of the new student to compensate for the absence of pre-chiropractic academic training. There should be some control over not only matriculation but also over the transfer and graduation requirements.

All of these objectives can only be achieved with the ungrudging cooperation of the schools. This they have agreed to give, even at considerable sacrifice to themselves. I can, then, hardly stress too strongly the great obligation which rests upon the field to do everything possible to help the schools in this effort. How can we do this?

1. – We must send students to these “approved” schools. The Alumni of these schools should assume the active responsibility for keeping their classes full.

2. – We should do everything possible to prevent students from enrolling in “unapproved” schools. This will save them



Figure 38
Dr. John Nugent,
1941.

many disappointments after they are “graduated.”

3. – We should increase our contributions to the Student Loan Fund and restrict its use to “approved” schools. Alumni associations should consider the foundation of scholarship and endowment funds.

4. – Urge your State Board to recognize only “approved” schools, since adequate educational standards are universally recognized as essential in any profession.

5. – Urge your State Board to raise its requirements to the standards of your “approved” schools. State associations and legislative committees in each state should plan to amend their laws accordingly.

6. – Urge your State Board to cooperate in the formulation of standard examinations and requirements.

7. – Urge your State Board to join the National Conference of State Boards of Examiners...⁹⁶

It had indeed been a long, winding road from the ICCEB/COSCEB’s earliest efforts to organize and upgrade the schools. The path had seen repeated re-organizations, alliances formed and dissolved, bitterness and determination. But in 1941, as the NCA took the reins from COSCEB in the educational reform process, John Nugent’s work was really just beginning. No one could see just how long the road ahead would be.

Conclusion

Concern for improvements in the training of chiropractors date to the profession’s third decade, and coincide with the

introduction of regulatory statutes in the first few states. This concern was amplified in the late 1920s as basic science legislation threatened new graduates’ ability to secure licenses. Organized chiropractic, in the form of its national membership societies and its new-born federation of licensing authorities, commenced discussions with college leaders about the financial structure of the schools (proprietary vs. non-profit), admissions requirements, curricular length and subjects taught. After nearly a decade of inertia, however, the regulatory authorities took it upon themselves to introduce higher standards and criteria for evaluating the colleges’ performance. Eventually the COSCEB joined forces with the NCA’s reformers and a few of the more progressive chiropractic school leaders.

Given the long-standing disputes among school leaders over scope of practice and “philosophy,” the NCA/COSCEB effort to regulate chiropractic education was bound to be contentious. The problem was exacerbated, however, by the clumsy way in which the earliest grading systems for the schools were applied. Howls of protest were followed by new organizations of colleges (e.g., ACCA, ACEI), which sought to block the reforms, or at least to slow the pace at which they were implemented. Personal animosities also entered the equation, and extreme bitterness among various constituencies further retarded the process. When John Nugent resigned the presidency of COSCEB in 1941 to take the reins as the NCA’s first director of education, it was a step from the proverbial frying pan into the firestorm of accreditation.

Three more decades would pass before the reform of the schools had progressed sufficiently to overcome the criticisms of political medicine (98) and permit federal recognition of chiropractic education. During this period, the battles waged in the 1920s and 1930s would be repeated several times over. Chiropractors repeatedly feuded with one another over admissions criteria, curricular length, scope of instruction and locus of authority for accreditation. New agencies, such as the North American Association of Chiropractic Schools and Colleges (1950s), the ICA’s Chiropractic Education Commission (1950s and 1960s), and the Association of Chiropractic Colleges (1960s and 1970s) arose to challenge the reformers (2). Stoking the fires from the sidelines, political medicine took satisfaction from chiropractic’s professional disunity, and used it to its advantage again and again (99).

Those who forget their past, it has been suggested, are

doomed to repeat it. One can speculate endlessly about what might have unfolded differently if only some one part of history could be changed. However, the real value of historical analysis lies in its potential to aid in planning for the future. Men such as Wayne Crider, Gordon Goodfellow, C.O. Watkins and John Nugent were neither villains nor saviors. They were but the point men in the profession's self-directed maturation process, a process that had begun before they entered chiropractic college and continues to this day. Their sagas suggest a certain inevitability in professional development, for despite their foibles, fumbles and the strenuous opposition they encountered, chiropractic has continued to move closer to the loftier position they envisioned. Perhaps we can make the future a little less rocky by understanding what they came through and why.

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