

Solon Massey Langworthy: Keeper of the Flame During the 'Lost Years' of Chiropractic

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS*

One of the first "15 disciples" graduated under D.D. Palmer before he left Davenport in 1902, S.M. Langworthy may have been the most significant key to the survival of the fledgling and embattled profession. Before B.J. Palmer asserted leadership in the 1906-07 period, Langworthy had achieved several notable "firsts:" His American School of Chiropractic in Cedar Rapids, Iowa offered the first systematic curriculum; he and his early graduates obtained the first chiropractic licensing act in Minnesota in 1905; his Backbone was the first regular chiropractic publication and he published the first textbook, Modernized Chiropractic. Yet, by 1918, he seemed to have disappeared from the scene and descended into obscurity.

Samuel Johnson, replying to an assertion by his friend, literary critic and biographer James Boswell, suggested that "seldom is a splendid story wholly true." With this in mind, it might be appropriate to reflect upon the embellished accounts of the early years of chiropractic, which have yet to unfold in their totality from the papers of the pioneers of the profession, and subjected to dispassionate examination and scholarship.

It may be, however, that such an initial search could conclude through circumstantial evidence that in two crucial years of questionable survival for the fledgling healing art — between 1902 and 1904 — it was neither The Founder, Daniel David Palmer nor his son who would style himself The Developer — Bartlett Joshua Palmer — who were in the forefront to advance its cause. That role may well be accorded to a man largely unknown to today's profession.

Solon Massey Langworthy, scion of an Iowa family that traced its ancestry to the pre-Revolutionary colonies and which included a Yale medical school graduate and a surgeon in the War of 1812, may well have kept the flame of chiropractic from being snuffed out in years when the wrath of medical orthodoxy and the courts were first being felt by the pioneer practitioners.

Consider the Langworthy achievements, largely forgotton today: he was the first to establish a systemized curriculum of chiropractic lectures and clinical work; the first to establish a two-year course; the first to publish a regular journal; a coauthor and publisher of the first textbook. He helped to initiate and gain passage of the first chiropratic legislation in the United States

and to research a theory which would gain the first serious consideration in the medical community about the validity of spinal therapeutics.

Because of the apparent diverse success that Langworthy achieved in a relatively short three or four year span in influencing chiropratic literature, education, research and politics, an examination of what we do know of him is appropriate. The enigma of Solon Massey Langworthy may be that it has been possible to flesh out his life and contributions for most of half a century. After 1918, however, there remains a void in the known professional or personal activities of this significant participant of the landscape of early chiropractic. His date of death does not appear in any of the journals or newspapers that have been searched. His family appears to have left Cedar Rapids and genealogical research has so far not uncovered any of his heirs.

Langworthy occupies a page and a half in a 1911 biographical volume on the history of Linn County, Iowa.1 In this account, he is listed more for his mercantile than for any therapeutic achievements, but an observation is made that "the doctor has met with remarkable success in his chosen calling and is today numbered among Cedar Rapids' prosperous and honored citizens." The Langworthy pedigree is impressive, being traced to English ancestors who settled in colonial Rhode Island in 1682. The next two generations produced James Langworthy, a member of a Vermont regiment in the Revolutionary War, and Dr. Stephen Langworthy, a Yale University medical graduate who served as a surgeon in the War of 1812 before removing to Illinois and later Iowa. His son Solon became a banker and lumber merchant in Dubuque. His eldest son, Solon Massey, was born there on March 23, 1868.

The younger Langworthy attended Dubuque schools

^{*}Writer and editor in Pittsburgh, Pa.

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Correspondence to: Mr. Russell W. Gibbons, 207 Grandview Drive South, Pittsburgh, PA 15215.

and Bayless College. His father died about the time he finished school, and instead of entering the family business he went to Tacoma, Washington where he eventually became partner in a mercantile firm, returning to Iowa in 1893. For the next seven years he was an itinerant in mercantile sales throughout the Midwest, his biographical sketch declaring that "for a time he traveled only twenty weeks during the year, devoting the remainder of the time to study in various schools relative to the drugless treatment of disease." While there is no direct reference to an "osteopathic connection," it is difficult to imagine that an inquisitive Langworthy would not have traveled to Kirksville to explore A. T. Still's school and clinic, which was flourishing in that period.

In 1901, Langworthy received a diploma from an institution called the American College of Manual Therapeutics in Kansas City, Mo., a state that was to provide an environment of growth for dozens of regular, reform, osteopathic, chiropractic and alternative institutions for the first quarter of the new century. In 1910, Abraham Flexner, the scourge of irregular medical schooling, would bring forth the most vitriolic of his condemnations in describing medical education in Missouri: "... the state maintains some of the poorest (medical) schools in the country... nine of the twelve (medical and osteopathic institutions, are utterly wretched."³

Sometime in early 1901, Langworthy went to Davenport to enroll in the Chiropractic School and Cure conducted by D.D. Palmer in the Ryan Block. There is no known account of how D.D. felt about his students' prior exposure to "manual therapeutics," but there are veiled assaults on the subsequent Langworthy writings throughout The Founder's 1910 tome, The Chiropractor's Adjustor. Langworthy went to Cedar Rapids and opened an office in July 1901, and within two years occupied a substantial building with some 20 rooms. There is some question as to when he actually went into the "school" business, as it was described in that period, but by 1903 his institution was known as the American School of Chiropractic and Nature Cure and also as Langworthy's Health Home. His success was reflected in a full page advertisement in the Cedar Rapids Gazette in early 1904, which provided pictorial evidence of a substantial enterprise accompanying testimonial copy familiar to the broadsides of turn-of-the-century healers.

"No drugs. No knife. The horrors of the hospital are gone — The dread of disease is a thing of the past," declared the copy, adding that "Chiropractic (it is pronounced Ki-ro-prac-tik) means 'hand fixing' . . . the nerves are the life . . . where there is disease you will find an interrupted supply of nerve force." The descriptions are among the first non-Palmer literature in the profession's infancy, and would later contribute to the

bitter fratricide that would develop between the Palmers in Davenport and the upstart rival school in Cedar Rapids.

The evolution of Langworthy's private practice to a Health Home (a term which implied that inpatient facilities were made available on a boarding basis for non-surgical cases) and then to a training institution for new chiropractors must be viewed within the context of D.D.'s informal tutorial philsophy which was reflected in his Davenport school. The handsome diploma that The Founder presented to those who had completed his course declared that the recipient had "taken a course in Chiropractic as taught in this school and has passed the examination required. I consider (him/her) competent to Teach and Practice the same." The emphasis was Palmer's; he apparently believed that those who sat under his tutelage should go out and instruct others. The earliest known chiropractic diploma that is in existence was signed by D.D. in February 1902, being given to E.E. Sutton, one of the first 'fifteen disciples' that sat under D.D. before B.J.'s graduation. The same period scroll and embossing, to the letter, exists on that issued to a pioneer chiropractor, Almeda Haldeman, by the Chiropractic School and Cure in Minneapolis, Minnesota in January 1905. The only difference is 'Minneapolis, Minnesota' being substituted for Davenport, Iowa, and the signature of 'Dr. E.W. Lynch, Principal' for that of 'Dr. D.D. Palmer, President.'5

This brief exploration into sheepskin history has validity in reconstructing the Langworthy school experience. Accepting the injunction of The Founder to "teach and practice," his former student proceeded to do just that. Who his first graduates were is conjecture but two of them achieved some significance in the early history of the profession and both gained citations by D.D. himself in his 1910 volume.

Alma C. Arnold, who is acknowledged as the first chiropractor to begin practice in New York, must have completed studies in 1902, for that is the date she used in establishing her own brief biography. In 1910, she wrote The Founder that "I studied with Dr. Langworthy after he had cured me of a twenty-year invalidism." 6 D.D. took exception to the "painless adjusting" techniques for which Arnold had gained a reputation, and spends some time in his book refuting her (and Langworthy's) technique. Arnold was not only one of the first woman chiropractors and the first known D.C. in New York, but one who had a successful practice that included such prominent patients as Clara Barton, the founder of the American Red Cross. In 1914, she authored a book called The Triangle of Health that was published by well-known New York house.7

The other Langworthy graduate was a Minnesota resident, Daniel Riesland, who with his mentor's encouragement would return to his native state and lobby for introduction of the first chiropractic legislation in 1905. It is doubtful that a dozen chiropractors were in practice at that time, although Lynch was conducting his school in Minneapolis and another of the "disciples," Thomas F. Story, was active in Duluth. Apparently the Langworthy graduates were of enough strength to achieve passage in both houses of the legislature, but by the time the bill reached the desk of Governor John A. Johnson, word reached D.D. Palmer in Davenport, and The Founder immediately went to St. Paul to see the governor at the state capital.8

The emergence of Langworthy as a presence in both propagandizing the new healing art and in the training of new chiropractors loomed as a direct threat to the Palmers in the 1901-04 period when The Founder left Davenport under the threat of prosecution for the illegal practice of medicine, and began a four-year odyssey on the West Coast. Young B.J., his 1902 diploma inscribed with his father's bold hand just before he left town, was acting headmaster of a school which enjoyed much financial stability as it had dubious scholastic recognition. Creditors were at the doors of the infirmary and offices on the top floor of the Ryan Building, and B.J. himself left town after an indictment for the charge which had threatened his father.9

Neither father nor son were in a position to confront the apparently significant challenge to leadership which was being offered in Cedar Rapids. These may well have been the so-called "Lost Years of Chiropractic," in which the few dozen practitioners who were scattered throughout the Midwest and some western states were without any correspondence or broadsides from "Old Dad Chiro" in Davenport, and when the soon-to-be-styled Developer was under indictment. Cyrus Lerner, an investigative attorney who was commissioned to write an extensive report on the origins of chiropractic in the 1950's, gave this interpretation:

"In the early part of 1903, Langworthy began to alter his Health Home into a school. Not only did he remodel his house, he also remodeled Chiropractic. Under the management of Langworthy, Chiropractic was 'dressed up' and made to look like an authentic and proper 20th century 'science." 10

Langworthy first proceeded to "dress up" chiropractic literature, which until 1903 had been limited to irregular publication of a broadside by D.D. called *The Chiropractic*, and by testimonial-type advertising copy which both Palmers had placed in the Davenport *Times*. Langworthy, knowing that there were numerous journals and magazine already advancing the alternative health schools which were entering the competitive market-place, sought a more dignified literary exposure for the fledgling school. Thus, in October of 1903, he published the first number of a magazine which he termed "the only

and the official chiropractic journal."

The title was instructive as to the controversy that was to develop: called the *Backbone*, with the familiar spine that would symbolize the new school of healing, there was no direct reference to chiropractic. The introduction in the first issue gave the reader the impression that the origin of the profession might well have been with its editors:

"Chiropractic — the science of hand fixing'—
is an original Iowa idea — and in The
American School of Chiropractic and Nature
Cure at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, U.S.A., the
science of Chiropractic has been developed
until the skilled practitioner knows he can
find the immediate cause of disease, and with
almost never an exception he can remove it
and see his patient restored to health . . ."

Backbone was an articulation of the distinct Langworthy theory of chiropractic that was to clash with that of the Palmers; that the profession was a system of spinal therapy, not concerned with "hand-fixing" other parts of the body. In this journal came the first known clash of philosophies about the scope of practice and the debate over the art itself. The Founder had first published his theories in an article called "Luxation on Bones Cause Disease" in his broadside in 1899, according to Lerner, which had been republished by B.J. in Davenport newspaper advertisements in 1902. Here was the scope of practice as defined by both Palmers in those days when the practice was little more than theory, its practitioners still in the "disciple" category:

"All diseases are prolonged until the pressure upon the nerves leading to the parts affected are freed from the pressure. The manner of removing the pressure is done by the use of the hands of the operator. The muscles, nerves, and bones of the patient are manipulated in such a manner as to adjust the system properly to itself... This pressure is caused by the luxation or displacement (partial or complete) of the bones or by contraction of the muscles drawing on or across the nerves . . "

Lerner, who had made the most exhaustive examination of Langworthy's research and activities of any known studies, offers the argument that he was a theorist who pioneered several priority areas which came into conflict not only with The Founder but with some accepted physiological tenets. According to Lerner, it was Langworthy who:

First made use of the term subluxation (in Chiropractic); the first reference to the expression "intervertebral foramina"; the first reference to the shape and design of the intervertebral openings; the first reference to the "brain" as the source of all nerve force;

the first reference to the *erect posture in man*; the first reference to the *laws of gravity* affecting the stature of the human being; the first reference to the *date of discovery* of Chiropractic, and the first reference to the "supremacy of the nerves" as distinguished from the Osteopathic claim concerning the "supremacy of the blood."¹¹

Lerner may have been too unrestrained in his praise for the research achievements of Langworthy, but there is little doubt that the Cedar Rapids institution soon became a focal point of activity in the new health system in the years 1903-05. His announcement, in the April 1904 issue of *Backbone* that he had "discovered a theory of old age" and the concept of the intervertebral foramina gained some attention in the public press, and Langworthy was invited to discuss his theories in the wide circulation Chicago *American*. These original propositions led toward the publication of a book well received in the medical community a decade later, and does suggest that the first known chiropractic research after D.D. Palmer's original concepts was achieved by Langworthy.

One of the early Langworthy associates was Oakley G. Smith, a one-time medical student at the University of Iowa who had sought treatment for the effects of scarlet fever at both Still's Kirksville hospital and Palmer's Davenport clinic. After gaining some relief with The Founder, Smith became one of the first students, graduating in 1899, a year before Langworthy. After itinerant practice, Smith joined the American School faculty as an instructor and as dean of the faculty at the school. Smith would eventually formulate his own theories of diseased ligaments which he asserted could be proven by microscopic evidence, and established "naprapathy" which he described as a separate and district school of healing, launching his own institution in Chicago in 1907. 12

Smith continued his research in the Langworthy theories, however, and in 1910 interested an anatomist at the University of Chicago named Harold Swanberg in the theory of the shape and form of the "spinal windows" and a comprehensive program of study and research was undertaken. Swanberg started his anatomical studies of the intervertebral foramina by analyzing the form and shape of the spinal column in cats. He then proceeded to study the human being.

In 1914, Swanberg published a book entitled "The Intervertebral Foramen" which dealt with his studies of the "spinal windows" in cats. Lerner contended that this book confirms the findings reported by Langworthy in 1904 as to the shape and form of the windows. In his next book, published in 1915, Swanberg confirms the findings in the human spine. Swanberg declared:

"During the past quarter of a century, a great deal of interest has been directed to the vertebral column from a therapeutical standpoint. Many schools of thought have arisen claiming that the great majority of diseases have their origin from spinal abnormalities which produce pathologic changes in the intervertebral foramina, their contents, or the surrounding tissues. It is not the purpose of this book to argue the case one way or the other, but to present a clear and concise description of the normal morphology of these apertures and parts in man. Once a normal structure is thoroughly mastered, the reader will then be in a better position to judge for himself the effects of pathologic conditions: he can then formulate his own opinion concerning the theories of nerve pressure, irritation, or any other pathologic phenomena, occurring in the intervertebral foramina or adjacent tissues as a causative factor in disease."13

Swanberg's two books were generally well received. One of the country's leading anatomists undertook to write an introduction. The head of the department of neuro-anatomy at the Chicago College of Medicine and Surgery, Dr. Harris E. Santee, wrote the following as an introduction to the *Intervertebral Foramina in Man* in 1915:

"In the light of this new knowledge certain theories of spinal tension and compression must be greatly modified. The undoubted anatomic facts revealed by Swanberg in this painstaking scientific work necessitates a complete re-statement of the rationale of "cures" effected by spinal manipulation." 14

Swanberg's book was reviewed by the *New York Medical Journal* in 1915 with serious recommendation: "It has taken the author four years to complete his researches and they are of great scientific interest, as well as possible therapeutic value — the book is of value to those who may be interested in the therapeutics of the spine and the author deserves great credit for his patient investigation in this field."

While Swanberg did not acknowledge Langworthy as the original theorist in this area, he did cite Smith as one who had encouraged his research. The example of original conceptual ideas in the field of spinal pathology by a chiropractor in the infancy of the profession must go to Langworthy, however valid the theory may be today. B.J. Palmer, upon returning to Davenport and hearing of the success of the American School, dismissed it as but "orthopedic surgery," spending 33 pages in his initial Science of Chiropractic (1906) in denouncing the Langworthy concept.

Langworthy soon departed from his original definition of "hand-fixing" to embrace traction tables and mechanical appliances, a decision which made him all the more anathema to the Palmers. The spinal window concept may have led him to implement the theories of another contemporary healing radical, the famous "bloodless surgeon" of Vienna, Dr. Adolph Lorenz. According to Lerner¹⁵ Lorenz lectured at the Burton Opera House in Davenport in December 1902, and circumstantial evidence is that Langworthy was at the lecture, preceding the announcement of his own "stretching machine," which he called the anatomical adjuster. The April 1904 Backbone carries an illustration of the "Spinal Extension Department" at the American School.

Such devices would seem to have established Langworthy's credentials as "the original mixer," and an examination of the two years of publication of *Backbone* offer advertisements from some of the leading practitioners and supply houses that dominated turn-of-the-century alternative medicine. Among them were Benedict Lust, the "father of naturopathy;" manufacturers of "internal baths," vibrators, patent medicine including "the grape cure" and the like. It should be recalled that the American School issued a degree of "Doctor of Chiropractic and Nature Cure." 16

Langworthy was not, by all accounts, into mass-production of graduates. He is quoted in the Cedar Rapids *Gazette* in 1904 as saying that "seven students were graduated last year" with expectation of double that number in 1904. That would about equal The Founder's graduates through 1902. More significantly, however, was his announcement in July 1904 that the school would initiate a two years course, divided into four terms of five months each. The course curriculum, declared the school "is prepared to better fit students to successfully combat disease than any other system, drugless or otherwise". The new course will qualify in the most thorough manner its students to handle all classes of acute and chronic cases, also all emergency cases, and accidents such as fractures and dislocations." 18

That assertion suggests more than spinal adjustment and traction, and the course of study included subjects which were alien to the early Palmer institution, among them "Chemical Diagnosis, Urianalysis, Histology, Microscopy, Inorganic and Organic Chemistry, Fractures and Bandaging." The presence of one of the first women chiropractors who studied under D.D., Minora C. Paxson, as Professor of Gynecology and Obstetrics at the American School ("the first to occupy such a chair in any chiropractic school") also suggested that Langworthy graduates would receive practical training in obstetrics. Her biographical sketch in 1905 declared that "Dr. Paxson is the first chiropractor to apply for and pass an examination before a state board (Illinois) and receive a license to practice obstetrics in accordance with the principles of chiropractic. She was

also described as having been granted "the first certificate licensing the treatment of disease by chiropractic." ¹⁹

The revolutionary nature of the two years course within a decade of the founding of chiropractic must be seen from the vantage point of the fortunes of the Palmers. By 1904, both father and son were back on the chiropractic scene, D.D. abandoning a failing school in Portland, Oregon and B.J. having returned to Davenport to assume control of what would become the Palmer School and Chiropractic Infirmary. The course of study in both never exceeded four months through 1905, however. Langworthy's course, which would take more than a year and a half longer to complete (the \$500 tuition was also uncompetitive with Davenport), had the added disadvantage of being denounced as a "medical imitation" by the founding family. By 1904, the Palmers were on the counterattack, seeking to eliminate the upstart institution in Cedar Rapids.

As a response to Backbone, a regular monthly publication was launched in 1904, called The Chiropractor. B.J., in a series of expansion ventures which would confront and then satisfy his fiscal creditors, acquired a substantial mansion on the top of Brady Street hill, renaming the Institute and incorporating as the Palmer School of Chiropractic (it may be worthy of footnote controversy to observe that while Willard Carver always maintained that his 1906 Oklahoma City institution was "the world's first chartered chiropractic college," Langworthy's 1904 school announcement declares it to be "incorporated"). Rushed into print was the first green book, a compilation of D.D.'s writings, B.J.'s observations and a mixture of philosophy, salesmanship and self-help. Called The Science of Chiropractic, it was a lackluster response to the two-volume Modernized Chiropractic that Langworthy, Smith and Paxson had published in early 1906 as the profession's first textbook.

The Palmers also saw the seedbed of organizational and political rivalry in Langworthy's ambitious legislative plans. What was essentially a school alumni group, the original American Chiropractic Association, was organized in 1905 with Langworthy as president (a later ACA, founded in 1922, apparently had no linial descendency). B.J.'s response was the Universal Chiropractors Association, founded at the PSC in 1906 with B.J. as secretary and Tom Morris as general counsel. It was to The Founder, however, that fell the task to deliver the most telling blow against Langworthy in the newly-emerging political sector.

After months of preparatory work, Langworthy and his Minnesota spokesman, Dan Riesland, had gained sponsorship of a bill to enact and create the nation's first state board of chiropractic examiners. The bill was introduced into the Minnesota House of Representatives on January 21, 1905 as an act "... to regulate the practice of chiropractic in the state of Minnesota... and to punish persons violating the provisions of the Act."²⁰ Less than two months later, the Assembly passed the measure and on March 14, the Senate approved it 36 to 18. The provisions of the Act spelled out required examinations in courses similar to those taught at the American School and specified that applicants have "two years of training in an approved school of chiropractic."

At the time of the enactment, Langworthy's was the only school meeting such requirements. An outraged D.D., asking for an audience with Governor Johnson, carried the plea that he was the discoverer of chiropractic and that the proposed definition was outside of the scope of his concept of chiropractic. According to Lerner, D.D. reported that the governor "reminded us of Abe Lincoln," and that coupled with the eloquence of The Founder may have persuaded him to veto the bill.²¹

The governor's veto message to the legislature on April 11, 1905 does not reveal any concern of Palmer priorities, but it does infer an argument which may have been provided by the state's orthodox medical community, which at that time could have only viewed chiropractic as but a transistory spinoff of current osteopathic dissent. Wrote the governor, in what may be the first instance of any declaration by a political figure on the merits of the new alternative school:

"The best that I have been able to determine ... is that chiropractic was discovered by men not learned in the science of diagnosing and treating disease . . . it is a new and untried school (and has) not yet become a science or school of healing . . ."²²

Whether or not D.D. Palmer was the primary cause of the loss of the first official recognition of chiropractic (which would be postponed for another eight years until Kansas passed its 1913 Act), or if the regular medical lobby had reached the Governor, the net effect was a loss of prestige for Langworthy and his followers. According to Lerner, D.D. wrote that "old Chiro upset the school proposition" in Minnesota, and with further reference to the 20-month school implied that Langworthy would suffer a loss in students and followers.²³

The first effect was the apparent suspension of *Backbone* (the first number in 1903 claimed a circulation of 6,000 which may have been a promotional figure, but the publishing effort was substantial), leaving the field to the Palmers. Yet two significant advances by Langworthy occurred between 1906 and 1908 which implies that his influence was not entirely diminished because of his political and publishing setbacks.

Modernized Chiropractic came out in early 1906. It is conjecture as to who constituted its primary authors (Smith republished most of it in 1932 under the title Naprapathic Genetics with himself as sole author, although Langworthy held the 1906 copyright), but the content and illustrations did represent a significant contribution to nonallopathic literature. An examination and comparison of the two volumes with B.J. Palmer's Science of Chiropractic published several months later is a convincing argument for the substance of the Langworthy school. The systemized curriculum of chiropractic lectures which Langworthy, Smith and Paxson introduced at the American School were reflected in the larger volume, and it made its appearance in a year in which the Palmer School began to assert and eventually achieve its dominance of what B.J. would call "the field."24

Yet, another event two years later reflects the continuting presence and apparent prosperity of the Langworthy school. The Cedar Rapids *Gazette* for June 27, 1908 reported that their most prominent chiropractor had acquired a substantial mansion and had renovated it "at great expense to meet the necessities of the rapidly growing American School of Chiropractic." How many more years of activity in American School experienced remains in the lost limbo of early chiropractic. City directories in Cedar Rapids report him conducting the Langworthy Sanitarium and the Physicians Apparatus Co. at the same address for another decade. Some years he listed as a "physician." (Langworthy may have gone to Lincoln, Neb. after 1918, where a Langworthy Institute of Chiropractic was listed as functioning in the 1920's.

Some may see significance that Langworthy apparently left the drugless scene in the same year that Iowa passed the first Chiropractic Practice Act — with the 18-month standard that was short of his pioneering standards of 1904. While conjecture, it is doubtful that a Palmer-dominated board would have issued a license to the "ranking mixer" who had been the first nemesis of both Palmers and whose activities were enough to prompt the first official resolution of the Universal Chiropractor's Association in 1907 against Langworthy and "his 'Modernized Chiropractic' orthopedics."26 For whatever reason, Solon Massey Langworthy descended into obscurity 16 years after he had achieved by time and circumstance the role of chief advocate and spokesperson for a new healing art that itself was in a struggle for survival. Posthumous honor to him may be that he was indeed the "keeper of the flame" in those embattled "lost years of chiropractic."

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