That "Down in Dixie" School:
Texas Chiropractic College,
Between the Wars

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Born of the early broad-scope traditions that physician-chiropractors introduced, the Texas Chiropractic College (TCC) came within the control of Palmer graduates B.F. Gurden, Flora M. Gurden and James R. Drain shortly after the First World War, during a period of rapid growth in student enrollments and college proliferation. This trio introduced a “Palmer-straight” curriculum and orientation, which continued after the Gurdens’ replacement as co-owners in 1924 by H.E. Weiser, D.C. and C.B. Loftin, D.C. Americanism, Christian fundamentalism and entrepreneurialism were stable themes throughout the Drain-Loftin-Weiser years. The school became a political center for Texas chiropractors’ struggle against medical hegemony, but TCC’s leaders did not seek to monopolize state professional politics. As philosophy instructor and president (after 1924) of TCC, Drain became nationally known in chiropractic circles, and was popular on the lecture circuit. He was fiercely anti-medical and a committed Innate Intelligence vitalist, but gradually grew broader-scope in clinical matters, eventually embracing Concept-Therapy and its multi-factorial view of health and illness. Drain, Loftin and Weiser struggled to keep the school operating during the difficult financial times of the 1930s, and were actively opposed to the educational reform efforts of the National Chiropractic Association (NCA). They joined with college leaders Willard Carver, Carl S. Cleveland, Sr., Craig M. Kightlinger, B.J. Palmer, T.F. Ratledge and others to form the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions in 1939, thereby establishing one of the earliest accrediting bodies to compete with NCA. The school continued to struggle financially until the influx of veterans as students following World War II.

Introduction

Like many chiropractic institutions, the early history of the Texas Chiropractic College (TCC) is conveniently delineated by its leadership. For much of the school’s first forty years, the story of TCC was characterized by the activities of several individuals: James R. Drain, D.C., Herbert E. Weiser, D.C. and Charles B. Loftin, D.C. Commencing in the early 1920s and continuing into the post-war period, these men shaped the institution and struggled to maintain it during the trying years of the depression.

The earliest days of the TCC are not well known. The school was apparently founded in September, 1908 in San Antonio by J.N. Stone, D.C., who Rhodes (1978, p. 112) and Gibbons (1992) describe as a medical doctor. However, the American Drugless Healer, a publication of the Oklahoma City-based American Chiropractic Association, noted that Stone had "excited the jealousy of some of the allopath physicians, hence has had to defend himself in the courts of the state" (Special, 1911). This suggests that TCC’s founder, whether or not a graduate of any medical school, was not a licensed physician in Texas. He and his wife, Ida C. Stone, practiced in San Antonio as "Kiro-Practic Spinal Masseurs" and "Nerve Specialists" (Gibbons, 1992).

A graduate of the Carver Chiropractic College in Oklahoma City (Gibbons, 1992; The Dixie, 1930, p. 20), J.N. Stone was a friend of broad-scope practitioners Alva Gregory, M.D., D.C. and Joe Shelby Riley, D.O., D.C., president and vice-president respectively, of the Palmer-Gregory College of Chiropractic in Oklahoma City (Biographically, 1911; Notes, 1911). Stone’s friendly relationship with Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C. is rein-
forced by the fact that Carver listed "Dr. J.N. Stone, Guthrie, Oklahoma" as endorsing his application for membership in the Association of Independent Doctors, dated December 31, 1908. Stone was also on friendly terms with B.J. Palmer, D.C. ("B.J."), president of the Palmer School of Chiropractic (Stone, 1916). The 1930 student yearbook, *The Dixie-Chiro*, indicated that Dr. Stone had then just recently retired.

The earliest campus of the TCC may have been located on West Commerce Street in San Antonio (Rhodes, 1978, p. 112). The first graduate of the school's twelve-month curriculum was A.R. Littrell, M.D., who joined Stone in practice on the third floor of the Conroy Building in San Antonio (Directory, 1911a-c, 1912a&b). Another early graduate (in November, 1912) may have been Frederick W. Collins, D.O., D.C., who later operated the Mecca College of Chiropractic in Newark, New Jersey for many years (Gibbons, 1989). The TCC was chartered for a term of twenty five years as a private, for-profit corporation in the state of Texas on April 16, 1913 as "THE CHIROPATHIC COLLEGE of San Antonio, Texas" by A.R. Littrell, president, J.N. Stone, secretary, and F.S. Hayes, treasurer (Articles, 1913). Enrollment was meager for the next few years, and room for the small student body and faculty was found "on the top floor of the old Central Trust Building. For several years the enrollment was limited to eight students. Later the school was moved to the Kampman Building at the corner of West Commerce and Soledad Streets" (Smithers, unpublished).

**After the Great War**

As World War I drew to a close, chiropractic education entered a tremendous growth phase. Returning "doughboys" were eager to establish their careers, and for a while the Veterans' Bureau paid for "vocational training" at chiropractic institutions (Doings, 1920; Keating, 1994; Palmer, 1923). Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C., founder of schools in Oklahoma City, Denver, New York and Washington, D.C., noted that "The Carver Educational Institutions in World War I did more than $75,000 worth of business for the Government in rehabilitating soldiers..." (Carver, 1943). This was a fabulous sum in those days, and presumably not a few of these rehabilitated veterans were inspired to pursue careers in chiropractic. B.J. was also pleased with the students that federal benefits brought to the Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC), and boasted that "...The Government saw fit to recognize our school first, and saw fit to pay more money for training at THE PSC than any other vocational training in any other school of any kind in the United States" (Palmer, 1923). Encouraged by these circumstances, many schools were opened, most of which were very meager affairs. By the early 1920s the number of chiropractic colleges nationwide exceeded eighty, including at least three located in Texas (Ferguson & Wiese, 1988).

The TCC was purchased by 1915 National School of Chiropractic (NSC) graduate J.M. McLeese, D.C., Ph.C. "and Associates" in September, 1918 (Rhodes, 1978, p. 112). A diploma for Lester L. Carter in the Special Collections section of TCC's library is dated May 4, 1919, and is signed by McLeese, G.S. Lincoln, M.D., D.C., Thomas J. Leach, M.D., D.C., Ida Lachappelle, D.C., Vera Richey, D.C. and Tina McLeese, "Sect." On August 9, 1919 McLeese addressed the annual homecoming of his alma mater in Chicago (McLeese, 1919) at the request of Arthur L. Forster, M.D., D.C., a senior faculty member and corporate secretary of the NSC. McLeese bemoaned the paltry education typical of some chiropractic schools, and suggested that although poorly educated chiropractors might provide considerable benefit to patients, they did not reflect well on the profession:

> It is true that many men and women of inferior literary education and questionable chiropractic training have gone into the field and have been wonderfully successful; yet how much more successful would these people have been had they had the broader opportunity of better training. I heard an old Chiropractor the other day tell a patient that he had never attended a grammar school in his life and that he was within the gates of a chiropractic school for only three months, and that he believed he was better qualified to treat all forms of disease than any five-year medical man. Now, he may have been right in his contention, but he certainly made a very unfavorable impression upon the prospective patient to whom he made the statement (McLeese, 1919).

McLeese's recommendations for improvements in chiropractic training emphasized higher admissions standards (a high school education or its equivalent), anatomical instruction by dissection, and training in x-ray and dietary interventions. However, he would limit the standard curriculum to twelve months ("two of six"). He also called for laboratory instruction in pathology, but was
less sure of its necessity for graduates, and found physiotherapeutic modalities to have little more than suggestive effects. The new dean of the TCC also called for the introduction of training in surgery for D.C.s, so as to prepare them "to care for our patients all the way from the cradle to the grave" (McLeese, 1919); the several medical physicians on his faculty would presumably have been qualified to provide this instruction. McLeese noted that the NSC held similar attitudes and had "arranged for the attendance of its students upon surgical clinics. This is a good beginning and will be made more practical as time advances" (McLeese, 1919).

In September, 1919 the TCC relocated to the "Free Press for Texas Building on E. Commerce St., across from the department store, Joske's of Texas" (Rhodes, 1978, p. 112). Shortly thereafter Dean McLeese was briefly disabled for undetermined reasons (McLeese, 1920). Little more is known of the college's activities at this time, except that a "branch" of the TCC was operated for a year in the offices of W.H. Dunn, D.C. in Louisville, Kentucky, a practice which probably amounted to little more than an apprenticeship, and which B.J. criticized in his personal newsletter, the *Fountain Head News* (Dunn, 1920; Palmer, 1920). It was suggested that McLeese and his partners ran the institution from a decidedly "mercenary standpoint" (Drain, 1920). By 1921 McLeese was located in Eagle Pass, Texas, as listed in the *Directory* of members published by the Universal Chiropractors' Association (UCA).

Eighteen months after its first purchase, the TCC was sold again, on March 13, 1920, this time to three alumni of the PSC: B.F. Gurden, D.C.; his wife Flora M. Gurden D.C.; and James R. Drain, D.C. Drain described the trio's plans for the college, which included a strong Palmerian flavor:

...The night classes as we have worked them out will have five hours, five nights a week, with two hours the sixth night, this will give them in two years of 104 weeks, which they must attend, 2,808 hours, then they may go out with the privilege of returning in three years to complete the three year course.

Our day course will be ten class hours per day for five days with four hours on Saturday, or 4,212 class hours for the three year course. The day students must stay and complete their course before they get a diploma. The subjects will be Palmer Philosophy, Palmer Anatomy, Vedder Physiology, Vedder Gynecology, Orthopedy, Burich Chemistry, Firth Symptomatology, Thompson Spinography (Drain, 1920).

The Gurdens graduated from the PSC sometime prior to 1916, and located their practice at 408 E. Travis Street in San Antonio (Chiropractors', 1918; Gurden, 1916a). They were very proud of their alma mater, were personal friends of BJ and Mabel Palmer and devoted PSC lyceum participants (Gurden & Gurden, 1919a), and were frequent contributors to the *Fountain Head News* (Gurden, 1916a,b, 1920; Gurden & Gurden, 1916a-d; 1918, 1919a&b). B.F. Gurden had been a traveling salesman before his Davenport studies, and brought his pride in "selling High Class merchandise" to his concept of Palmer chiropractic (Gurden, 1916a). The new president of TCC became "professor of Salesmanship and Chiropractic Analysis," and the college catalog described courses in "chiropractic advertising" and:

**CHIROPRACTIC SALESMANSHIP** -
A course embodying the tried methods of meeting office problems that arise daily in all Chiropractic offices. All theory is eliminated, only genuinely practical things being taught. Topics include the selection of a town or city in which to practice, how to determine the proper location for the office in the place chosen, the matter of office equipment, how to meet and receive patients, attention to mannerisms, and in fact, everything that will assist the future chiropractor to build and hold a practice. As a result, T.C.C. graduates enter the field confident of their ability to sell the services that their training has fitted them to render (Texas, undated, circa 1924).

B.F. Gurden (see Figure 1) proselytized very actively for his profession. He targeted trade unions, and distributed pro-chiropractic literature to union officers and to the reading room of the Trade Council Hall (Gurden, 1916b). The Gurden's contrast of medical vs. chiropractic reports to a patient's insurance company was striking, although perhaps not warranting their prediction:
Physician's Report:
Have treated patient six weeks for lame back, patient totally disabled. The treatments given have failed to give relief and with my consent the patient called in another practitioner.

________ M.D.

Our Report:
Made palpation of patient's spine, found Fourth Lumbar Vertebrae very badly subluxated impinging nerves leading to lumbar muscles. Patient totally disabled and suffering much pain. First adjustment relieved the pain and seventh adjustment entirely corrected the subluxation and patient is well and able to return to work.

________ Chiropractor

I believe the time is not far distant when the Chiropractor's report will be taken by all Companies on an equality with that of the M.D... (Gurden & Gurden, 1916c).

Flora M. Gurden, D.C., vice-president and co-owner of TCC, was a self-described "non-believer in drugs" and specialist in adjusting babies (Texas, undated). She and her husband characterized their practice as "the largest Chiropractic office in the world" (Texas, undated). However, they did not indicate whether "largest" referred to patient volume or the size of their clinic facility. "Dr. Flora" was credited with bringing a "family" atmosphere to the institution.

James Riddle Drain (see Figures 2 & 3) was born May 10, 1891 in Kendrick, Idaho (Rehm, 1980, pp. 286-
7) and grew up in Scott County, Kansas (Metz, 1965). The Drain family operated a large ranch, where they raised, trained and sold horses to the United States Cavalry (Drain, 1958). The 32nd degree Mason (Drain, 1919b) was first introduced to chiropractic and B.J. Palmer during the sensational 1911 trial of Irving B. Hall, D.C. in Scott City for unlicensed practice, which brought B.J., Lee W. Edwards, M.D., D.C., Harvard medical graduate Alfred Walton, M.D., D.C. and counsel for the UCA, Tom Morris, to the small Kansas municipality and county seat (Metz, 1965. pp. 19-26; Rehm, 1995).

Drain’s primary reason for electing to study chiropractic was to aid his sister, Mage, who was afflicted with spastic paralysis secondary to cerebral palsy (Drain, 1996). However, he also recalled later that “I attended the trial, and it was the damnable persecution that caused me to study Chiropractic” (Drain, 1949, pp. 569-70). He began his studies at the PSC in September, 1911 (Texas, undated) and graduated at the age of twenty-one in May, 1912 (Rehm, 1980, pp. 286-7) after nine months of training. In later years he noted that he had taken thirteen lessons from D.D. Palmer, presumably in Davenport sometime during 1911-13; the Founder, he related, “taught me to find ‘it,’ any joint of the body, adjust ‘it’ and then leave it alone. To him I am grateful” (Drain, unpublished).

Drain’s career-long faith in Palmer’s adjustment was very much in evidence more than twenty years after his graduation from the PSC, when he addressed the National Chiropractic Association (NCA) at the broad-scope-tolerant national membership society’s 1935 convention in Hollywood. His topic was “Why Chiropractic Always Works” (Official, 1935); parts of Drain’s presentation were quoted by Slocum (1935):

We can always find the cause of disease in the person who has it whether it can be adjusted or not. We should teach people that everyone who takes adjustments does not get well but that our adjustments are harmless. No one can be over adjusted and positively no injury can come from our adjustments. We should establish confidence in the science of Chiropractic by telling the truth about it and calling people’s attention to the good that is in it without exaggeration. The chiropractor should feel in his own mind that Chiropractic is superior to all other methods of healing the sick and should radiate such confidence to the public and then live the part. We chiropractors should recognize Chiropractic authority and quote it freely and frequently.

All disease is caused from spinal curvature and the time to correct spinal curvature is in growing children and if spinal curvature were corrected in growing children, the disease of childhood would be lessened and the chronic disease of the adult would be prevented. The disease of the body and the mind respond when Chiropractic adjustments are given and even though the patients are not aware of the exact degree of the benefit received at the time, there is always a benefit from adjustments.

Chiropractic is 40 years old. We are supposed to have good sense and we are supposed to carry Chiropractic to the human family recognizing the necessity of each human being, having the benefit of it, regardless of the station in life. Criminals in our penal institutions, the unfortunate, the disreputable, and the very best people in organized society should have the benefits of Chiropractic. Chiropractic should be taught in our universities and all of our eleemosynary institutions should have chiropractors in them for the benefit of the inmates.

Soon after earning his degree, Drain established a clinic in Russell, Kansas. In 1913 he married Marguerite N. Halsey, who would later serve as treasurer of the TCC
and earned her "D.C." from the San Antonio school. He was active in the struggle to achieve licensure; this work brought him in contact with leaders such as T.F. Ratledge, D.C. and Anna Foy, D.C. Drain was able to practice legally when Kansas passed the first law to regulate chiropractic (in 1913) and began issuing licenses in 1915. Like his future partners in the Texas school venture, Drain was a fiercely loyal Palmer alumnus, an activist in state association affairs and an enthusiastic promoter of chiropractic in industry (Drain, 1916, 1918a&b, 1919a-c; Palmer, 1916). His passion for straight chiropractic as well as his anti-medical proclivities were early in evidence (Drain, 1919c). He was one of the first members, along with B.J., Sylva Ashworth, D.C. and Charles E. Caster, D.C., of the Chiropractors' Moving Picture Association, organized at the PSC by James F. McGinnis, D.C. (Fountain, 1918).

In a letter to B.J. Palmer, Drain mentioned that he had been drafted during America's final year in the World War, and that he sought an assignment in the medical corps (Drain, 1918a). However, he did not serve in the armed forces, presumably owing to the war's end in November, 1918 (Drain, 1996). In October, 1919 Drain, his wife and two children boarded a train for San Antonio (Drain, 1919c, 1996; Rehm, 1980, pp. 286-7; Smithers, unpublished) in order "to face the Chiropractic fight for medical liberty in Texas" (Drain, 1949, p. 570). Thirty years later he recalled that:

...Dr. Francis B. Teems and Dr. Paul Meyers were under arrest. Dr. C.C. Lemly, Dr. Wm. Johnson, Dr. S.T. McMurrian and his brother A.D., Dr. M.B. McCoy, Dr. B.F. Gurden, Dr. Lon C. Herrington, Dr. E.H. Orchard, Dr. Sucholtz and others under arrest for the same charge. Later hundreds of others charged with all the bad things Medical men had done before them. Among these were Dr. A.B. Horn, Dr. J.C. Wischart, and Dr. H.C. Allison whose case went to the United States Supreme Court. These were gala Medicine Persecution days, and hard was their fight until finally we learned that the people were the Court of last resort, and soon juries refused to convict. Texas has a good Medical law if it could be enforced on medical men who violate it. Its bad for Chiropractors, but on this account it cannot be enforced. For this

we have Judge Winters, Art Holmes and Hon. E.B. Simmons to thank. Their fight was modern and fair. They have gone a long way in their efforts to exhortate [sic] a profession. Judge Winter passed from this life, so now it is up to the others to get the Juries to say: "We, the Jury, find the Defendant not guilty as charged." Many are the color­ful witnesses who traveled hundreds of miles to testify, leaving their offices for the good of all. Jack Daughterty, D.C., Rudy Warner, D.C. and O.A. Hull, D.C., J.H. Durham, John Olsen, Lillard Marshall, D.C., and A.W. Schwietert, Public Relations, have all come to the rescue of the persecuted in Texas - enough persecuted to fill a page. God bless them for doing their duty as they saw it... The author gave testimony in more than 100 cases in Texas where the Chiropractor had no legal advice or protection, and matched wits with the best talent the Medical Board could employ... (Drain, 1949, p. 570).

Drain seemed to share with the Gurdens an aversion to what he considered "speculative theories", be they theories of salesmanship or the "philosophy of chiropractic" (Texas, undated). He prided himself on having treated "as many as 120 patients daily" (Texas, undated), and promoted the TCC faculty as practical men with considerable experience in the field. Twelve members of the Drain family followed J.R. into the profession, including his parents, wife, and brother (Rehm, 1980, pp. 186-7), daughter Palmera Drain Burris (Smithers, unpublished; The Front, 1937) and son Jimmy (News, 1940). The family prided itself for having never made use of medical practitioners.

The Reborn Texas College

With the 1920 purchase of TCC by the Gurdens and Drain, the institution commenced a new chapter in its history. The college was moved to "the old Yoakum home on the corner of Dwyer and Neuva Streets" (Rhodes, 1978, pp. 112-3), and a dissection laboratory (see Figure 4) was established under the supervision of P.D. Brown, M.D. (Drain, 1996). Several additions were made to the teaching staff; among these was Herbert E. (Buddy) Weiser, D.C. (see Figure 5), who joined the faculty on January 1, 1921 (Rhodes, 1978, pp. 112-3).
Weiser had been educated at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania during 1917, and served in the infantry during World War 1. The poor health he endured the rest of his life was attributed to the mustard-gas attack he suffered in the trenches in Europe (Drain, 1996). Weiser enrolled at the PSC on August 26, 1919 and earned his "D.C." on August 26, 1920 (Hender, 1943). At the TCC Weiser specialized in x-ray technique, "organized a club for research work in this field," wrote about the mechanics of the spine (Weiser, 1938), and authored at least two books: *Spinology* (Texas, undated) and *Toggle Recoil Adjustment* (Weiser, 1921).

George D. Rogers, D.C., a TCC alumnus, joined the faculty as professor of physiology and neurology immediately upon his 1920 graduation, and soon authored a textbook of neurology. By 1922-23 he had been appointed dean of the TCC (Texas, undated), and the school counted eight faculty members and five co-owners (see Table 1). Rogers later earned B.J. Palmer’s scorn when he marketed the “neurophonometer,” an instrument which competed with Palmer’s neurocalometer (Palmer, 1951, pp. 312-7).

Clarence W. Weiant, D.C. (see Figure 6) was appointed to the faculty of the San Antonio institution in the second year of the Gurden administration. He had earned several scholarships to study chemistry in 1915 at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in upstate New York before transferring to Cornell University, where he worked for the U.S. Army’s Chemical Warfare Service during the war (Texas, undated). Later, while teaching science courses at the Westchester Military Academy in Peekskill, New York, he came in contact with C.R. Johnston, D.C., a blind Palmer graduate who had earned a national reputation for his work with patients suffering from "sleeping sickness" (Fountain, 1921; Johnston, 1921). Inspired by Johnston's work, Weiant enrolled at the PSC. After practicing briefly in Mexico City (Weiant, 1921), he moved to San Antonio and joined the TCC faculty in September 1921 (Texas, undated), where he spent "four pleasant years" (The 1984). By 1924, Weiant had authored two books, *Guide to Nerve Tracing* and *Outlines of Gynecology*, and many articles in various chiropractic periodicals (Texas, undated).

By the end of the 1920s Weiant had relocated to New York City, and was appointed director of research for the Chicago-based American Chiropractic Association (Keating et al., 1995; Keating, 1996). He is perhaps best remembered as a long-time faculty member and dean of the Eastern Chiropractic Institute in New York City (Keating, 1996; The 1984), and of its successor, the Chiropractic Institute of New York. In the 1940s Weiant became the first director of research for the National Chiropractic Association and later the first director of research for the Chiropractic Research Foundation (fore-runner of today’s Foundation for Chiropractic Education.
Table 1: Owners, administrators and faculty of the Texas Chiropractic College, 1922-23 (Gurden, 1922; Rhodes, 1978, pp. 113-4; Texas, undated)

*B.F. Gurden, D.C., Ph.C., President, Professor of
  Salesmanship and Chiropractic Analysis
*Flora M. Gurden, D.C., Ph.C., Vice-President, Director of Clinics
*James R. Drain, D.C., Ph.C., Manager, Professor of the Philosophy of Chiropractic
George D. Rogers, D.C., Ph.C., Dean, Professor of Physiology and Neurology

*Co-owner of the Texas Chiropractic College, San Antonio

P.D. Brown, M.D., instructor in anatomy and dissection
*C.C. (Chick) Evans, D.C.
Hugh Johnson, D.C.
*Clarence W. Weiant, D.C., Ph.C., Professor of Chemistry and Gynecology
Herbert E. Weiser, D.C., Ph.C., Professor of Anatomy and Spinography

& Research). He is remembered by the Association for the History of Chiropractic as winner of the society's 1984 Lee-Homewood Award.

Charles B. Loftin, D.C. was born in Fairview, Texas on July 22, 1894 (Rehm, 1980, p. 310) and taught for ten years "in the public schools of Texas" (Texas, undated). He was a conscientious objector in uniform during the first world war, a very unpopular status at that time, and was severely dealt with by his peers (Drain, 1996). According to registrar's records, he and George J. Loftin, presumably his brother, enrolled at the TCC on December 30, 1919, during the McLeese administration. After earning his D.C. from TCC in 1921, C.B. Loftin established the practice in San Antonio that he would maintain for the next sixty years, and joined the faculty as "professor of Symptomatology." Within a few years he assumed greater responsibilities as a co-owner, instructor and vice-president of the school. Loftin authored Reflexology: Simplified Lessons, which he dedicated to "all chiropractors who unselfishly educate their brother practitioners in any art of technique" (Loftin, 1939). He also penned several articles in the NCA's Journal (Loftin, 1940a&b) and in ACCA News, a periodical briefly published by Carl S. Cleveland, D.C. on behalf of the Associated Chiropractic Colleges of America (ACCA). The ACCA was an alliance of straight chiropractic colleges organized in the late 1930s in opposition to the NCA's educational reform efforts (Keating et al., 1991).

The New Guard

As the glut of returning war veterans began to diminish and federal education benefits were discontinued, the fortunes of many chiropractic colleges declined (Ferguson & Wiese, 1988; Keating, 1994). Many of the newer, often very meager schools began to fail, and enrollments at most schools plummeted. Henry C. Harring, D.C., M.D., co-founder and president of the Missouri Chiropractic College in St. Louis, noted that several chiropractic college leaders were feeling the strain. By the summer of 1924, Gurden "had lost his courage" (Harring, 1925). Smithers (unpublished) relates that:

Late in February, 1924, the Drs. Gurden took a vacation to California. While there, they came under the influence of the Four Square Gospel movement, headed by Aimee McPherson. They cabled Dr. Drain to please "sell off all their holdings at once, and send the proceeds with all haste." They never returned.

According to Rhodes (1978, p. 113), the transfer of stock in the corporation was accomplished in October, 1924, when Loftin and Weiser purchased the Gurdens' interest in the school. Records of this transaction indicate that Clarence Weiant was also a co-purchaser, with Loftin and Weiser, of the Gurdens' interest in the school. Drain assumed the presidency, Loftin became vice-president, and Weiser served as treasurer and dean. The college, then located at 206 Dwyer Avenue, described itself as one of only five chiropractic schools rated as "standard" by the Universal Chiropractors' Association (Weiser, 1924). The school was re-chartered by Drain, C.C. Evans, Weiser and Loftin on December 7, 1925.

The Drain-Loftin-Weiser team continued the Palmer-oriented traditions of the Gurden administration, such as the use of Palmer "green books" for texts, and at least as late as 1928 they were still emphasizing instruction in the "Palmer System" of adjusting. Increasingly, however, they sought to create a unique identity for TCC, as exemplified by the emblem adopted in the 1930s (see Figure 7). Moreover, in spite of (or perhaps because of) his Davenport mentor's flamboyant example, Drain was a stickler for conservative, professional attire (Turner,
Dr. J.R. Drain, in his stimulating book, *Chiropractic Thoughts*, discourses briefly upon ethics and observes incidentally that the matter of dress has been generally slighted. As a prelude to the former theme he advises chiropractors to adopt a conservative appearance— that of the average business man or business woman. Dr. Drain regards such as the most desirable, if uniform dress is to be considered. Chiropractors who array themselves like Dunkards, with Ben Franklin hats and long whiskers are a hindrance to the cause, since freakish appearance hits at freakish acts. This Texas educator has noted in the profession a long-haired type, a long-tailed coat type and a celluloid collar type. Because the Palmers let their hair grow does not exonerate other chiropractors from the consequences of following suit. "I do not believe that the chiropractor should wear the cowboy hat, boots, or galluses," adds Dr. Drain, and he condemns the celluloid collar as unprofessional.

Like B.J., Drain advanced a "straight philosophy" of chiropractic, and at least in the early years of his presidency, limited his concept of chiropractic intervention to manual adjusting only. He believed that advertising and publicity were the "chief causes for the progress of chiropractic" (Turner, 1931, p. 268), and was not reluctant to offer strong but unproved opinions about his chiropractic theories (Drain, 1949):

...the only difference between the man of good judgment and the man of bad judgment is the relative position of his cervical bones. One-twenty-five thousandth of an inch subluxation of any vertebra may change a thing called judgment to insanity.

Drain’s first volume, *Chiropractic Thoughts* (Drain, 1927), emphasized his vitalistic beliefs, as expressed in terms of the Palmers’ religious sectarian notions of Universal, Innate and Educated Intelligence (Fuller, 1989). These views are also clearly reflected in his booklet, *A Quiz in Chiropractic Philosophy* (Drain, undated). His resistance to medical authority was glaringly evident when he refused inoculation for a contagious disease, and was quarantined within the walls of the TCC (Drain, 1996). His adherence to the Innate construct was supplemented by his acceptance of 1935 TCC graduate Thurman Fleet, D.C.’s development of Concept-Therapy, a system of healing and wellness care which included adjustments, proper diet, relaxation and positive thinking, all of which were organized within the credo that Innate Intelligence, a spiritual entity, would maintain health among those who took responsibility for themselves. At one time (probably the late 1940s), a headquarters for the Concept-Therapy Institute was proposed for TCC’s campus, but the plan was not carried through.

Another early graduate (circa 1922-23) of the TCC was Annie L. Farmer. An alumna also of the Philadelphia School of Nursing (Hinshaw, 1939), she had managed a medical hospital for tuberculosis patients prior to enrolling at TCC. Farmer’s own recovery under chiro-
practic care from a serious illness sparked her interest in the profession, which she had previously dismissed as “fakirs” (Hinshaw, 1939). Soon after graduation she established a chiropractively-oriented sanitarium for tuberculosis patients and a training school for chiropractic nurses (Drain, 1949, pp. 65-6). This facility, first operated within her own home, relocated several times, always within San Antonio, and evolved into the “Annie Farmer Health Home,” and later the Bonaire Sanitarium (see Figure 8). The Bonaire Sanitarium operated at various times as a “general drugless hospital service” (The Dixie-Chiro, 1931, p. 100) and as a facility “Specializing in Mental and Nervous Disorders Home-like Surroundings for Diet and Rest” (The Dixie-Chiro, 1930, p. 124). As the 1930s began, Drain and Weiser were listed as president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of Bonaire (with Farmer serving as superintendent), but by 1936 A.A. Nelson, D.C. had become president and Farmer served as vice-president (Advertisement, 1936). The sanitarium accepted “all cases except contagious and infectious disease,” an apparent departure from the previous care of tuberculosis patients. Three years later Hinshaw (1939) listed Farmer as president of the facility.

Drain was very impressed with Dr. Farmer, and mentioned her in his second book in a section entitled “Feminine Accomplishment”:

...She knew the value of social service and one of her first accomplishments was to organize a Chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star and was its worthy matron. No one had ever heard of anything like it in a licensed state, let alone in an unlicensed one. Then, she organized a Chiropractic Ladies' Auxiliary, being the first one of its kind in the world, the outgrowth of which was the National Chiropractic Auxiliary. She also established the first training school for Chiropractic bedside nurses and has continued its operation since 1923 - training nurses and sending them out to chiropractors who need them.

She established a ward for mothers and babies, a maternity ward, and has never had a case of infection nor lost a mother or baby in all the years she has had it. While the sanitarium is general in the kind of practice, great stress and care has been given the nervous and mental patients.

She established the first student loan fund for Chiropractic students in this or any other country. She wrote a book upon attrition, after making her third cruise around the world, and teaches to chiropractors only the new work called, attrition. She has served as president of the Local District Association and public relationist many times, and today she operates a forty-two room Chiropractic sanatorium, which cost $79,000.00 to build. She devotes her whole time to Chiropractic development and practice and contributes to every worthy Chiropractic movement.

She drives the latest twelve cylinder automobile and has the latest Chiropractic equipment. She is a member of District No. 3, the Texas State Chiropractic Association, the Texas Protective League, and the N.C.A.

A lovely lady, who has time for any person in distress, and Chiropractors in particular. We sincerely wish that every Chiropractor in the land knew Dr. Annie L. Farmer, Bon-Aire Sanatorium, San Antonio, Texas, as we know her. Her work has been an inspiration to us and we hope that after she is gone, others will carry on the work she has started. Our wishes are that she will live forever (Drain, 1949, pp. 65-6).

The college moved to property at 618 Myrtle Street, near San Pedro Park in San Antonio (see Figure 9) circa 1926-27, and would remain in this location for four decades. By 1938 the campus provided 6,800 square feet of floor space, five classrooms with a total seating capac-
ity for 150 students, and three clinic rooms (Advertisement, 1938c). The school's promotional materials featured this campus, as well as the recreational facilities of San Pedro Park and the wider San Antonio area. The “Down in Dixie School” school emphasized shirt-sleeve weather in the winter months:

STUDY CHIROPRACTIC IN THE SUNNY SOUTH
Besides being recognized by all Chiropractic Examining Board and National Associations as an accredited college and leader in the profession, the Texas Chiropractic College offers the additional advantage to students of being located in San Antonio, noted for its mild winter climate. Outdoor sports the year 'round are some of the extra-curricular activities which students enjoy here, where the sunshine spends the winter. All students accepted by our college must be recommended by chiropractors. Send us your prospects (Advertisement, 1938a).

School spirit was an important theme at the TCC, and was augmented by many recreational activities, several fraternities and sororities, and a variety of sports organizations. Among the latter were a college football team (TCC “Hawks”), men and women’s basketball teams, a baseball team (also called “Hawks”) which competed throughout Texas and in Rosita, Mexico, and tennis. Clarence Turley, presumably faculty member H.E. Turley, D.C.'s brother, served as Assistant Athletic Editor in 1930 for the school yearbook, The Dixie-Chiro. Glee clubs, an eleven-member orchestra, and a student forum which promoted experience in public-speaking, were also active on campus.

By 1931 TCC had received favorable mention in Bernarr MacFadden’s Physical Culture magazine (Turley, 1931). The school’s growth was described as “phenomenal,” by H.E. Turley, D.C., who provided a list of faculty members during 1920-1931 (see Table 2). However, by this time the Great Depression had struck the United States, and the coming decade would be a period of severe fiscal challenge for the institution. Rhodes (1978, p. 114) notes that TCC “averaged only 60-70 students per year in the best of the good times before World War II,” and that Loftin lost his home to foreclosure. A similar fate met James Drain circa 1932, when the TCC president’s credit rating was blemished by the banker-father of an allopathic physician (Drain, 1996). Not until the post-World War II period and the influx of students whose tuition was provided through veterans’ benefits programs would the finances of the school improve.

Henry Eyring Turley, D.C. (see Figure 10) enrolled at the TCC on June 1, 1923 and earned his chiropractic degree on December 2, 1924 after a completing a course of “3010 sixty-minute hours of classwork” (Weiser, 1946). After several years of private practice in Chihuahua, Mexico, Turley joined the TCC faculty on March 10, 1927 (Rhodes, 1978, p. 117). He was a popular teacher, and mingled readily with his students, even

Table 2: Faculty of the Texas Chiropractic College at various times during 1920-1931 (Turley, 1931)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty Member</th>
<th>Period of employment</th>
<th>Faculty Member</th>
<th>Period of employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.F. Gurden, D.C.</td>
<td>March 13, 1920 to December, 1924</td>
<td>Clarence W. Weiant, D.C.</td>
<td>1922 to 1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora M. Gurden, D.C.</td>
<td>March 13, 1920 to December, 1924</td>
<td>Dr. Hugh Johnson</td>
<td>1922 to 1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James R. Drain, D.C.</td>
<td>March 13, 1920 to date</td>
<td>C.B. Loftin, D.C.</td>
<td>1922 to date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Rogers, D.C.</td>
<td>1920 to 1925</td>
<td>C.C. Evans, D.C.</td>
<td>1926 to 1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.A. Dann, D.C.</td>
<td>1920 to 1922</td>
<td>Dr. G.G. Bronson</td>
<td>1925 to 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. W.R.H. Davis</td>
<td>1920 to 1922</td>
<td>H.E. Turley, D.C.</td>
<td>March 10, 1927 to date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.E. Weiser, D.C.</td>
<td>January 1, 1921 to date</td>
<td>H.O. Green, D.C.</td>
<td>May 10 1927 to August, 1930</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
joining the school basketball team (The Dixie, 1930, p. 69). Turley specialized in radiology, and was active in a local Spinographic Association (News, 1935). He developed an x-ray laboratory at the College and authored a popular text on radiographic technique (Turley, 1937). Turley sat for a photograph each year with his undergraduate and post-doctoral radiology students during the late 1920s through the 1950s; this photographic record has been preserved in the Special Collections at the Library of the TCC. In 1947 he elected to continue his education, and earned his B.S. degree from Trinity University. Dr. Turley is now retired, and lives in Boerne, Texas.

Intra-Professional Politics

Harvey Watkins, D.C., a 1920 graduate of the TCC, notes that the first state society of chiropractors was organized at Waco, Texas prior to World War I (in 1914), with the assistance of the Gurdens (Watkins, undated, p. 3). He further relates that the political center of the chiropractic profession in Texas during the 1920s was the TCC and its alumni association, with strong leadership from TCC President Drain, who welcomed graduates of all schools to membership. As prosecutions of chiropractors for unlicensed practice became common in Texas, Drain frequently testified as an expert witness. It is mirthfully recalled that Drain was once arrested for being “about to practice medicine without a license,’ a charge promptly thrown out of court” (Rehm, 1980, pp. 286-7). By 1936 some fifty chiropractors were under arrest at one time (News, 1936), a situation which motivated much greater unity within the profession. In 1937 the TCC president introduced chiropractic to Judge E.B. Simmons (Watkins, undated, p. 23), an attorney who subsequently served as legal counsel to the Texas State Chiropractic Association. Simmons is credited with securing the state’s licensing law for D.C.s.

Drain had been a member of Palmer’s UCA, but did not endorse B.J.’s introduction of the neurocalometer (NCM) in 1924. He suggested instead that the NCM and many similar, competing instruments performed equally well, and bemoaned the divisiveness he detected within the chiropractic ranks (Drain, 1925a). This seems to have been a turning point for the Texas leader, for he no longer endorsed chiropractic’s “maximum leader” in all circumstances, and may have opposed him at times (Cleveland, 1926).

Indeed, by 1925 Drain was a regular and popular participant in the annual events of the New York-based, broad-scope-tolerant American Chiropractic Association (ACA) (Convention, 1925), and his entertaining style of oratory later earned him a reputation as the “Will Rogers of Chiropractic” (Drain, 1937a). He published repeatedly in the ACA’s Bulletin. However, an article in the TCC’s magazine, The Chiropractic Digest (edited by Drain), brought him criticism when Drain suggested that the newly enacted West Virginia Chiropractic Act, which required graduation from a school recognized by the ACA, had been unduly influenced by the national organization. The ACA’s Bulletin brought objections from T.I. Morgan, D.C., secretary of the West Virginia Chiropractors Society and from B.A. Sauer, D.C., secretary-treasurer of the ACA, indicating that ACA had played no part in enacting the West Virginia law. Drain
replied that he held no malice toward the ACA, regretted his error, and that he had applied for membership in the ACA (Drain, 1925b).

By 1927 the TCC curriculum had been expanded to twenty-four months of instruction (Rhodes, 1978, p. 117). In the early 1930s Drain participated with other straight chiropractors, such as Carl S. Cleveland (see Figures 11 and 12) and Craig M. Kightlinger (see Figure 13) in the activities of the International Chiropractic Congress (Drain, 1932; National, 1932) and the NCA. The NCA was formed in 1930 by the amalgamation of the ACA and the UCA following Palmer’s ouster from the UCA (Keating & Rehm, 1993). However, Drain and the leaders of other small, proprietary, mostly straight colleges grew increasingly alienated by the NCA’s educational reform efforts following the national society’s 1935 convention in Hollywood (which Drain attended as an invited speaker and member of the NCA’s Schools Council), at which time the Committee on Education was established (Keating, 1993). Very shortly after the convention (Drain, 1936a), he wrote to Kightlinger, president of the Eastern Chiropractic Institute in New York City, to indicate that he would cooperate with Kightlinger, Carl S. Cleveland, and T.F. Ratledge, D.C. (of the Ratledge Chiropractic College in Los Angeles) in the formation of the previously mentioned Associated Chiropractic Colleges of America, including publication of the ACCA News.
During the next five years the NCA's Committee proposed educational upgrades and a rating system for the colleges which many private, for-profit schools resented as an intrusion upon their prerogatives. These improvements called for an increase in the facilities and quality of instructors for topics that were considered by many straight chiropractors to be "medical" in character, such as more in-depth instruction in the basic sciences, diagnostic skills and physiotherapeutics. At first Drain (see Figure 14) believed that he could block the imposition of greater standards (Drain, 1936b), perhaps through his position as president of the NCA's Schools Council. He openly advocated standardization through regulation by the various chiropractic examining boards (Drain, 1937b), and noted that some forty two states then regulated the practice of chiropractic, although Texas was not among these.

The feuding between the schools was not limited to the straight/mixer wars. When the Reverend John H. Craven, D.C., a former faculty member at the PSC, was hired to teach Basic Technique as a post-graduate offering, the Logans of St. Louis sued, and won a $2,000 judgment against the TCC (Cleveland, 1939; Rhodes, 1978, p. 118). Interestingly, "local doctors...pitched in to save the day..." (Rhodes, 1978, p. 118) with financial support for TCC.

Despite his emphatic advocacy of "straight chiropractic" (Weiser, 1937), Drain's opposition to NCA's educational reform program may have had as much or more to do with the expenses that such upgrades would entail. Indeed, as the 1930s wore on, he grew increasingly tolerant of a broader scope of practice than he had previously advocated since graduation from the PSC. Although Drain never accepted physiotherapy for chiropractors, in later years he credited a wide range of medical and broad-scope chiropractors for teaching him a variety of healing methods, including some forms of manual "surgery" (see Table 3). Curiously, Thurman Fleet, D.C., who had pioneered multi-disciplinary (chiropractic and medical) health care and suggestive therapeutics in San Antonio since 1931, was not included in this list. The college advertised that it taught "all courses in the basic sciences and all subjects necessary, or required to pass the various State Boards of Chiropractic Examiners" (Advertisement, 1938b). However, like many chiropractic schools of the era, instruction was usually limited to textbook training in the basic science courses, with little or no laboratory experience.

The TCC participated in the July 22, 1939 formation of the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions (ACEI) during the NCA convention in Dallas. A committee comprised of Weiser, Harry E. Vedder, D.C. of the Lincoln Chiropractic College and Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C. "was appointed to draft a withdrawal from the National Council of Educational Institutions of the N.C.A." (Ratledge, 1939a). Successor to the ACCA, members of the ACEI initially included ten small, mostly proprietary, straight colleges (see Table 4). They were joined by B.J. Palmer and the PSC the following year. The society adopted as its purpose "preserving chiropractic in its purity for posterity, and that we are resolved to cooperate with all chiropractic organizations with similar objectives" (Ratledge, 1939b). The first officers of the ACEI were: H.E. Weiser, president, Julian Jacobs, D.C. (of Eastern Chiropractic Institute), vice-president, and T.F. Ratledge, secretary.

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Figure 13: Craig M. Kightlinger, M.A., D.C.

Figure 14: left to right: F. Lee Lemly, D.C., C. Sterling Cooley, D.C. and James R. Drain, D.C. at the NCA's 1936 convention in Indianapolis (Schwietert, 1936)
Table 3: James R. Drain, D.C.'s self-reported post-doctoral instructors and education (Drain, unpublished, circa 1956)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructor</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nephi Cottam, D.C. of Manti, Utah</td>
<td>cranial development from fetus to adult, cranial adjusting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet, bonesetter of Youngstown, Ohio</td>
<td>development of joints, their abnormalities and correction without braces, casts or traction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajen family of South Dakota</td>
<td>bonesetting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C. of Oklahoma City</td>
<td>psychology, balance, stance, stresses, adaptations and corrections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will Mowery, M.D. of Selina, Kansas</td>
<td>how to employ surgery by making early diagnosis of surgical cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Charles Dawson of Kansas City, Missouri and the University of Kansas</td>
<td>orificial work, pelvic diseases, obstetrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hubbard, M.D., D.C. of Oklahoma City</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis J. Kolar, D.C. of Wichita, Kansas</td>
<td>evolution of brain and nervous system, principles of bloodless surgery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.F. Ratledge, D.C. of Oklahoma (later Los Angeles)</td>
<td>inspiration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahlon Locke, M.D. of Ontario, Canada</td>
<td>ankle and foot development from fetus to adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Harry Hoy of Dallas, Texas</td>
<td>knee joints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.R. (&quot;Bonesetter&quot;) Richter, D.C. of Florida</td>
<td>bloodless surgery, muscle adjusting, bonesetting, cripples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David B. Hestand, M.D., D.C. of Baylor University</td>
<td>cancer, chiropractic adjusting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Firth, D.C. of the PSC (later, Lincoln College)</td>
<td>diagnosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Ecklund from India</td>
<td>ligaments and joints, pediatrics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ACEI's second meeting took place in Kansas City in July, 1940, and produced a strong condemnation of NCA's educational reform policies (Keating et al., 1991; Keating, 1996). The ACEI insisted that NCA restrict the scope of chiropractic education to "straight" topics, and specifically prohibit:

...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 radions, 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 (ACEI, 1940).

Table 4: Original members of the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions (Ratledge, 1939a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>City/State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carver Chiropractic College</td>
<td>Oklahoma City OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Chiropractic College</td>
<td>Kansas City MO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia Institute of Chiropractic</td>
<td>New York NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Chiropractic Institute</td>
<td>New York NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York School of Chiropractic</td>
<td>New York NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Neil-Ross College of Chiropractic</td>
<td>Fort Wayne IN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratledge Chiropractic College</td>
<td>Los Angeles CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Institute of Chiropractic</td>
<td>New York NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas Chiropractic College</td>
<td>San Antonio TX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restview University of Chiropractic</td>
<td>Seattle WA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
these school leaders to have chiropractors commissioned in the armed forces (e.g., Drain, 1940). Before Pearl Harbor the ACEI, anticipating a serious depletion in enrollments as a result of the military draft, began to encourage practitioners to “send properly qualified men thirty five years of age and older to Chiropractic educational institutions as students” (Special, 1941). And when the Chiropractic Health Bureau re-formed as the International Chiropractors’ Association (ICA), Drain joined with his peers in a unanimous vote to maintain the ACEI’s independence from ICA (Special, 1941).

Conclusion

Drain had entered the school arena during a post-war glut of applicants and government financing for veterans’ education. He and associates then struggled to survive during the lean times of the economic depression, sacrificing much, but not surrendering their vision for “that ‘Down-in-Dixie’ School.” Now he and the TCC, like schools throughout the nation, would have to struggle through the lean times of another world war. They hung on, but at war’s end, and after a quarter century of operations, Drain and co-owners were thinking of retirement, and would enter negotiations for sale of the school to its alumni association (Rhodes, 1978).

The TCC exerted an important regional influence upon the profession, and functioned as a recognized player in the national arena of chiropractic education. The TCC’s message, formulated within a climate of sus-

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