

Daniel David Palmer's Medical Library: The Founder was "Into the Literature"

PIERRE LOUIS GAUCHER-PESLHERBE, D.C., Ph.D., LittD. (hc)*
GLENDA WIESE, M.S.**
JOSEPH DONAHUE, D.C.***

Although initially dismissed as an "unlearned healer," D.D. Palmer has proven to be a literate if self-taught writer, editor, author and teacher, who utilized the medical literature of his day in a surprising manner in his many publications. An examination of his work in *The Chiropractor's Adjustor* demonstrates the exactness of his thought. Very few medical practitioners at his time in America could claim to be so well read as was Palmer. He was competent in the use of medical literature, and not at all the uneducated healer he was alleged to be. A project, related to this study, is underway to reassemble DD's library to permit further examination of Palmer's scholarship.

Until about fifteen years ago, and apart from the perfunctory reference to Harvey Lillard's adjustment signaling the birth of chiropractic, Daniel David Palmer (DD) has been largely seen by the profession at large as an illiterate and overbearing man. Of course he had a style that courted controversy, with its fair share of excess. Recent studies (Gaucher, 1995) have begun to examine DD's real contribution to manipulative science; and as Walter Wardwell states, they have portrayed "Old Dad Chiro" as a well though self-educated scholar with an excellent working knowledge of the medical and scientific theories of the period, who read widely in the standard medical literature. (Wardwell, 1992) Yet much remains to be done in this reevaluation because of a collective, though most frequently unconscious, conspiracy of silence and a tendency to dismiss him and what he really accomplished. There is no doubt that such an attitude also allowed a freer expression of his followers' barely inferior inflated egos in developing the healing art DD had founded, when in fact they certainly were not so well informed as he was.

Today, no chiropractor's contribution to the chiropractic science and art stands in greater need of critical reevaluation than the elder Palmer's. There is no need to eulogize in this endeavor, and this study simply identifies scientific references and compares them to the pattern of textbook

usage in American medical schools at the time. A bibliography was compiled of the medical textbooks from which DD quoted in his 1910 textbook, *The Chiropractor's Adjuster*. (Palmer, 1910; 1914)

This data was then catalogued into specific disciplines for analysis and compared to the information from the catalogues of contemporary medical schools, both in Iowa and throughout the United States. These were pre-Flexner times, but it provides a way to rate DD's real scientific background against the recommended reading lists of some of the best medical institutions in the country. An analysis was also made to determine any commonly used medical sources he did not utilize; in addition, clarification was made of the books he purposely did not quote from, even though they were perhaps the most important ones to shape his philosophical approach to the world, including that of science. (College, 1889; 1900; 1908) (Iowa, 1902; 1903) (Anon., 1906)

This group of books, known as his "traveling library," was comprised of a variety of books on spiritual, parapsychological and metaphysical topics. There is no need to apologize on Palmer's behalf for his usage of these now arcane subjects. While from today's perspective these topics may seem to be an odd precursor to the formulation of a science, they were serious issues at the time, especially for the educated classes.

In a 1905 survey made on textbook use by the member schools of the American Association of Medical Colleges (Anon., 1906) 59 of the 67 institutions responded. Among those which answered were four Iowa medical schools: Drake University College of Medicine, Des Moines; Medi-

*Private practice and research consultant, LeMans, France

**Archivist, Palmer College of Chiropractic, Davenport, IA

***Private practice, Peru, IL

Research paper delivered during Centennial Week at the Riverfront Center, Davenport, IA on September 15, 1995

Address correspondence to Ms. Glenda Wiese, Palmer College Archives, 1000 Brady Street, Davenport, IA 52803

cal Department of the University of Iowa, Iowa City; Sioux City College of Medicine, Sioux City; and College of Physicians and Surgeons, Keokuk.

A number of factors have to be considered when studying the catalogues. One of them relates to the fact that a single textbook is usually recommended and expressed as first, or preferred choice for the course considered. Also at the time, in the United States, the typical medical school would usually list four titles, with a few institutions recommending or requiring as many as seven. The following tables have been constructed from the information given in the catalogues from the Keokuk school. (Edelson, 1994) It was selected as a comparison school for several reasons. It was close in location to Palmer, having been located in Davenport in 1849 before moving to Keokuk. It is, therefore, representative of the medical education climate which surrounded DD at the time. It was also one of the better medical schools west of the Appalachian Mountains and it eventually merged with Drake's College of Medicine. More importantly, Keokuk offered the largest choice of titles in each course; and also, it is the only institution in Iowa that had a chair in the History of Medicine (James Moores Ball, M.D. being Professor). Comparison tables were only constructed for Anatomy, Practice of Medicine and Surgery because, when considered together, they give a fair overall perspective on DD's level of scholarship.

Table 1
KEOKUK MEDICAL COLLEGE, IOWA

ANATOMY (@: first named and preferred book in the list)

	Medical Notes					
	1898	1900	1903	1908	Palmer	
Gray	@	+	@	@	+	on 51 out of 59 lists
Morris	+	@	+	+	+	on 43 out of 59 lists
Eisendrath	-	-	-	-	+	on 6 out of 59 lists
Gerrish	-	+	+	+	+	on 22 out of 59 lists
Cunningham	-	-	+	+	+	on 51 out of 59 lists

PRACTICAL ANATOMY

	Medical Notes					
	1898	1900	1903	1908	Palmer	
Holden	@	+	@	@	-	on 20 out of 59 lists
Haynes	+	-	-	-	-	on 5 out of 59 lists
Weisse	-	@	-	-	-	on 4 out of 59 lists

Table 1: Each time the last revised edition is requested. (From information on Keokuk Medical School catalogues, and from JAMA's *Med. Notes & Queries*, 1906,2(1):1-4; 2(2):29-31). All major requested and/or suggested Anatomy books are utilized by DD; but none of the suggested Practical Anatomy ones are.

By comparison, this is the list of DD's most frequent references in anatomy:

Table 2
D.D. PALMER'S MOST FREQUENT MEDICAL REFERENCES:

ANATOMY (76 quotes in all: quote frequency in *The Adjuster* for the books listed)

Gray	(1905), (1908)	: 16 quotes in The Adjuster
Gerrish	(1899), (1902)	: 10 quotes in The Adjuster
Cunningham	(1903), (1905)	: 9 quotes in The Adjuster
Morris	(1903), (1903)	: 8 quotes in The Adjuster
Dutton*	(1886)	: 6 quotes in The Adjuster
Eisendrath	(1903)	: 3 quotes in The Adjuster
Clark*	(1906)	: 2 quotes in The Adjuster
Agnew	(1868) (Historical)	: 1 quote in The Adjuster

EMBRYOLOGY:

McMurrish	(1907)	: 6 quotes in The Adjuster
-----------	--------	----------------------------

HISTOLOGY:

Sobotta	(1909)	: 3 quotes in The Adjuster
---------	--------	----------------------------

PATHOLOGICAL ANATOMY:

Rokitanski	(1855) (Historical)	: 1 quote in The Adjuster
------------	---------------------	---------------------------

Table 2: In anatomy DD is well aware of the most recent developments of the science. He always quotes from the latest revised edition, and notes that the new wording frequently favors his own propositions as compared with the older ones.

Whenever DD saw it proper he also quoted from older books (here Agnew and Rokitanski). But DD was not really concerned with pathological anatomy. This is in keeping with his belief that chiropractors should not wait for the disease process to develop to the pathological stage: instead, they should adjust the patient before it has gone too far.

*note: It is reasonable to think that, when he started as a magnetic healer, DD must have first approached anatomy through Dutton's *Anatomy scientific and popular*. The manner and the frequency with which it is quoted clearly indicates this. Also noteworthy that, in anatomy, DD is not above quoting from an osteopathic author (as with Clark here).

When the recommended Practice of Medicine textbooks are considered, a similar pattern to the Anatomy textbooks emerges. The one difference being that DD is less thorough with them than with anatomy authors; he quotes from only half the recommended textbooks. DD, of course, was not really primarily concerned with the practice of medicine except when it deprived the patient of a fair chance to heal because they were denied the chiropractic alternative.

Table 3
KEOKUK MEDICAL COLLEGE, IOWA
PRACTICE OF MEDICINE

	Medical Notes (1906)					Medical Notes (1906)
	1898	1900	1903	1908	Palmer	
Anders	@	@	@	@	+	on 41 out of 59 lists
Tyson	+	+	+	+	-	on 46 out of 59 lists
Wood & Fitz.	+	+	+	+	-	on 7 out of 59 lists
Osler*	+	-	-	+	+	on 49 out of 59 lists
Roberts	-	+	+	+	+	on 2 out of 59 lists
	1898	1900	1903	1908	Palmer	
Pepper	-	+	+	+	-	on 10 out of 59 lists
Hare	-	+	+	+	+	on 21 out of 59 lists
Thompson	-	-	+	+	-	on 20 out of 59 lists
	1898	1900	1903	1908	Palmer	
Da Costa	+	@	+	+	-	on 20 out of 59 lists
Vierordt	+	+	+	+	-	on 22 out of 59 lists
Loomis	-	+	-	-	-	on 17 out of 59 lists
Musser	-	+	@	@	-	on 32 out of 59 lists

Table 3: In 1910, DD is quoting from Osler's book only once, as a secondhand quote from an osteopathic journal.

Musser's is described as an "undigested conglomeration" in the *Medical Notes & Queries* survey; DD did not quote from it, only from Da Costa.

Also, DD quotes from Roberts when only 2 medical schools out of the 59 would list it. Even though not a favorite author with medical school professors, it was a best-seller (10th edition in 1906) over the whole country, and a basic reference for many medical practitioners DD would debate with.

DD's utilization of the Pathology and Physiology books demonstrates a striking departure from the use he made of texts in the above two categories. Certainly, one of the greatest surprises from this research was that DD quoted much more frequently from Pathology and Physiology books than from anatomy texts, even though he was very concerned with proper anatomical knowledge. But upon reflection, this fact should not be surprising. Elliot Proctor Joslin's case (he graduated from Harvard medical school in 1895) demonstrates that: "What compels physicians to side in any issue has never been a simple assessment of physiological efficacy, but rather a complex set of ideas and ideals." (Feudtner, 1995) This realization, that the physician's "set of ideas and ideals" are paramount, necessitated further analysis of the usage frequency for the Pathology and Physiology books which DD quoted from. His frequent quoting (often with very lengthy quotes) was necessary for Palmer to build his case against medicine's "set of ideas and ideals" and for chiropractic's:

Table 4
D.D. PALMER'S MOST FREQUENT MEDICAL REFERENCES:

PATHOLOGY (126 quotes in all: quote frequency in <i>The Adjuster</i> for the books listed)	
McFarland (1904)	: 28 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 12 of 59)
Stengel (1898), (1903)	: 27 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 34 of 59)
Delafield & Prudden (1904)	: 22 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 30 of 59)
Green (1905)	: 15 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 15 of 59)
Campbell (1857) (Historical);3 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i>	
Bell (1824) (Historical);3 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i>	
PHYSIOLOGY:	
Landois (1892), (1904)	: 15 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 20 of 59)
Kirkes (1902), (1905)	: 8 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 36 of 59)
Brubaker (1905)	: 2 quotes in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 5 of 59)
American Textbook (1900)	: 1 quote in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 38 of 59)
Ott (1904)	: 1 quote in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 10 of 59)
Stewart (1905)	: 1 quote in <i>The Adjuster</i> (on 26 of 59)

Table 4: The extensive use by DD of Pathology and Physiology books is a very striking feature. He quotes twice as many references as compared with Anatomy books. This fact is a timely reminder that DD always taught that, to be truly specific in adjusting, a "thorough knowledge of both pathology and diagnosis" was required.

DD was commonly challenged by chiropractic authors/educators such as Carver, Davis, Gregory or even his own son B.J., and was often forced to counter with a string of anatomical references in reply to their ignorance. This demonstrates that, to DD, anatomical knowledge was not something to be discussed as such, he took it for granted. This knowledge was a compulsory common foundation to both chiropractic and medicine to build upon.

This is not the case with other disciplines (e.g., pathology, diagnosis, surgery) because he could not consider them as sciences comparable to anatomy. After all, they were based upon certain assumptions (that set of ideas and ideals) about health and disease that he had rejected. If the latter disciplines, he reasoned, had been on par with the status of anatomical knowledge, he considered they would have recognized the validity of chiropractic tenets long

ago. This is why, when discussing their specific contents, he felt the need for repeated quotes: in so doing, he aimed to promote the greater rationality and the logical necessity of his explanations on behalf of chiropractic. And this fact has to be recognized as no small achievement for an alleged "uneducated healer." (Gaucher, 1995)

Next we come to what could be described as DD's real area of expertise, namely surgery. At that time surgery had become fully professionalized. One outcome was that surgeons, aside from their obvious surgical duties or when e.g. straightening gross deformities, had usurped the setting and treating of fractures and they also treated sprains and dislocations (formerly the bone-setter's domain). Surgeons were the only ones to publish on this area of care that they had amalgamated into their practice. And they heaped much abuse upon "natural" bone-setters of the time.

DD claimed back this domain of the bone-setter for which he considered chiropractic provided a proper scientific approach in contrast to the surgeon's methods which had been repeatedly proven so wrong.

Table 5
KEOKUK MEDICAL COLLEGE, IOWA

SURGERY

	1898	1900	1903	1908	Palmer	Other books DD quoted
Ashhurst	@	-	-	-	+	Bickham 1908;
Keen	+	@	+	-	+	Boyer 1826;
Erichsen	+	-	-	-	+	Dupuytren 1832;
Park	+	-	+	+	-	Hastings 1850;
Hamilton	+	-	-	-	+	Lawrence 1838;
Moullin	+	-	-	-	+	McDonald 1898;
Stimson	-	+	+	+	+	McGrath 1902;
Warren & Gould	-	+	+	+	-	Cooper 1822.
Da Costa	-	+	@	@	+	

MINOR SURGERY:

	1898	1900	1903	1908	Palmer	Other books DD quoted
Wharton	+	@	@	-	+	Bradford &
Whitman	-	+	+	-	+	Lovett 1890;
Moore	-	+	+	@	+	Cooper 1823; Tubby 1896; Helferich 1899; Howe 1870; Lovett 1907; Malgaigne 1847; Petit 1723; Pott 1769; Young 1905.

Table 5: The 1905 survey on textbook usage in medical schools by the American Association of Medical Colleges strictly keeps to medical topics and disciplines. It does not give any figure for Surgery books. Only the various catalogues for each school refer to the ones they specifically recommended on their "preferred" lists.

This is to be compared with Palmer's own quoted sources:

Table 6

D.D. PALMER'S MOST FREQUENT MEDICAL REFERENCES:

SURGERY (137 quotes in all: quote frequency in *The Adjuster* for the books listed)

MacDonald (1898)	: 16 quotes in The Adjuster
Keen (1897), (1904)	: 15 quotes in The Adjuster
Erichsen (1860), (1884)	: 12 quotes in The Adjuster
Cooper S. (1822) (Historical)	: 11 quotes in The Adjuster
Wharton & Curtis (1898)	: 5 quotes in The Adjuster

MINOR SURGERY: ORTHOPEDICS (i.e. deformities)

Ashhurst (1867) (Historical)	: 7 quotes in The Adjuster
Moore (1898)	: 7 quotes in The Adjuster
Whitman (1903)	: 6 quotes in The Adjuster
Tubby (1896)	: 5 quotes in The Adjuster
Bradford & Lovett (1890)	: 4 quotes in The Adjuster
Knight (1885)	: 3 quotes in The Adjuster
Young (1905)	: 3 quotes in The Adjuster

MINOR SURGERY: TRAUMATOLOGY (i.e., fractures, dislocations, sprains)

Howe (1870) (Historical)	: 16 quotes in The Adjuster
Stimson (1905)	: 9 quotes in The Adjuster
Cooper, A.P. (1823) (Historical)	: 8 quotes in The Adjuster
Moullin (1891)	: 7 quotes in The Adjuster
Helferich (1899)	: 3 quotes in The Adjuster

Table 6: DD quotes from all the books in the lead and from practically all the books in the different recommended lists. Here too, he quotes from almost twice as many Surgical references, as compared with Anatomy books; he maintains his pattern of usage to the extent that he even quotes more from "minor surgery" treatises (considered together) than from all the Anatomy books he refers to.

It is indeed a most curious feature that, at the time, Orthopedic surgery was considered and categorized by medicine as being "minor surgery." Palmer did not agree, if only as per the number of authors in his own list.

Last but not least, another one of DD's most endearing constant features is his ability to always go back to a proper historical depth of perspective when commenting

on any discipline (here four times; in the previous tables, twice in each category).

Let us be very clear about the fact that these are not the only works that DD quoted from. Far from it. DD used over 200 scientific, medical references to back up his case for chiropractic as a new healing art and a proper science. He also quoted from all recommended medical dictionaries; and even there he would quote from an old book (i.e. Copland, 1844), thereby showing a keen interest towards historical evolution in language, even of a technical or scientific nature.

He would quote from medical diagnosis books (e.g. Anders, Hare, Da Costa); from pharmacological and therapeutical books (e.g. Hare, Potter); from neurology books (e.g. Gowers, Oppenheim); from pediatric books (e.g. Jacobi); from obstetrical books (e.g. King). He would even quote from homeopathic and osteopathic sources (e.g. Patchen, Clark), as well as ophthalmological and Christian Science ones. But DD did not quote from popular medical encyclopedias such as Richardson, Platten, Biltz, etc. The one exception to that statement concerns J. Perry's 1838 *Household Physician*. It is quoted once but it may be considered as a historical reference. (note: there is yet another occurrence when DD quotes (on pain) from a 1910 medical almanac which could not be traced back.)

Then there are the "old medical" books, or books of historical value or interest, which he either owned or quoted from secondhand. DD freely quoted from W. Salmon (1694), J.L. Petit (1723), P. Pott (1769), G. van Swieten (1776), Astley Cooper (1823), J. Copland (1844), etc. It is reasonable to consider that part of DD's historical quotes comes from 1901 Gould & Pyle's work on medical curiosities over the ages. But he claimed several times in writing that he owned a number of old books of medicine. So, rather than the mere number of the books he quoted from, it is the use he made of those quoted which is interesting and which should be the subject of yet another paper.

Unlike so many chiropractors after him, DD had a sense of history and of its importance to properly approach facts and/or reality, even in medical matters. The sad fact today is that it is mostly the non-chiropractors in our midst that have this sense most developed about chiropractic (e.g. Wardwell, Gibbons, Keating, Martin, Moore, Coulter, Callender, Wiese). This fact is truly a most glaring professional failure. And it is to be hoped the Davenport Centennial will help reverse the trend.

But not all of DD's medical references came from books: 27 are from periodicals and journals. According to today's tradition in scientific publishing, one would expect nearly the reverse proportion. But medical publishing and mores were different then. And this cultural difference is not sufficient to disqualify what DD published then. Another feature about those quotes from periodicals also applies to several of the quotes he made from history books:

not unfrequently, DD is wont to quote from French, German, and even Latin sources in the case of early modern medical books. On the other hand, it is a well known fact that he did not speak or read any of these foreign or ancient languages. Hence, the obvious proposition about them is that he quoted from abridged or exhaustive American translations which existed and were available.

Nonetheless, and even though DD did not quote much from them, there were many journals being published at the time; and they were read too. A number were imported from England (e.g. *Medical Times & Gazette*, *British Medical Journal*, *The Lancet*, *The Practitioners*, etc.) or Canada. But a number of other good journals were published in the United States (e.g. *Philadelphia Journal of Medicine and Physiological Sciences*, *American Medical Times*, *Boston Medical & Surgical Journal*, *New York Medical Journal & Philadelphia Medical Journal*, etc.) plus all the non-regular schools publications. The truth is that there were many medical journals circulating in the United States; but it must be understood that their reading was largely limited to those medical people who were prominent in medical societies; or to professional academics in the foremost schools of the time.

Of course, DD lacked any formal education which might have prepared him for the proper reading of medical journals. Then there is the added fact that the medical journals of the time typically maintained a staunch allopathic perspective that supported only hospital trained regulars as was their purpose. And that stand undoubtedly introduced a number of philosophical biases which assured that whatever information they contained would have estranged Palmer rather than enlightened him on the state of medical science. His scientific purpose lay elsewhere and he cleverly stuck only to those sources which could help him.

Yet DD was well informed and kept a close watch on osteopathic journals as well as on all publications by early chiropractor educators. Moreover, this research into DD's scholarship has established his expertise in developing and using such an extensive medical library. Beside, when DD parted from the Palmer School in 1906, he had not yet written his major work; and it should be reminded that the settlement signed with his son allowed him to remove only six books of his own choice from the school library, and these only. Hence, it can be surmised that he managed to assemble all the books he quoted from when writing in his own periodical, *The Adjuster*, during the years that intervened. And this might partly account for the proportionally high number of recent books in those he quoted from. He would usually refer to the most recent edition, or specify it when he used an older one.

But DD's expertise, as established by his using such a large and eclectic array of reference books, is confirmed by the way he would approach knowledge as when he declares that: "intellectuality, the pass-key of this age, is opening up new lines of thought; medical locks will no

longer clog the wheels of progress." (Cooley, 1949) And this should direct the profession to carefully reevaluate his complete theory of the spinal subluxation.

Presently, a prevalent part of research effort is focused on the nature of subluxation as a segmental entity. But DD theorized much more than that; and, although they have often taken place outside chiropractic and without any knowledge of it, many modern developments in the understanding of tonicity and axial tension as factors of vital importance for the central nervous system in fact recall DD's chiropractic insights. And it is greatly to the credit of the self-taught founder of chiropractic that he was able to establish his discoveries on a rational foundation, and based them on anatomical and physiological data which were remarkably coherent with the techniques he advocated.

Chiropractors never really made use of DD's insights and concepts of a "neuro-skeleton" as a "regulator of tension," nor to "subluxation" as a mishap that interferes with such regulation and requires an "adjustment." And it can be said of all these hypotheses that the chiropractic profession has failed to properly consider or satisfactorily explore them. Arguably, DD remains yet today one of the profession's greatest theorists. The facts that, barring a few professional, medical academics of the time, DD could probably have equated his knowledge with any other in the healing field (a fact he proved frequently in his many public debates), and he was better informed than any of them on his chosen topic. (Palmer, 1910, 445)

This study also bears out another curious fact, that DD's scholarship was not properly heeded by most of his apparently better-educated former students (e.g. Davis, Smith, Langworthy, Gregory). Even his one-time lawyer, Willard Carver, did not understand the theoretical issues properly. As to his son, BJ, he lacked too much in former education for the task demanded to even begin to comprehend, let alone to build upon his father's achievements. In disputing so frequently with DD over chiropractic, none of these pioneers would be "quoted," were it only one-tenth the time which DD did. Hence, they mostly clashed on personalities, not on science. And this certainly did not help to allow for a proper approach to the science the way DD had defined it, nor did it facilitate a proper appraisal of DD's real importance in it.

Conclusion

Perhaps it is appropriate, in way of conclusion, to reflect on the respective fate of two major texts that were published at the time in the United States, and which helped to found a healing profession on new grounds in each case. They are Osler's *Principles and Practice of Medicine* and Palmer's *Chiropractor's Adjuster*. There is no apparent generational gap between the two: Osler pub-

lished his "medical Bible" in 1892, only years before DD announced the discovery of chiropractic. DD published his own book in 1910, when Osler's undisputed influence was seriously being challenged by more recent works and began to wane in the recommended lists, although still in the lead. But the difference between the mid-western healer and the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine Professor could not have been wider. What is more, the latter had even studied medicine abroad.

It is true that Osler's *Principles* unified a formerly highly fragmented pattern of textbook use in the teaching of medicine, even in most of the marginal institutions (eclectic, homeopathic and osteopathic included, but not chiropractic). And it happened even though the text was oriented to the hospital physician. So that, by the time of World War I, a generation of medical students had grown up with Osler's work. To quote P.J. Edelson, its wide use confirmed the emergence of a single institutionally and philosophically unified medical profession in America. (Edelson, 1994) Chiropractic had from then on and because of it, to fight against an entirely new background for its right to exist alongside.

We have seen that DD apparently never quoted from it: the only time Osler is mentioned in *The Adjuster* is as a secondhand quote culled in an osteopathic journal. And Osler's name is not even quoted in the index. But it does not mean that DD had not read the work. Only the retracing of non-referred back influences would be an entirely different study. We prefer to consider that DD consciously chose not to quote from Osler. The main reason being his lack of concern with a disease-oriented approach the like of Osler's when he would rather rely on variations in nerve-tension and abnormal tone as disease producers. And it was as a thoroughly different methodological approach.

Yet, we may also reflect on the fate of DD's own "chiropractic Bible." It did not sell in any great quantities, was reissued in a grossly altered version in 1921, was reprinted on a limited scale by the National Chiropractic Association in 1945, and finally made available to the profession at large by DD's grandson, David D. Palmer. The book itself not only did not unify the chiropractic profession the way Osler's had for medicine, it was left on the side of the road by the cavorting and assertive personalities of the early pioneers. The fact, on its own, might very well account for quite a number of the difficulties later encountered by the profession to properly back its claims to existence.

As an outgrowth of this research, it has become apparent that there is a real need to recreate DD Palmer's library. Further research into DD's theories is hampered by an inability to access his sources. Therefore the authors have begun a project to locate and acquire as many of these old textbooks as are still available.

REFERENCES

- Anonymous reviewer. 1906. Which Are the Best Medical Textbooks? *JAMA Medical Notes & Queries* 2:1-4,29-31.
- College of Physicians and Surgeons. 1898-1899. *Annual Announcement*. Keokuk, IA: Keokuk Medical College.
- . 1908. *Bulletin*. Keokuk, IA: Keokuk Medical College.
- . 1908-1909. *Annual Announcement*. Keokuk, IA: Keokuk Medical College.
- Cooley, C.S. 1949. Six Essays on the Life of Daniel David Palmer. In: J.R. Drain. 1949. *Man Tomorrow*. San Antonio, TX: Standard Printing Co.
- Donahue, J.H. 1987. D.D. Palmer and the Metaphysical Movement in the 19th Century. *Chiropractic History*, 7:22-7.
- . 1990. The Man, the Book, the Lessons: The Chiropractor's Adjuster. 1910. *Chiropractic History*, 10:34-43.
- Edelson, P.J. 1994. Adopting Osler's Principles: Medical Textbooks in American Medical Schools, 1891-1906. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 68:67-84.
- Feudtner, C. 1995. The Want of Control: Ideas, Innovations, and Ideals in the Modern Management of Diabetes Mellitus. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 69:66-90.
- Gaucher-Peslherbe, P.L. 1982. About Subluxation; Being an Essay in Chiropractic Semasiology. *Bulletin of the European Chiropractors' Union* 30:9-16.
- . 1983. The Doctress of Epsom has outdone . . . a chiropractor. *European Journal of Chiropractic* 31:13-6.
- . 1986. Chiropractic: an Illegitimate Child of Science? *European Journal of Chiropractic* 34:40-45, 98-106.
- . 1993. *Chiropractic: Early Concepts in their Historical Setting*. Lombard, IL: National College of Chiropractic Books.
- . 1988. Defining the Debate: Exploration of the Factors that Influenced Chiropractic's Founder. *Chiropractic History*, 8:15-18.
- . 1995a. D.D. Palmer as an authentic medical radical. Association for the History of Chiropractic program, American Association for the History of Medicine Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh PA.
- . 1995b. The Development of D.D. Palmer as a Chiropractor. Centennial Homecoming National College of Chiropractic, Lombard, IL.
- . 1995c. Daniel David Palmer: Alchemy in the Creation of Chiropractic. Chiropractic Centennial Celebration, Davenport, IA.
- Gibbons, R.W. 1977. The Rise of the Chiropractic Educational Establishment (1897-1980). In F. Dzaman (ed.) *Who's Who in Chiropractic International*. Littleton, CO: Who's Who in Chiropractic International Publishing, 339-342.
- . 1981. Physician-Chiropractors: Medical Presence in the Evolution of Chiropractic. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 50:233-45.
- . 1993. Skeletons in the Medical Closet: Pioneer Chiropractic and Osteopathic Schools in Western Pennsylvania, 1910-1944. *Pittsburgh History*, Spring 9-17.
- Iowa College of Physicians and Surgeons. 1902-1903. *Annual Announcement*. Des Moines, IA: Medical College of Drake University.
- . 1903-1904. *Bulletin*. Des Moines, IA: Medical College of Drake University.
- Keating, J.C. 1991. The embryology of chiropractic thought. *European Journal of Chiropractic* 39:75-89.
- . 1992. Toward a Philosophy of the Science of Chiropractic: Primer for Clinicians Stockton, CA. Stockton Foundation for Chiropractic Research.
- Palmer, D.D. 1910. *The Chiropractor's Adjuster; a Textbook of the Science, Art, and Philosophy of Chiropractic for Students and Practitioners: Founded on Tone*. Portland, OR: Portland Printing House.
- . 1914. *The Chiropractor*. Los Angeles: Beacon Light Company.
- Wardwell, W.I. 1987. Before the Palmers: Overview of Chiropractic's Antecedents. *Chiropractic History*, 7:27-33.
- . 1992a. *Chiropractic: History and Evolution of a New Profession*. St. Louis, MI, Mosby-Year Book.
- . 1992b. Preface to P. L. Gaucher-Peslherbe. *Chiropractic: Early Concepts in their Historical Setting*. Lombard, IL: National College of Chiropractic Books, v-vi.
- Wiese, G., Peterson, D. 1995. Daniel David Palmer: "Old Dad Chiro," the Founder of Chiropractic. In D. Peterson & G. Wiese (eds.) *Chiropractic, an Illustrated History*. St. Louis: Mosby-Year Book, 56-89.