

T.F. Ratledge, the Missionary of Straight Chiropractic in California

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Tullius de Florence Ratledge was a life-long champion of the straight chiropractic cause, and made important contributions in securing the legal basis of chiropractic in California, Oklahoma and Kansas. As president of the leading straight chiropractic college on the West Coast, he mentored several generations of chiropractors and championed the rights of straight chiropractic education in its battles against the medical monopoly and against the accreditation movement of the National Chiropractic Association. His Los Angeles branch of the Ratledge System of Chiropractic School eventually became today's Cleveland Chiropractic College.

The meaning of the phrase "straight chiropractic" has varied considerably during chiropractic's first century. Although vehement opposition to the monopoly and perceived irrationalities of organized medicine has characterized most if not all straight chiropractors, important differences in principle are also apparent. For some, straight chiropractic refers to a restricted set of interventions (e.g., hands only, spine only), while for others the term implies an unswerving commitment to subluxation-reduction (however accomplished) as the most important health science discovery in history. For still other chiropractors, straight means an a-diagnostic (i.e., spinal analysis-only) orientation to theory and practice. For yet other chiropractors, biotheology has been the "Big Idea" in straight chiropractic, as embodied in the notion of Innate Intelligence, a fraction of God within us who accounts for doctors' clinical successes and supposedly "explains" the processes of life. At the social and professional level, straight chiropractic has often meant a self-imposed isolation from medicine, science and "mixer" chiropractic.

For much of the profession's history these various interpretations of straight chiropractic have been ignored. However, during the past 15 years, with the development of federal accreditation and the beginnings of a quantitative chiropractic science, some philosophical differences among straight chiropractors (e.g., diagnosis) have become major sources of divisiveness (e.g. CCE vs. SCASA). Yet, important differences among straight chiropractors have always been there, and are worthy of investigation.

Many were the champions of straight chiropractic: D.D. and B.J. Palmer, Willard Carver, and Carl S. Cleveland, Sr. were but a few of the most noteworthy. Less well known, but nevertheless a significant influence in the early and middle years of chiropractic's professional life, is Tullius de Florence Ratledge. As passionate for straight chiropractic as Davenport's "Developer," but with little of BJ's showmanship, T.F. Ratledge, D.C. has left a significant legacy to the profession as a philosopher, educator and political activist. Although his name is not well remembered, the effects of his career are still widely felt in the profession today.

A review of the life and contributions of T.F. Ratledge may be helpful in understanding the evolution of straight chiropractic and of the profession as a whole. Moreover, Ratledge's life story helps to illustrate both the similarities and differences among straight chiropractors.

The Formative Years

Born in Hartsville, Tennessee in 1881 to traveling school-teacher parents (Dzaman et al., 1980), "Tully" Ratledge grew up in a home which fostered self-independence as well as education. The family moved to Oklahoma when it was still known as the Indian Territory, and "TF" attended the Central State College in Edmond. His mother apparently graduated from the first class at the Carver/Denny College of Chiropractic in 1907 (Smallie, 1985, p. 72), and TF, who had unsuccessfully sought medical help for a serious illness, was encouraged to enroll (Williams, 1990).

Ratledge's training at Carver/Denny left a lifelong impression on the young doctor. Carver, an attorney friend and subsequent rival of D.D. Palmer, had taken his training at the Parker College of Chiropractic in Ottumwa, Iowa

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(Dzaman et al., 1980; Gielow, 1981), and had established the first of his four schools in Oklahoma City shortly before D.D. established the short-lived Palmer/Gregory school in the same city. TF attended lectures by D.D. while at the Carver school, and felt he had benefited from the opportunity to compare the teachings of these straight chiropractors:

I thank God I was permitted to know Dr. Willard Carver for the first impression of the science of chiropractic from him. Later, I was fortunate in knowing DD Palmer and having the fundamentals from Dr. Carver. I was in position to compare their thinking patterns. I believe their thinking was more similar than any of the other school men (Smallie, 1990a, p. 48).

and,

DD Palmer was one of the very few consistently logical persons it has been my good fortune to know. He reasoned from facts, not from faith in folk-sayings. He was honest and would not stoop to deception of the desperately disease-frightened and helpless, general society (Smallie, 1990a, p. 46).

From Carver TF received a very "straight" chiropractic education. Although Carver has sometimes been accused of "mixing" for his use of suggestive therapeutics, he was adamant in asserting the value of adjusting to free nerve interference. In some circles Carver was considered a "dignified alternative to B.J." (Dzaman et al., 1980). TF graduated from the Carver/Denny school just before Christmas, 1907, and collaborated with Drs. Carver and Denny in attempting to introduce licensing legislation in the newly admitted state of Oklahoma during its 1907-08 session. While Carver lobbied individual members, Ratledge established a "free adjustory" for legislators and their families, and apparently produced a favorable impression through the results obtained (Ratledge, 1955, 1958; Smallie, 1963):

...the lower house passed the bill by an overwhelming majority after some very spectacular hearings before the senate committee on "law"—(where the Secretary of State told of having quickly recovered from what the nine MD members of the legislature and an Osteopath diagnosed as appendicitis and tried to cure for three days—but come to the conclusion that surgical removal of the appendix was imperative). However, his mother, wife of a District Judge at Ardmore, Oklahoma, intervened and enlisting the assistance of the chairman of the Senate committee before which hearings had been held, arranged for me to

take charge of the case. At that time, it seemed that his quick and complete recovery was miraculous, since our experience was so limited in the few months I had been practicing chiropractic that I just could not (except in abstract theory) visualize such results in a person so very ill. When I first visited Mr. Bee, Secretary of the Senate, he was unconscious. But it served as an eye-opener for future events. I never refused to serve the sick, irrespective of any previous medical diagnosis, subsequent to that time (Smallie, 1963).

Despite the lack of success encountered in this initial legislative effort, Ratledge's confidence in the eventual success of such campaigns was unshaken: "With embryonic vision of the greatness of chiropractic and with the energy and enthusiasm of youth I conceived the idea that the best way to get chiropractic to a sick world was by education and, accordingly, set out to do my best in that direction" (Ratledge, 1955).

Ratledge maintained a regular correspondence with his mentor until Carver's death in 1943. This relationship with Carver was presumably one of the sources of Ratledge's interest in using the political system to establish a firm future for the infant profession:

All through my life I have been imbued with the American idea of human freedom and lay an equal store upon the matter of professional freedom. Therefore, among my first considerations of chiropractic affairs was the proposition of keeping it free and as distinct as are its principles and resulting practice (Ratledge, 1953).

He also followed Carver's example in establishing multiple chiropractic schools, the first in the then state capital of Guthrie, OK in 1908 (relocated to Oklahoma City circa 1911), the second in Arkansas City, Kansas in 1909, and the third in the Kansas state capital, Topeka. The Topeka school provided a platform for his legislative efforts in that state: "I appeared before the legislative committees in Topeka, Kansas at the time when the Kansas Chiropractors made their first and second legislative attempts; the second of which resulted in the passage of the Kansas Chiropractic Act" (Ratledge, 1953). Under the direction of Anna B. Foy, D.C. whom TF had appointed head of the Topeka school, their legislative efforts reached fruition in 1913, when Kansas became the first state to pass a licensing law for DCs. TF would eventually sell these first three branches of the "Ratledge System of Chiropractic Schools."

In 1911, following a call for help from the former Oklahoma territorial representative to Congress who had become ill while visiting his daughter in California, TF decided to open his fourth school in Los Angeles:

Upon looking over the situation here in California, where at the time chiropractic was only available through the "bootleg" channel and had received some very bad and recent publicity, all of which was medically inspired propaganda, I decided that where chiropractic was not, there I should be, so, I decided to open a school in California and establish chiropractic in California. That was in 1911, March. In September that year I opened the Los Angeles branch of the Ratledge System of Chiropractic Schools which I conducted continuously until Dr. Cleveland of Kansas City, Mo. bought me out in 1951 (Ratledge, 1955).

TF's early years in California repeated the pattern he had already established in the mid-west: education and political advocacy. "In 1912 it was my privilege to serve chiropractic in California where I had a bill introduced in the legislature at Sacramento and which was repeated by me every legislative session until 1921" (Ratledge, 1953). The early years of the Ratledge school in Los Angeles were noteworthy in that TF hired D.D. Palmer to lecture during 1912-13. TF's open advocacy of chiropractic in the unlicensed state soon caught the attention of medical authorities.

Believing in American principles and knowing that Chiropractic was NOT the practice of medicine and not based upon medical principles and/or superstitions, I knew that I was not violating any medical statutes when I was applying the principles of Chiropractic, so I, never having been accustomed to being considered an outlaw or engaged in illegal business, I set out to establish chiropractic as a separate and legal science and practice in California. Opening my office and advertising the fact through newspapers and the distribution of hundreds of thousands of pamphlets telling the people about the great truths of this new science, soliciting patients, etc., I was soon visited by representatives of official medicine in California and told to remove my signs and cease the "practice of medicine" or face arrest. I defied them and served several communities, personally, after the similar threats had driven other chiropractors to discontinue their practices. Such brazenry did not raise me in the eyes of the medical authorities, but it did make them hesitate, and for two years they held off any attempt to stop me by legal procedures. In the meantime several precedents were secured by the medical arrests of chiropractors who

would not stand hitched and see the thing through (Ratledge, 1953).

In 1914, despite (or perhaps because of) his repeated efforts to introduce chiropractic legislation at the state house in Sacramento, Ratledge was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to serve 90 days in Los Angeles County jail for "practicing medicine without a license."

I was led to slaughter, innocently, by a young lawyer, a fine fellow and a good lawyer, but steeped in medical beliefs and unable to present my case to the Judge and Jury with an intelligent differentiation between chiropractic principles and the hodgepodge of medical absurdities upon which the practice of medicine is based.

At that time I had already had bills introduced in the legislature authorizing chiropractic licensure. I was promptly convicted by an innocent but ignorant Court and Jury, and, because of my defiance of medicine to dictate and limit my rights as an American citizen, the Judge, very righteously, (I hope he got a better deal when he passed on, a victim of a "stroke") sentenced me to jail without an alternative of a fine, generally allowable in misdemeanors. Sparring for time, the case was appealed, however, without hope of reversal because of the inability of my attorney to present the case on the basis of principles instead of just trying to get by with being classified as a "limited practice of medicine" and seeking special privilege to practice accordingly (Ratledge, 1953).

In an attempt to avoid incarceration Ratledge wrote to Hiram W. Johnson, Governor of California, to request a pardon:

...It has, at all times, been my thought and sincere conviction that the necessity for a law regulating the practice of chiropractic was not for the protection of the profession...but should be solely for the protection of the people...When I came to California in the early Spring of 1911...I found a condition of utmost chaos, under medical supervision, in matters pertaining to the practice of chiropractic in the State. Immediately, I instituted a campaign for the betterment of this deplorable state of affairs. And in 1913...I caused to be introduced a Bill establishing a proper standard of chiropractic education and the creation of a separate board of chiropractic examiners...

Chiropractic was practically unknown to the various members of the California legislature

prior to the introduction of the Chiropractic Bill at the 1913 session. A new medical practice act purporting to provide for and regulate the practice of any and all systems and modes of treatment was passed. I appeared before you and pointed out the inconsistencies of the Bill. In reply to my remarks you stated there was no provision in the bill for chiropractors and it was your belief that the bill would not apply and, therefore, work no injury to the chiropractic profession. It was under this same law, administered by the Board of Medical Examiners that I was arrested, prosecuted and convicted and sentenced to serve ninety days in the county jail...I appeal to you upon the basis of simple justice to grant me a pardon...otherwise, I shall go to prison for 90 days for having done only good to suffering humanity (Smallie, 1975).

Governor Johnson offered TF a pardon on the condition that TF accept a license as a drugless practitioner from his traditional nemesis, the California Board of Medical Examiners. Appalled at the prospect of chiropractic regulation by the medical board, Ratledge refused the pardon, arguing that to accept a license from the medical board would be a "fraud against the people" (Smallie, 1975). Medical doctors, he contended, knew nothing of the science of chiropractic, and were therefore unqualified to judge his competence as a chiropractor. In a last minute communique Governor Johnson asked Ratledge to reconsider his rejection of the drugless practice license. TF responded: "I have been thinking it over for many years; you've been considering this matter for 30 minutes. Think it over, governor" (Stump, 1947).

The depth of his sentiment was captured in 1916 letter to B.J. Palmer written from his jail cell:

...Truth cannot be destroyed, and if Chiropractic is NOT truth and universal in its application, then I should be in an asylum for the insane instead of a jail for crooks. Under the conditions that have prevailed in California, money would have been a fine thing to have but, no less than a million would have been sufficient. The Medical Trust has had such complete domination of all things pertaining to the "public health" (private pocketbook of the M.D.) that *nothing* except a *set purpose, based upon an undying devotion to a just principle* could survive...

...Sincerely,

Yours, 'IN' and "WINNING" (Ratledge, 1916).

TF's 90-day incarceration would be a proudly worn badge of courage throughout the rest of his career. Moreover, prison accomplished for him what repeated approaches to the media had not:

The Herald printed an interview with me on the 20th, which was very good as it set forth our side of the matter to some extent. The Examiner of the 22nd had some letters relative to me in it and the Record has something every day and all in all, we can't complain in view of the fact that we could not get into the paper with even an announcement before this if it mentioned Chiropractic. The Record had the letter from the "California" contingent at the P.S.C. in and it was good. Please have them write a good one to the Examiner and one to the Evening Herald for they have done us lots of good. They reach the better class of people and are more influential (Ratledge, 1916).

TF encouraged other DCs to serve their jail terms (rather than pay a fine) in order to generate public sympathy for the cause of chiropractic licensure in California. This sentiment is evident in the pages of his school's newspaper the *California Backbone*:

...all chiropractors [should] refuse to pay fines and take their jail sentences, both because it discourages the political doctors in their attacks upon chiropractic and because it gains the sympathy of those who have benefited by adjustments.

Few voters will long stand seeing chiropractors, whose only 'crime' is in doing good to their fellow men, incarcerated like crooks and malefactors (California Backbone, 1922).

As the publicity continued, California chiropractors began to receive favorable comments from influential members of the community. Exemplary were comments published by the Rev. Emil Mayer of Sacramento:

To our knowledge, not one accusation of a matter of record in the State of California has been brought against any chiropractor by a patient. Charges and convictions were based upon decoy evidence. The Medical Practice Law is the only law, we believe, on the California statute books that requires hired, coached, trained spies to detect violators of the law...No robber, murderer or other criminal is tempted by hired spies to commit crime, to "get a case against him." It is a crime to incite to crime. If chiropractic is criminal, is it not a crime to incite the practice of chiropractic? We cannot expect that every chiropractic adjust-

ment will cure, no more than we must fear that every medical pill will kill (Stump, 1947).

The 1918 influenza epidemic provided something of a naturalistic experiment for chiropractors. Like many in the osteopathic ranks (California Backbone, 1922), TF recalled that chiropractic patients had apparently benefited in relation to medical patients in terms of lower morbidity rates. Ratledge himself provided care to all who needed, regardless of ability to pay (Williams, 1990). It may be assumed that DCs' recognition among the public would be enhanced by these experiences.

Repeated efforts through 1919 to pass a licensing law through the state legislature were unsuccessful, owing both to the medical lobby and to the straight/mixer feud among DCs. Meanwhile, chiropractors throughout California continued to be jailed for practice. As an alternative, Ratledge and his Federated Chiropractors of California turned to the initiative provisions of the state constitution. To assist in the fund-raising that a successful statewide grassroots campaign and referendum would require, Ratledge offered "to pay into the treasuries of representative chiropractic associations or campaign organizations...the percentages of receipts from students enrolled" (Smallie, 1990b). TF also sought the support of chiropractic's "maximum leader":

...I ask you as a particular personal favor in the crisis in the profession in California to openly advise the adoption of the Chiropractic bill by the people of California at the November election. The bill may not be perfect, for it was adopted at a mass convention attended by one hundred Chiropractors from all parts of the State and representing all factions and all schools, but the bill, which contains only fifteen sections, was adopted by a majority vote after ten hours of discussion, and now has the active support of ninety per cent of the Chiropractors in the State, and you will agree with us that that is as near 100 per cent as you ever get in legislation (Ratledge, 1920).

In January, 1922 a petition to place a chiropractic initiative on the following November's ballot was approved, and the Campaign Committee for Proposition 16 began a statewide effort, including a media blitz, distribution of hundreds of thousands of flyers, and fund-raising. Ratledge involved his student body in these efforts, and many future DCs spent endless hours on street corners to distribute pro-chiropractic literature. Despite considerable opposition from the medical lobby, the voters of California approved the bill on November 7, 1922. Early in 1923 the first Board of Chiropractic Examiners was appointed, and shortly thereafter the first chiropractic licenses were issued.

The initial exuberance which passage of the law and

licensing of the first DCs produced was shortlived, however. Superior Court Judge Walter P. Johnson ruled in June, 1923 that the members of the chiropractic board were not eligible to hold their positions because they had practiced illegally prior to the referendum. "It would be years before the board was able to free itself of this and similar legal entanglements to get on about the normal business of the board" (Compton, undated).

The Development of Straight Chiropractic Education (1911-1956)

The Ratledge College of Chiropractic in Los Angeles was an integral part of the straight chiropractic educational movement throughout the profession's middle ages. Today's Ratledge graduates can trace a fairly direct educational connection to the earliest chiropractic educators (see Table 1).

Throughout most of its operation the Los Angeles branch of the Ratledge System offered a 24-month course of studies in those basic and clinical subjects that TF considered essential to chiropractic practice. Like his mentor, Willard Carver, TF objected to the use of most medical texts. Although *Gray's Anatomy* and Firth's (1929) *Chiropractic Diagnosis* were employed, most topics in the basic sciences were taught from notes prepared by the faculty. Laboratory instruction was not provided, and visual aids were limited to wall charts and a skeleton; TF considered more than this unnecessary, but students were encouraged to augment their training by making use of a nearby library. Ratledge refused to employ or enroll medical doctors, for he believed them unable to grasp chiropractic concepts. The location of the Los Angeles school changed a number of times during its 40 year history (see Table 2); the Hill Street campus is recalled as a one-room facility which doubled as lecture hall and student clinic (Williams, 1990).

Despite the limitations of this education, many Ratledge graduates would make significant contributions within the profession (see Table 3), and several (e.g., Higley, Haynes) were prominent in the broad-scope educational reform movement of the National Chiropractic Association (NCA).

TF was an active participant in the philosophy and technique components of the curriculum. Like many college leaders of his day, he had developed and taught a somewhat unique adjusting system, and although allowing that there were many ways of accomplishing chiropractic "purposes," expected his students to learn his ways:

It is desirable to proceed as specifically as possible. Pressure directed to one of the vertebrae involved is the most logical and, in my experience, has proved to be the most effective.

The lower of the two vertebrae exerting obstructive pressure on a nerve, because of articular surface directions, is the proper point of stress in making any correction of such nerve pressure.

The palm contact, directly upon the lower vertebrae in all subluxations, is the most practical and involves the very minimum chance of injury.

No attempt to correct obstructive nerve pressure should be made until after thorough examination, noting general and local variation from normal relations of spinal areas. After palpation, there is a determining of the individual relation of two vertebrae forming any joint.

The palm contact, the fifth metacarpal bone directly upon the spinous process of the lower of the two vertebrae involved in impinging the spinal nerves is preferable. There should be a maximum distribution of pressure exerted upon the body surface and the tissues between the surface and the spinous process of the vertebrae to be moved and minimum of mechanical stimuli in applying the adjustive pressure. With relaxed wrist/shoulder joints, fixed elbow with the arm straight, the adjustor, with a little experience, will detect any movement between the vertebra contacted and the one above and may relax instantly and there will be no danger of applying force to any degree beyond that necessary to move the vertebra. Such procedure would obviate all possibility of moving a vertebra too far irrespective of how much effort was put into the process up to that point...

In making an atlas adjustment with the above described contact there is an upward direction of the pressure, but with the wrist relaxed and freely moveable. This changes as the body of the adjustor swings parallel with the spine toward the head and continues until the atlas movement is sensed and the elbow joint relaxed.

The upward movement of the head takes up any slack that may be in the capsules and ligaments of the occipito-atlantal joint and makes any movement of the atlas, instantly, perceptible (Smallie, 1990a, p. 58).

Technique instruction was reinforced by an internship in the clinic operated by the school, and students also accompanied faculty doctors on house calls. 1939 graduate Ben Williams (1990) recalls that students kept half of the

50 cent fee that was charged to those who could afford it, but "No one was refused a chiropractic treatment who came off the streets," and a "free clinic" was advertised in the school newspaper (*California Backbone*, 1922). Free care to the indigent is a tradition which survives among some Ratledge graduates to this day.

Chiropractic x-ray (spinography) was an optional course at Ratledge College until the 1940s, and students earned an x-ray certificate upon graduation in addition to their doctoral degree. A "spark-driven", "overhead aerial type x-ray machine" (Williams, 1990) was used for instruction. James Compton was the x-ray instructor during the 1930s.

Ratledge was fairly liberal in his interpretation of how his view of chiropractic principles (i.e., nerve interference) could be implemented. "True", he acknowledged, "chiropractic has its methods of application of the Chiropractic principles but those are only varied technics designed to apply the principles by individuals with different backgrounds..." (Ratledge, 1953). He would note DD Palmer's experiments with adjusting devices (Smallie, 1990a, p. 46), and felt that even surgery could be chiropractically justified if conducted for the purpose of relieving "obstructive nerve pressure" (Ratledge, 1958a). He noted that:

Dr. Palmer might have selected another name than chiropractic to more fully and scientifically express his new theory in matters of health. "Hand practice" is inadequate to describe the science or philosophy of chiropractic because it fails to even imply the universal application of the principle of obstructive, mechanical pressure upon nerves...

Freeing the nerves could have been the universal keynote to all chiropractic thought had there been more concentration upon this area from the standpoint of naming this profession (Smallie, 1990a, p. 46).

The principle of nerve interference was also TF's guide in devising his curriculum. "Medical" subjects, such as diagnosis and physical therapy were odious to Ratledge:

...Physiotherapy is always contradictory to chiropractic teachings and is utterly foreign to chiropractic and utterly impossible of assimilation as part of chiropractic.

Laboratory diagnosis is a medical phantom and contradictory to the true facts disclosed through chiropractic research and cannot be taught as a part of chiropractic. Therefore, it will never be included in our curriculum (Ratledge, 1935b).

Ratledge's concept of nerve interference, like that of Willard Carver, differed in important ways from BJ

Palmer's. The Developer's emphasis on the spiritual character of the body's recuperative powers was absent from TF's rhetoric; if "innate" was mentioned at all, the diminutive "i" was employed. He felt that BJ's spiritual explanations and evangelical style served to alienate chiropractors from science. He was no less hostile than BJ, however, in his condemnation of medicine and medical thought. Ratledge argued that illness was better understood through an analysis of the organism's struggle to maintain homeostasis in an ever changing environment, a struggle he believed to be significantly influenced by nerve interference. TF's derogation of diagnosis derived from the belief that the theory of disease was, at best, little more than superstition (Ratledge, 1938c), and probably a cause of subluxation through the fear it generated among patients (Barge, 1987; Smallie, 1979). He would teach his students to be fearless in their care of the sick (Quibell, 1990), and to be skeptical of medical pronouncements:

All 'disease symptoms' are the natural and inescapable manifestations of the human body under given circumstances. I make it a practice, always, to thoroughly analyze any and all diagnoses that have been made upon any case and invariably find that what superstition thought was a 'symptom' of certain conditions (and to be generous) where there were or were not any 'disease' round about (Smallie, 1990a).

Unshakeable faith in the truth of nerve interference was Ratledge's primary educational objective:

It seems to me that the most important part of the chiropractor's education is to be thoroughly convinced that chiropractic is a science. If all doubt about the applicability of chiropractic to human health needs is erased from his mind he goes out into the world of health service with the highest respect for his professional fellowman and for himself. And with that vibrant enthusiasm inspired by knowledge and belief in his science and in his ability to apply its principles, he is prepared... (Smallie, 1990a, p. 52).

and,

...Lack of confidence in chiropractic as the highest scientific attainment in the field of health effort cannot be ascribed to anything but a lack of knowledge concerning the ultra-scientific nature of the chiropractic concept... (Ratledge, 1946).

In 1930 the NCA was formed of BJ Palmer's former Universal Chiropractors' Association and the American Chiropractic Association (Dzaman et al., 1980, p. 293). Within a few years, the NCA initiated a movement to

establish standards for chiropractic education. As early as 1934 efforts in this direction sought to mandate accreditation through directives of the various chiropractic state licensing boards (Gibbons, 1985; Keating, 1988), and by rating the schools with or without the institutions' consent. This strategy infuriated Ratledge and other college leaders who felt the broad-scope NCA had no right to dictate how they should operate their private businesses. They saw in NCA's efforts an attempt to "medicalize" chiropractic education by lengthening the curriculum from 2400 hours to 4,000+ hours, and by introducing bacteriology, diagnosis, physiotherapy, and naturopathic methods. Ratledge wrote to several NCA officials:

...I am still unalterably opposed to the proposal to druglessize, naturopathicize or medicalize chiropractic. Naturopathy is more a menace to chiropractic than organized medicine ever was. Medicine was right out in the open in its efforts to absorb chiropractic while Naturopathy wheedles about Chiropractic being a "valuable part of Naturopathy itself." Naturopathy is medical in principle and in application while chiropractic is not medical in either principle or application (Ratledge, 1935a).

and,

Gentlemen:

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

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

...We regret to feel it necessary to call your attention to this matter but in view of the very arbitrary position assumed by the Council of State Boards of Chiropractic Examiners, whose purpose and ability are both highly questionable, from our point of view, we feel that we would not be fair with you if we did not advise you in advance of Dr. Crider's threat and of our defiance to same (Ratledge, 1937).

To meet the "mixer" challenge Ratledge responded to C.S. Cleveland, D.C.'s suggestion to join with James Drain, D.C. (of the Texas College) and Craig M. Kightlinger, M.A., D.C. (of the Eastern Institute in New York City) to form a straight chiropractic college organization, the Associated Chiropractic Colleges of America (Ratledge, 1935c). He noted in a letter to Willard Carver:

...I have agreed already with Cleveland, Texas and Eastern colleges to form such an organization of CHIROPRACTIC schools to offset the menace of the NCA and those naturopathic schools with it now seems to be in league as against real chiropractic schools...I believe that Lincoln will join in the movement as I know that they are disgusted with the NCA's policy and apparent purposes in relation to forcing chiropractic schools to engage in medical and other foreign instruction.

Also, I believe that Universal will join in such a movement and that Palmer will at least be friendly or at least not adverse to us in such a movement. If all the schools mentioned, except Palmer, would get together on a policy of adhering to chiropractic instruction exclusively, I believe that we could direct the trends in chiropractic instruction even if Palmer remained aloof or even opposed to us...I believe that there are thousands of chiropractors who would rally to the support of any group which would come out strongly for chiropractic and who appeared to be strong enough to uphold their position... (Ratledge, 1938b).

This straight educational association was soon renamed the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions (Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions, 1940, 1941; International Chiropractors' Association, 1986). By 1940 the ACEI was expanded by the addition of BJ's "fountain-head" (and with him the International Chiropractors' Association), Carver College, and the Columbia and O'Neil-Ross schools. Cleveland at Kansas City and Kightlinger of Eastern were apparently not influenced by NCA's "approval" of their institutions, and remained staunch supports of the straight education movement. The Lincoln College, however, had already committed itself to a lengthier curriculum (Firth, 1941), and came within the NCA's orbit. Ratledge served for a short time on the ICA's board of control (Brugge, 1942; Ratledge, 1942).

The ACEI made its view of NCA's strategy plain in a public declaration which would characterize their feud for decades to come:

The Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions in convention assembled at Kansas City, Missouri, this the 20th day of July, A.D. 1940...recommends as its unswerving policy that Chiropractic in its simplicity and purity shall be protected and carried on without being encroached upon by any entangling alliances...this organization of educational institutions demands that any national organization within the Chiropractic profession that expects to...maintain the friendly cooperation of the educational institutions this organization represents...must advocate that Chiropractic educational institutions shall teach maintain only a specific course in Chiropractic education...

...all branches of medicine are particularly declared to be not a part or not a possible part of a course of study in Chiropractic. The prohibited subjects, it will thus appear, are the prescription and administration of drugs, the practice of surgery by instrumental and intervention or use of instruments in any surgical effort, and this includes radionics, diathermy in any of its aspects, and all other allied machines generally classified as auxiliaries and professing any aspect of cure or relief. This also includes hydrotherapy, and all phases of naturopathy and all allied subjects thereto, which includes water cure and all so-called natural therapeutic methods...

To the National Chiropractic Association...and all allied organizations, the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions goes on record and states that unless a reorganized plan of your bodies, association, or by whatever name known, reorganized, amend and change said organizations in such a way as to be in conformity with the suggestions and demands of allied educational institutions...we shall withdraw all support that has ever come from the members of this organization to your organization...and we say to you now in all kindness and truth that unless reorganization, Amendments, etc., are accomplished by you within a reasonable time, the members of the Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions shall feel free to organize a separate national organization that will be strictly Chiropractic... Signed...Per TF Ratledge, D.C., Secretary, Jas. R. Drain, Acting President (Allied Chiropractic Educational Institutions, 1940).

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World War II brought additional challenges to Ratledge, his college, and the struggle for straight chiropractic education. Ratledge campaigned, in his capacity as secretary of the ACEI, against the drafting of chiropractic students and doctors on the grounds that they should be classified "essential personnel" for the homefront, or commissioned in the medical corps of the armed forces. This initiative included letters to President Roosevelt and various congressmen, the War Manpower Commission and the Selective Service. However, these efforts would not bear fruit until the Korean war, when Harry Truman exempted DCs from the draft.

The war and the draft had seriously depleted the available pool of students for all chiropractic institutions, but the Ratledge College was particularly hard hit (Ratledge, 1943). The shortage was aggravated in April, 1945 when the Ratledge school "lost its contract with the Veterans Administration for veteran training" (Ratledge, 1951). This loss of eligibility had come about through the imposition of increased educational standards, including a 4,000 hour curriculum requirement mandated by the California Board of Chiropractic Examiners, and urged by the now broad-scope California Chiropractic Association. Adamant in his opposition, Ratledge sued to challenge the Board's right to arbitrarily rewrite the educational provisions of the 1922 referendum:

The case, known as Hunt et al. and the Ratledge School vs. the State Chiropractic Board, was decided in favor of plaintiffs in May of 1947 by Judge Jacks, in San Francisco.

There have been numerous attempts in the past few years to alter the Chiropractic Act by legislation to allow certain medical practices, including diagnosis by means of blood tests, minor surgery, etc. Prior to the year 1947 these attempts were made by means of initiative referendum, obtaining sufficient voters' names to put the matter to vote. The people rejected these amendments to the Act on three different occasions (Gingerich, 1948).

To meet TF's successful judicial challenge, broad-scope chiropractors in California then mounted a campaign to amend the 1922 law. According to Ratledge (1953):

In 1947 a group of misguided chiropractors were inveigled into supporting a constitutional amendment which was passed and provided that the Legislature could submit proposed amendments to the chiropractic act without having to circulate a petition as was previously required before an Initiative Act could be submitted to the people for vote...In 1948 the legislature passed a proposed amendment to the

chiropractic Act that weakened it materially, definitely committing chiropractic to medicine by requiring more medical study in Chiropractic schools...OUR ENEMIES are now in a position to play politics with legislators...we now have to be ready for legislative onslaughts every two years...

Unable to sustain operations without the tuition that veterans could have brought in, the Ratledge school was forced to suspend undergraduate education during 1948-1949. In order to re-open he consented to meet the letter, if not the spirit (Ratledge, 1950b), of the increased educational requirements now mandated by law (rather than by Board ruling). However, he found these requirements odious, and, at age 67, he began to think of bailing out:

TF Ratledge, idealist that he was, discontinued as the administrative head of his own college, rather than conform to the changed legal dictates that would have required him, contrary to his idealistic determinations, to introduce subject-matter into his curriculum that he considered to be nonchiropractic (Smallie, 1988, p. 151).

During the suspension of undergraduate education at Ratledge (1948-49) TF sought to establish a chiropractic post-graduate program. To this end the CHIROPRACTIC FORUM was established in 1949 as a monthly breakfast meeting open to all chiropractors. The FORUM was promoted as "a study and research group related to chiropractic philosophy" (Shrader, 1990); discussions at these meetings soon began to focus on clinical technique. Ratledge was a frequent lecturer, and offered a "Philosopher of Chiropractic" (Ph.C.) as an inducement to attend. An attendance of 15 to 35 DCs was typical; Ratledge graduates predominated, but the FORUM was open to all chiropractors. Many of the Forum meetings were recorded, transcribed, and distributed to participants as study material for a small fee. Some of the FORUM proceedings were copyrighted by Ratledge (Ratledge, 1950a). FORUM secretary Ted L. Shrader, D.C. traces the development of the ACA Council on Technic's inter-college series to the inspiration of the CHIROPRACTIC FORUM.

Late in 1950, Ratledge offered to sell his school to his straight ally, Carl S. Cleveland, Sr., for the price of \$40,000. The sale was delayed by the death of TF's wife, who owned 33% of the college stock. Early in 1951 Cleveland purchased the available majority of stock, and the Ratledge College began operation "under Cleveland management" (Advertisement, 1951). In 1955, with the settlement of Mrs. Ratledge's estate, the school became the current Cleveland Chiropractic College of Los Angeles (Articles, 1951). Early in 1956 Ratledge moved to Rogers,

Arkansas and married his childhood sweetheart. TF's struggle for straight chiropractic education had ended.

In his final two decades Ratledge continued to practice and work on behalf of straight chiropractic. He was licensed in Missouri (by reciprocity) in 1956, and on his 82nd birthday in 1963, despite his unwillingness to sit for the basic science boards, received a special license in Arkansas by act of the governor and legislature. He continued to speak on behalf of straight chiropractic, and worked to organize his papers into a philosophy text, a task he never finished. He died in Rogers on July 26, 1967 (Dzaman et al., 1980)

The Ratledge Legacy

The contributions of Tullius de Florence Ratledge are important both for the milestones he achieved and the examples he set. Although BJ Palmer is credited as chiropractic's "maximum leader" and as a major force in ensuring chiropractic's survival during its early struggle to establish itself against the tide of medical persecution (Gibbons, 1980), BJ was but one of the pioneers in straight chiropractic. Ratledge's many contributions as a school leader, chiroprilosopher and legal activist secure his position as one the most important roots of chiropractic, particularly straight chiropractic. TF was a purist who was driven by his conviction that chiropractic was "the highest scientific attainment in the field of health" (Ratledge, 1946); he would sally forth with a sense of righteousness and dignity to do battle for chiropractic. As Gibbons (1980) notes:

If chiropractic's survival is to be credited to its own ideology as much as the social factors which developed to its advantage, then it must be attributed not to the broad scope advocates so much as the purists.

While he matched the Developer in commitment and energy, Ratledge's perspectives and activities on behalf of chiropractic provide a significant contrast to the Barnum-like showmanship (Gibbons, 1980) and flamboyance of Davenport's guru. Like many in the movement, TF championed straight chiropractic dogma without the spiritualism which characterized Palmer fundamentalism. Like his mentor, Willard Carver, Ratledge provided a "dignified alternative to B.J."

However, Ratledge was no less strongly committed to the straight cause than BJ, and no less adamant in his condemnation of medical theories and monopoly. TF eschewed diagnosis and the medical root metaphors that diagnosis implied; the assessment goal of the chiropractor was to locate subluxations. Like so many hundreds if not thousands of chiropractors of his day (Turner, 1931), he was willing to go to jail in defense of his beliefs. His dogged pursuit of licensing for chiropractors, first through the state legislature and eventually by popular vote of the

people, is perhaps unmatched in the history of the profession. And, like the PSC's leader, Ratledge was firm in his opposition to "mixing" and in his commitment to keep chiropractic "pure" at all cost:

...It is my fixed opinion that this policy of isolation [from the NCA] is essential to the perpetuation and safety of chiropractic and the best interests of the schools and practitioners in the profession (Ratledge, 1938a).

Rather than spiritual interventions and entities, Ratledge conceived of chiropractic theory and practice in terms of physical forces (i.e., adjustment and even surgery [Ratledge, 1958a] to relieve obstructive nerve pressure and nerve interference). However, his rhetoric leaves little doubt concerning his misconceptions of science and the scientific community. A self-acknowledged chiropractic isolationist, he was decidedly also a "private empiricist" (Keating, 1989):

My research has necessarily been on an individual basis, but I believe that chiropractic has reached the point in the development of its philosophy and science where we need not fear to submit our findings to others in our profession and, of course, we do not wish to submit our findings to any other profession in the health field because of the evident fact that they would be unable to understand our reasoning and resulting conclusions. This would only be garbled by them and make for confusion in their presentation of the subject to the public (Smallie, 1990a, p. 53).

TF Ratledge's saga is not well known among chiropractors today, despite the extensive efforts of Paul Smallie, D.C. to tell the story (Smallie, 1963, 1975, 1979, 1985, 1988, 1990a&b). Without Ratledge, however, the evolution of chiropractic in California, Oklahoma and Kansas might well have been quite different, and so also the nation-wide fortunes of the young profession. This life-long crusader on behalf of the profession deserves recognition as the champion he was.

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TABLE 1: EDUCATIONAL LINEAGE OF RATLEDGE

D.D. Palmer	Develops the teachings of Dr. Jim Atkinson; discovers chiropractic in 1895, develops the Palmer School & Cure circa 1897
Charles Ray Parker	Graduates from the Palmer School under Old Dad Chiro "early in 1905"; establishes the Parker School of Chiropractic in Ottumwa IA
Willard Carver	Graduates under Charles Ray Parker, June 12, 1906, establishes first of four schools in Oklahoma City in August, 1906
T. F. Ratledge	Graduates under Carver and Denny in Oklahoma City, December 23, 1907; TF attends lectures under D.D. Palmer during training at Carver/Denny; founds schools in Guthrie OK, Arkansas City KS, Topeka KS and Los Angeles
D.D. Palmer	Teaches at the Ratledge School in Los Angeles, 1912-13
James Compton	Graduates under Carver; teaches x-ray at Ratledge/LA in the 1930s and 1940s

TABLE 2: CAMPUSES OF THE RATLEDGE SYSTEM OF CHIROPRACTIC SCHOOLS/LOS ANGELES. DATES REFER TO THE EARLIEST CONFIRMATION OF ADDRESS

1915	Fourth Floor, Hamburger Building, Eighth & Hill Streets
1920	1008 Haase Building
1922	700-711 Pacific Electric Building
1927	2415 South Western Avenue (former residence of prizefighter Jack Dempsey)
1931	232 South Hill Street
1942	3505-3511 West Olympic Boulevard

TABLE 3: SOME GRADUATES OF THE RATLEDGE SYSTEM OF CHIROPRACTIC SCHOOLS (1908-1951)

O.A. Thompson, 1909, Guthrie OK
Anna B. Foy, 1909, Arkansas City KS
Paul Smallie, 1935, Los Angeles
Henry G. Higley, 1936, Los Angeles
George B. Haynes, 1936, Los Angeles
Benjamin Williams, 1939, Los Angeles
Ted L. Shrader, 1940, Los Angeles