



Jane Stark

Still's Fascia



The Canadian College
of Osteopathy

Still's Fascia

A Qualitative Investigation
To Enrich the Meaning Behind
Andrew Taylor Still's Concepts of Fascia

Jane Stark
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Thesis Director

Michael M. Patterson (US), Ph.D., whose timely comments and levelheaded advice propelled this author to overcome mental and physical barriers, and to achieve previously unimagined accomplishments.

PREFACE

“He [the Osteopath] feels that he can find all the disturbing causes of life, the place that diseases germinate and grow, the seeds of diseases and death.”

—Chapter X: *FASCIA* from *Philosophy of Osteopathy* (1899)

Andrew Taylor Still used the term *fascia* interchangeably with the term *membrane*. This means that at any one time Still’s use of the term fascia or membrane could refer to connective tissue (the fibrous and serous membranes), **and/or** epithelial tissue (the mucous membranes). Although it is rare for a preface to state its premise so immediately, the implications of this conclusion are too important for Osteopathy to save until the end of this lengthy study. The body of this work, which has been described by Viola Frymann, DO, FAAO, FCA, as “a superb in-depth study of the philosophical foundation of Osteopathy” leads to, and supports, this conclusion.

A.T. Still was a student of “God and experience,” and the “Great Book of Nature.” He followed “Nature’s Truths,” but described them in his own unique fashion. For Still, *fascia* or *membrane* could either refer to **fibrous**, **serous**, or **mucous** membranes. The **fibrous** membranes were the *aponeuroses* and *periosteum*; the **serous** membranes were the *peritoneum* and *mesenteries*; and the **mucous** membranes were the *epithelial* linings of the digestive, pulmonary and reproductive systems. This method of classifying membranes was more akin to that of Xavier Bichat (1771-1802), than to the modern-day histological system, which now categorizes the **fibrous** and **serous** membranes together as *connective tissue*, while the **mucous** membranes are classified separately as *epithelial tissue*.

With the current resurgence of interest in the original philosophy of A.T. Still, a recontextualization of his work can help to illuminate some of his previously underestimated statements. For instance, references to fascia’s role such as, “By its action we live, and by its failure we shrink, or swell, and die...” take on a richer meaning when one considers that the epithelial linings of organs are included in these statements.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this revelation is how Still approached this tissue—by relieving “the local nerve plexus” that controls that area. It implies,

of course, that the Osteopath must know anatomy, exhaustively.

We must remember as we reason on the power of life which is located in the fascia, that it occupies the whole body, and should we find a local region that is disordered and wish to, we can **relieve that part through that local plexus of nerves which controls that organ and division.**

From its onset over a century ago, Osteopathy has been one of the leading forms of therapeutics with the potential to treat people suffering from disease, as well as those who experience painful conditions of the neuro-musculo-skeletal system. This potential for treating disease **at its source** is at risk of being lost forever because contact with the roots of Osteopathy—specifically, Still’s concept of the fascia—seems to be diminishing generation by generation.

Thirty-seven Osteopaths and osteopathic physicians, representing 1222 years of collective osteopathic wisdom and experience, as well as a number of experts in fields outside of Osteopathy, helped contribute to this thesis, through extensive interviews, many of which are incorporated herein.

Since the commencement of this study, the community has lost several of these treasured contributors including

Anne L. Wales, DO, FAAO, FCA, DSC, (August 1, 2005), who brought more than 75 years of experience to this project;

William L. Johnston, FAAO, DO, (June 10, 2003), with 60 years of experience;

David Vick, DO, FAAO, FCA, (February 22, 2006), with 40 years; and

Herbert Yates, DO, FAAO, (October 5, 2002), with 25 years.

Also sadly missed will be **Dr. Robert Davis**, (July 17, 2004), of the Humanities Department of Pikeville College in Kentucky. Robert Davis held PhDs from Princeton University in both Philosophy and Religion. He was an avid reader of A.T. Still and described him as “simply the American Medical Genius of the 19th Century.”

As the historical research proceeded parallel to the osteopathic interviews, it became apparent that each Osteopath held a unique gem of understanding of

Still's intended meaning of fascia. Only when each individual jewel was assembled as a whole, did the Osteopaths' concepts of fascia mirror those of A.T. Still's.

If Osteopaths view the human body as a unit of function, then in a reciprocal fashion the human body would benefit from the united efforts of Osteopaths,

reasoning and sharing their work, in order to collectively uncover and discover the mysteries and answers held within the body's divine construction and operation.

It is hoped that this thesis will be the first step towards a unity of osteopathic thought.

Acknowledgements

Andrew Taylor Still (1828 - 1917) whose words inspired this project, and whose life's work of Osteopathy has altered innumerable lives - not only the lives of patients, but also of practitioners, who benefit on a daily basis from the gift that he has imparted.

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VOLUME I

Abstract

This thesis undertook to help fill a void in osteopathic literature, regarding Andrew Taylor Still's concepts of fascia. Two qualitative research approaches, literature-based and interview-based, were employed. The results from these two approaches were synthesized, in order to gain an insight into Still's meaning of fascia and an understanding of how a sample of modern, practising Osteopaths and osteopathic physicians, understood Still's concepts.

The literature-based research presented a biographical sketch of Still, in order to capture his *essence* and the influences that shaped his character and style. These influences included family, pioneer lifestyle, reading material, the Civil War, the 19th century movement of Spiritualism, and friendships that helped to form his thinking and world-view. The history of the term fascia and the various popular *mechano-therapeutics* of Still's era, were traced for evidence of their influences on Still's fascial concepts. All of Still's, known, published works and relevant non-published works were reviewed, as were the contemporary medical texts of the time.

Based on these foundations, Still's concepts of fascia were then identified and clarified, through a careful examination of philosophies and intellectual currents that were influential during Still's lifetime.

For the interview-based research, thirty-seven Osteopaths and osteopathic physicians of various nationalities, all of whom had a minimum of twenty years of osteopathic experience in manual practice, were selected. The interviews were directed towards discovering their views on Still, on fascia and on Still's concepts of fascia. From an analysis and synthesis of those interviews, a striking divergence was revealed between Still's concepts of fascia and those of experienced Osteopaths and osteopathic physicians.

With a few exceptions, an overall inconsistency in faithfully perpetuating Still's concepts of fascia was identified and led this author to suggest that the osteopathic profession would benefit from a renewed understanding of Still and his philosophy, especially in the area of fascia.

ABSTRACT - FRENCH - RÉSUMÉ

La présente thèse a pour objectif de contribuer à combler un vide dans la littérature ostéopathique en rapport avec le concept de fascia selon Andrew Taylor Still. Deux stratégies de recherche ont été utilisées, la première se fondant sur les données publiées, la deuxième faisant appel à des entrevues. Les résultats obtenus ont été synthétisés, d'une part pour mieux comprendre la manière dont Still définissait les fascias, d'autre part pour montrer comment le concept est compris de nos jours par un échantillon d'ostéopathes qui ont un vécu professionnel auprès des patients.

Afin d'entrer en relation avec la Conscience de Still à travers les contacts et les écrits et les influences qui ont forgé sa personnalité et son caractère, un résumé de sa biographie a tout d'abord été élaboré à partir d'une recherche bibliographique. Celles-ci comprennent sa famille, sa vie de pionnier, ses lectures, la guerre de Sécession, le mouvement spiritualiste du 19^{ième} siècle, ainsi que les amitiés qui ont contribué à former sa pensée et sa vision du monde. L'histoire du terme "fascia" et celle des différentes thérapies mécaniques populaires à l'époque de Still ont été retracés et nous avons effectué une recherche sur les influences exercées sur le concept de fascia tel que Still l'envisageait. Tous

les travaux publiés connus et les travaux non publiés pertinents de Still ont été examinés, ainsi que les textes médicaux de l'époque. Sur ces bases, le concept de fascia selon Still a été ensuite circonscrit et clarifié grâce à un examen approfondi des philosophies et des courants intellectuels qui ont été marquant dans la vie de Still. La partie de la recherche faisant appel aux entrevues a été menée auprès de trente-sept ostéopathes et de médecins-ostéopathes de différentes nationalités, chacun d'entre eux ayant au moins vingt ans d'expérience en ostéopathie.

Les entrevues ont été dirigées de manière à découvrir leur opinion sur Still, sur les fasciae et sur la conceptualisation des fasciae selon Still. L'analyse des entrevues et leur synthèse ont mis en évidence qu'il existait une divergence marquante entre la façon dont Still conceptualisait les fascias et le concept auquel les ostéopathes d'expérience ont maintenant recours. Le manque de transmission du concept de fascia tel que Still l'envisageait incite l'auteure à suggérer que nous aurions avantage à renouveler et approfondir notre compréhension de Still et de sa philosophie plus particulièrement sur le concept de fascia.

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

In order to comprehend osteopathy we must comprehend the work of Andrew Taylor Still, and to that end we must know in a clear way something of the immediate predecessors of the man, together with something of the medical world upon which the eyes of A.T. Still opened and into which they looked with the sharpest criticism of the ages (Lane, c1925, p.1).

This thesis attempts to fill an apparent void in the osteopathic literature, with respect to the availability of comprehensive and critical examinations of Andrew Taylor Still's concepts of fascia, which for the purpose of this thesis, are classified as either physical, philosophical, or spiritual. A search of published works in the field of Osteopathy, revealed that such an undertaking has not been attempted to date.

Limited articles on Still's physical concepts of the fascia are available in the literature and can be found by searching the recently created, and still under development, Osteopathic Database - Ostmed (*Ostmed* ®; *The Osteopathic Literature Database*, 2002). Osteopaths, or osteopathic physicians (herein after referred to as Osteopaths) who have written about Still's concepts of fascia, may have included direct quotes from Still's ideas on fascia, but they rarely, if ever, attempted to interpret his meaning. These Osteopaths include: Truhlar (1943-44, p.47), Arbuckle (1947b, p.407), Kerr (1936, p.418), McConnell (1915c, p.583), and in some instances even Magoun, Sr. (1970, p.168).

Arthur Becker, Fredrick Becker, Roland Becker, and Angus Cathie are among the most prominent Osteopaths who have contributed articles on the subject of fascia. Harold I. Magoun Sr., D.O., wrote a famous review of Still's physical concepts of fascia, in which he stated that Still "understood the problem of the fascia even then so much better than some of the best research workers do today" (Magoun, 1970, p.159). Less well known, although one of Still's greatest supporters, was Charles H. Kauffman D.O. who, in the 1940's and early 1950's, wrote a dozen articles examining Still's concepts of fascia. Kauffman had access to Still's rare third book (Kauffman, 1944), *The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy*.

No known osteopathic literature exists that attempts to examine Still's philosophical or spiritual concepts of the fascia. William Garner Sutherland commented

on Still's view of the *life principle*, which he wrote about in connection with fascia (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.161). "Dr. Still did his very best to introduce us to this phenomenon, but we were not ready for it" (Sutherland, 1990, p.7). Sutherland was also quoted by Roland Becker, D.O., as having said, "I have often said that we lost something in Osteopathy that Dr. Still tried to get across, that was the Spiritual that he included in his science of Osteopathy" (Becker, R.E., 1997, p.245).

Still's concepts of fascia were once considered important. In 1946, the Committee of Publication of the Academy of Applied Osteopathy undertook to reintroduce into the Osteopathic training curriculum, the work of A.T. Still, particularly in the area of fascia. At that time, in an effort to persuade the membership of the Academy of Applied Osteopathy to "get a clear concept of Dr. Still's attitude of mind in those early days" (Still, A.T., 1899g, p. forward), Still's second book, *Philosophy of Osteopathy* (1899g), was reprinted and distributed to each member. The Committee of Publication of the Academy of Applied Osteopathy included: Dr. Alan R. Becker, Dr. Kenneth E. Little, Dr. George W. Northup, Dr. Ralph W. Rice, Dr. Charles K. Smith and Dr. Thomas L. Northup. Together, they encouraged members to achieve a "clearer concept" of Still's philosophy (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.forward) through, in particular, Chapter X, *The Fascia* (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.161-174).

In 1952, Thomas L. Northup, D.O., recommended "not only a careful reading of the chapter on fascia in Dr. Still's book on the principles of osteopathy, but a thoughtful study of its content paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence" (Northup, T.L., D.O., 1983, p.211).

Nearly thirty years would pass before the first attempt to unveil the roots of Still's theory and philosophy of Osteopathy was undertaken (Gevitz, c1982). Although not an Osteopath himself, sociologist and researcher Norman Gevitz, as a graduate student at the University of Chicago, went through the process of reviewing Still's work paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence and in some cases phrase by phrase. One of his objectives was to uncover evidence of the intellectual currents of mid-19th century rural America embedded within Still's sometimes obscure writings, which may have structured Still's views and

philosophies. From this process, Gevitz was able to list a number of Still's likely influences, including a link between Andrew Taylor Still and Spiritualism:

One of the things that I was able to track down was he [Still] used the expression banner of Osteopathy. He said 'we have to wave the banner of Osteopathy.' And somehow I came across a journal called the *Banner of Light* around that same time...And I said this banner of Osteopathy, is this related to *The Banner of Light*. And so I went to the University of Michigan. They had a huge collection there and I was able to look up the *Banner of Light*. I went through each page of the journal to see if I could find any influence on Still and finally. At one time I saw a letter co-signed by Still to the *Banner of Light* (Norman Gevitz, personal communications, August 10, 2001).

"This was the smoking gun", Gevitz concluded, for Still "was not forthcoming with any of his intellectual influences" (Norman Gevitz, personal communications, August 10, 2001). Still indeed cited very few sources, preferring instead to quote only from "God and experience" (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.9) and the "dictates of nature" (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.11-12).

This thesis undertakes to expand upon the 1946 recommendations of the Academy of Applied Osteopathy, to study Still's chapter on fascia. First however, in order to frame Still's concepts of fascia, the works of Norman Gevitz (c1982) and historian Carol Trowbridge (1991), who was Still's most recent biographer, are greatly expanded upon in this thesis. The need for this expansion in understanding Still's intellectual influences or *currents*, arises because in order to understand his concepts of fascia, Still's unique character, which is reflected in his idiom and lexicon, must first be examined.

"He [Still] was a complex man, and many of his writings are difficult to understand. They were written in the idiom of his day and contained many allegories" (Northup, G.W., 1966, p.18).

"Because of his symbolic and allegorical style of writing only a sympathetic reader can grasp the significance of his language and get at the real underlying meaning. Yet the meaning is there, even if the works employed cannot be understood by those who hold different viewpoints of life" (Frost, 1918).

Still's chapter on fascia in *Philosophy of Osteopathy* opens with this paragraph:

Disease is evidently sown as atoms of gas, fluids, or solids. A suitable place is necessary first to deposit the active principle of life, be that what it may. Then a responsive kind of nourishment must be obtained

by the being to be developed. Thus we must find in animals that part of the body that can assist by action and by qualified food to develop the being in foetal life. Reason calls the mind to the rule of man's gestative life first, and as a basis of thought, we look at the quickening atom, the coming being, when only by the aid of a powerful microscope can we see the vital germ. It looks like an atom of white fibrin or detached particle of fascia. It leaves one parent as an atom of fascia, and to live and grow, must dwell among friendly surroundings, and be fed by such food as contains albumen, fibrin and lymph; also the nerve generating power and qualities, as it then and there begins to construct a suitable form in which to live and flourish. And as the fascia is the best suited with nerves, blood, and white corpuscles, it is but reasonable to look for the part that is composed of the greatest percent of fascia, and expect it, the germ, to dwell there for support and growth (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.161-162).

Reading this paragraph immediately raises a number of questions. What does Still mean in his opening sentence? What is *the active principle*? Why is he talking about *foetal life* in a chapter on fascia? What is man's *gestative life*? What is Still's definition of *germ* and therefore what is a *vital germ*? And, most importantly, what does this have to do with fascia as we have come to understand it today? The remainder of his chapter on fascia is similarly cryptic, and poorly punctuated, with one sentence seventeen lines long and full of obscure or, for the modern reader, archaic metaphors.

Dozens of citations from A.T. Still's writing attest to his belief that the fascia was important, not only in health and disease, but in man's *triune nature* of material body, the spiritual being, and a being of mind (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.16). Of the fascia Still said,

The soul of man with all the streams of pure living water seems to dwell in the fascia of his body (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.165).

It [the fascia] carries to the mind of the philosopher the evidence absolute that it [the fascia] is the 'material man,' and the dwelling place his of [sic] spiritual being. It [the fascia] is the house of God, the dwelling place of the Infinite so far as man is concerned (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.163).

However, an equal number of statements can be found in Still's writing proposing that fascia was no more important to Still than any other tissue or system of the body.

In an editorial printed in the *Journal of the American Osteopathic Association* following Still's death in 1917, the following statement was made:

Dr. Still left no successor...Philosophers, if they complete their work, do not require successors... This work [Still's theory and philosophy] should be dissected and reduced to a form for practical instruction, and it should be used in every college of osteopathy (Editorial, 1918, p.266).

To assist in understanding and discovering the meaning in Still's writing on fascia, the works of other Osteopaths were consulted. The literature revealed that there has been little, if any, follow-up to Dr. Northup's 1952 recommendation of a thoughtful study of Still's *Philosophy of Osteopathy*, "of its content, paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence" (Northup, T.L., D.O., 1983, p. 211). Equally unfortunate, with the exception of O'Connell (1998), is that virtually nothing has been published on any of Still's concepts of fascia, in the past twenty-five years.

It is also proposed in this thesis, that Osteopaths who chose to write or study Still prior to the late 1980's or early 1990's, were limited by the fact that one of his books and most of his journal articles were quite difficult to obtain. In addition, some of his unpublished material may have been simply lost or perhaps destroyed, due to its objectionable content.

What has occurred in the field of Osteopathy since Northup's recommendations more than fifty years ago? The osteopathic profession has grown two generations removed from those who knew and studied under Andrew Taylor Still. Therefore, there is no one alive who had any direct experiences with either him, his teachings, or his ideas. None of his children, five of whom were Osteopaths, are living. All of his grandchildren, nine of whom became Osteopaths, are deceased. As for his students, even Anne Wales, America's oldest active Osteopath, entered the American School of Osteopathy in Kirksville, Missouri, five years after the death of A.T. Still (Anne Wales, personal communications, date withheld).

Although there are many textbooks written by Osteopaths on the internal disciplines of Osteopathy, such as osteoarticular adjustment, visceral osteopathy, cranial osteopathy, muscle energy and counterstrain, the realm of fascia has been left relatively under-documented and ill-defined. Despite the lack of definitive reference works, providing clear interpretations of Still's concepts of fascia, there exists an abundance of terminology describing fascial conditions. Today, some of the most common terms used to describe fascial problems include; restriction, lesion, drag, adhesion, tension, pull, *ease and bind*, common compensatory pattern, uncommon

compensatory pattern and uncompensated fascial pattern. This terminology is confounded by the interchangeability and lack of distinction between myofascial **and** fascial applications. In the last ten years, other Osteopaths have introduced new fascial assessment and treatment techniques such as, *Fascial Distortion Model* by Stephen Typaldos, D.O. (1994) and *Bioelectric Fascial Activation Model* by Judith O'Connell, D.O. (1998).

It is proposed here, that to have a better understanding of fascia as it was originally conceptualized by A.T. Still, requires that his original ideas on fascia be revisited and studied within the context of his life, times and influences. This approach is supported in statements made by other Osteopaths, such as Jocelyn C.P. Proby, who said, "**I do not think that we can understand the ideas of Dr. Still unless we consider them in their historical setting**" (Proby, 1953, p.8), and Still's first biographer, E.R. Booth, who said, "many of the elements that make Dr. Still what he has been and still is, are the results of the environments of his life" (Booth, 1905, p.1). Most importantly, it is not just the facts of his life that shaped his ideas, but also his *essence*. Carl P. McConnell, a professor at Still's American College of Osteopathy during Still's life time, eloquently stated,

To appreciate the work of Dr. Still we should in addition understand something of his spiritual and mental make-up. His love of truth, a deep spiritual insight into the workings of nature of which physical form is but an outward manifestation, and courage are the leading spiritual and mental attributes of Dr. Still as we see it (McConnell, 1915b, p.643).

In some cases even reviewing Still's work "paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence" (Northup, T.L., D.O., 1983, p.211) was insufficient. The difference between his use of the definite article the or the indefinite article a, made significant difference to the interpretation of one of his fascial ideas while in another case, his spelling of 'wif' versus 'wife' was a key to uncovering an important influence on Still (Spiritualism).

This thesis undertakes an examination of the following research questions in order to integrate Still's ideas of fascia with modern Osteopathic practice:

- 1) How did Andrew Taylor Still arrive at his concepts of fascia and what were they?
- 2) How are Andrew Taylor Still's concepts of fascia understood, in particular his philosophical and spiritual concepts, and utilized in a manual based

practice by experienced Osteopaths?

- 3) Does the understanding of fascia by modern Osteopaths differ significantly from Still's original conceptualization? What significance does this hold for Osteopathy?

To address these questions, both literature-based and interview-based research approaches were employed. The purpose of the literature-based research was to identify Still's concepts of fascia and to determine how he arrived at them. The interview-based research involved a group of experienced manual osteopathic physicians and Osteopaths, who were asked a series of open-ended questions to discover their level of familiarity with Still and his work, their own concepts of fascia, and their thoughts as to what comprised Still's concepts of fascia. The results of both research approaches were combined, to attempt to arrive at a better understanding of Still's concepts of fascia and to discover how these concepts are understood and applied in modern Osteopathy.

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one, *Introduction*, leads into chapter two, *Methodology*, which outlines the steps involved in devising the qualitative research approach used in this thesis. Following that, the specific procedures employed to address the research questions are outlined. Chapter three, *Understanding Still*, presents a brief biography of Still, with particular focus on what he read, what he wrote, his style of writing, and his influences. Speculation on Still's medical, religious and philosophical beliefs are offered as well. Chapter four, *Concerning Fascia*, attempts to determine what Still meant by the term fascia, what his fascial concepts were and what they meant. Still's approaches to the assessment and treatment of the fascia and membranes are described, as well. This chapter proceeds by tracing the history of the term fascia; reviewing fascial ideas as they have appeared in other *mechano-therapeutics* of Still's era; examining Still's exposure to fascia, touching on his life as a pioneer and his medical education; listing the tissue types that Still included in his global use of the term fascia; and finally, presenting an interpretation of a representative sample of his fascial statements, and describing Still's approach to assessment and treatment of fascia. Together, chapters three and four address the first research question: **How did Andrew Taylor Still arrive at his concepts of fascia and what were they?**

The second research question - **How are Andrew Taylor Still's concepts of fascia understood, in particular his philosophical and spiritual concepts,**

and utilized in a manual based practice by experienced Osteopaths? - is addressed in chapter five, *Osteopath Interviews*. This chapter presents the synthesis and analysis of the responses of thirty-seven experienced Osteopaths and osteopathic physicians, to approximately twenty interview questions, which focused on their understanding of fascia, and their opinions regarding the meaning behind A.T. Still's fascial statements.

Chapter six, *Still's Fascia and Modern Osteopathic Practice*, compares the interpretation of Still's concepts of fascia, developed from the literature-based research, with the interpretations offered by the experienced Osteopaths. This chapter addresses the third, and final research questions - **Does the understanding of fascia by modern Osteopaths differ significantly from Still's original conceptualization? What significance does this hold for Osteopathy?**

In this chapter, the definitions and concepts of fascia gleaned from the literature and archival review are examined, along with the results of the interviews with the sample of Osteopaths. These Osteopaths had both experience in a manual based practice and the opportunity to learn both philosophy and hands-on techniques, from Osteopaths who were only one or two generations removed from A.T. Still. Where convergence, or divergence, between Still's original concepts of the fascia (as interpreted by this author) and what the experienced Osteopaths view as Still's concepts of fascia, is evident. The significance of this trend is discussed, together with a consideration of how this affects the practice of Osteopathy today.

Chapter seven, *Critique*, presents an evaluation by this author of some of the problems, errors, and difficulties with the research and its presentation, and discusses how these factors may have affected the research results.

Chapter eight, *Conclusions*, presents a summary and discussion of responses, that has been developed for the three research questions, from the literature-based and interview-based research.

Still wrote;

The fascia is universal in man and equal in self to all other parts, and stands before the world today the greatest problem, the most pleasing thought. It carries to the mind of the philosopher the evidence, absolute, that it is the 'material man,' and the dwelling place his of [sic] spiritual being. It is the house of God, the dwelling place of the infinite so far as man is concerned (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.163).

This statement, written circa 1899, raises many

questions. Does the modern osteopathic profession continue to share Still's views of the significance of fascia? What did this statement mean to Still? Has the *greatest problem* been solved? Is the *most pleasing thought* available to those who solve the greatest problem? What does Still mean by the 'material man'

and the spiritual being? Do the Osteopaths of today understand Still's statements? Also, do Still's ideas and concepts of fascia continue to provide a foundation for osteopathic practice, a century after they were first developed?

CHAPTER TWO - METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological steps used in the design, organization, research, presentation and writing of this thesis. It is divided into eight chapters, as outlined in the table of contents and is presented in a narrative style. The study research presented here, employed a qualitative *historical research* design, as described by (Bailey, 1991, p.142), in order “to present a holistic description and analysis of a specific phenomenon”, in this case, a qualitative investigation into Andrew Taylor Still’s concepts of the fascia.

Historical research method is defined as “the systematic compilation of data and the critical presentation, evaluation and interpretation of facts regarding people, events and occurrences of the past” (LoBiondo-Wood, Geri & Haber, Judith, 1994, p.271).

Three questions were developed as the focus of the inquiry:

- 1) How did Andrew Taylor Still arrive at his concepts of fascia and what were they?
- 2) How are Andrew Taylor Still’s concepts of fascia understood, in particular his philosophical and spiritual concepts, and utilized in a manual based practice by experienced Osteopaths?
- 3) Does the understanding of fascia by modern Osteopaths differ significantly from Still’s original conceptualization? What significance does this hold for Osteopathy?

To undertake this inquiry, two different types of research tools were applied: *literature-based* research and *interview-based* research.

The literature-based research was applied in two steps, in order to address the first research question. In Step One, a historical accounting of A.T. Still’s life and a description of the intellectual currents of the 19th century that may have influenced him are presented, along with a portrait of the *essence* of Andrew Taylor Still.

In Step Two, all references to fascia in Still’s writing are traced, beginning with the coining of the term fascia, up until A.T. Still published his statements on fascia, at the turn of the century.

The literature-based research made use of both published and unpublished works, including books, articles, letters, interviews, and web sites.

The interview-based research was employed to obtain information on fascial concepts, both past and present, from experienced Osteopaths and osteopathic physicians. An unstructured interview design was employed to obtain information, and to perform an in-depth analysis of the information obtained (Bailey, 1991, p.143) - in this case, the current osteopathic conceptualization of fascia and an interpretation of A.T. Still’s concepts of fascia.

Following completion of the research, the information was presented in a step-wise narrative fashion, addressing research questions one and two respectively. Building on this foundation, research question three became a merging and synthesis of questions one and two, in order to present a discussion on Still’s definitions of fascia and the current osteopathic understanding, based on the replies of Osteopaths selected for this project.

Two style guides were employed in writing this thesis; the fifth edition of *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (American Psychological Association, 2001) and the *Thesis Guideline and Format of the Canadian College of Osteopathy* (Mueller & Chan, n.d.). The *Reference Manager Package*® was used to organize the citations.

Wherever personal communications were cited, a profile of that corresponding individual was included in an appendix. See Appendix A - P rofiles.

According to LoBiondo-Wood (1994, p.271), a qualitative researcher’s first responsibility is to understand the information being acquired, without imposing his or her own interpretation. The researcher does this by avoiding personal biases that may colour the interpretation. To achieve this the author of this thesis used a template created by Karie Johnston, student of the Canadian College of Osteopathy, in her 1999 protocol presentation, entitled *Traditional Osteopathic Manual Practice: A legislative strategy for recognition in Ontario* (Johnston, 1999). In her protocol, Johnston provided summaries of work by the qualitative research writers, Guba & Lincoln (1981), LoBiondo-Wood & Haber (1994) and Sandelowski (1986). Together, these authors provided the framework for assuring scientific rigor in qualitative studies, using the criteria of credibility, auditability, fittingness, and confirmability, respectively (Johnston, 1999, p.15). See Appendix B - Criteria,

for a glossary of these qualitative research terms and a comparison of scientific rigor criteria, between qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

Johnston also provided a summarized representation by LoBiondo-Wood & Haber (1994), which allowed a historical researcher the ability to distinguish between a fact, a probability, or a possibility (Johnston, 1999); this approach was adopted in this thesis

A **fact** could be concluded when two independent primary sources agreed with each other, or if one independent primary source and one independent secondary source were both in agreement and no substantive conflicting data was apparent. Both sources were described as requiring critical evaluation.

A **probability** occurred when one primary source was available and there was no substantive conflicting data. The source must have received critical evaluation. A probability could also be stated if two primary sources disagreed about particular points.

A **possibility** was concluded when one primary source did not receive critical evaluation, or when only secondary or tertiary sources were represented.

The data for historical research comes from primary and secondary sources (Bailey, 1991, p.122; LoBiondo-Wood, Geri & Haber, Judith, 1994). A Primary source is defined as an original account of an event. A secondary source, is a source of information at least one step removed from the original source. For the purposes of this thesis and under the advisement of the thesis director, it was proposed that persons who did not develop the theory, yet have practiced in excess of twenty years, such as seasoned and experienced Osteopaths, could also be considered as primary sources.

2.2 Approaches to Chronicling and Understanding Still

This stage of the research was undertaken to address specifically the first research question: How did A.T. Still arrive at his concepts of fascia and what were they? It is argued that insight into the development of Still's concepts can be augmented by seeking an understanding of the man himself.

Still's first biographer E.R. Booth (1905), his latest biographer Carol Trowbridge (1991) and osteopathic researcher Norman Gevitz (c1982), found it necessary to first prepare a section dedicated to describing Still's life, times and influences. This thesis adds to their records by referencing documents and sources

not used, or not available, to Booth, Trowbridge or Gevitz. The portrait of the man developed from the biographical and historical sources, provided the framework for an informed interpretation of Still's fascial concepts.

2.2.1 *Review of Still's Life and Times*

The examination of Still's life and times was organized as follows:

His Life - This was a sequential accounting of where and when A.T. Still lived, along with significant events in his life such as births, marriages, deaths, influential friends, participation in war, the development of Osteopathy, his school, and finally his death. It provides the chronological and geographical background which was necessary, prior to both researching his whereabouts and activities and also before reading and writing about him in further detail.

His Character - Characteristics and Essence - This section focused on Still's character and characteristics, as well as some of the events in his early life, in order to personalize him. Then, a rendering of the essence of A.T. Still was presented. It was composed through the assimilation of the information presented in the previous sub-chapters, along with some primary source reminiscences from those people who knew him well. Some of this information was recently made available through donations to the Still National Osteopathic Museum.

Still's Reading - This is an accounting of how A.T. Still may have obtained books, articles and newspapers, on the frontier of America in the 1800's, where he grew up and lived. Also included here was an inventory and brief description of the non-medical books contained in his personal library.

Still's Writing and Style - This is an inventory of A.T. Still's writings - books, articles, drafts, papers, notebooks, diaries, and dates of authorship (if available), that related to his personal life or influences. A similar inventory was created in the chapter covering fascia, that surveyed his writing in a fascially related context and so, is omitted here.

Still's style was examined, in order to provide a critical approach to understanding his style of speech and writing, in order to help discern its meaning. This was necessary, due to the archaic style used by A.T. Still to address his subject matter and his continuous use of metaphor and allegory. In particular, a warning

was issued to assure that one carefully examines his statements, to determine if he was speaking allegorically or not.

Still's Influences and Ideas - This section outlines the era that A.T. Still was part of. It covers the historical period into which he emerged and sheds light on how he was typical of the century that defined him. Discussed here are subjects such as his involvement in abolitionism, his exposure to members of the New England Emigrant Society, pre-Civil war violence and the 19th century movement known as Spiritualism. Also examined in this section are his ideas concerning religion, biology, and philosophy.

2.2.2 Review of Sources and Resources

The chronicling of Still's life and times was drawn from multiple sources, including journal articles, unpublished papers, documents, newspaper accounts, letters, recorded reminiscences and books, many of which exceeded one hundred years in age. Also consulted were scholarly and reliable internet sites and electronic and personal communications with various experts. Following the reading or consultations, selected themes and/or passages from these various sources were extracted, categorized, filed electronically and then presented in an organized, narrative fashion.

Table I - Sources for Chronicling and Understanding Still: His Life, Influences and Essence. Details of the materials used in the compilation of this chapter, follows the summary provided in Table I.

2.2.2.1 Autobiographies

Still's first book, *Autobiography of Dr. A.T. Still* (Still, A.T., 1897a), was first published in 1897, followed by a second edition in 1908 (Still, A.T., 1908a). It offered limited insight into the adult phase of his personal life because firstly, it was published twenty years before his death and secondly, the latter half of the book is filled with reprints of speeches given during graduations ceremonies, or anniversaries of the founding of Osteopathy. Many of the later chapters in his autobiography can also be found printed in earlier editions of the *Journal of Osteopathy*. For example, compare *Journal of Osteopathy*, Vol. 1, No. 10, February, 1895, p.1 with his autobiography

(Still, A.T., 1908a, p.187). This author was not able to obtain a full copy of the first edition of Still's autobiography, however it was available on the internet at the Meridian Institute Web-Site (<http://www.meridianinstitute.com>).

Wherever possible, the words of A.T. Still were used to chronicle his life story, but his autobiography was sketchy and his inclusions and exclusions were selective.

2.2.2.2 Biographies

This author relied extensively on several secondary sources for biographical material. Although not all are written exclusively about A.T. Still, many contain valuable insights into his family life. In chronological order, they were written by: Mary Still Adams (1893), E.R. Booth (1905), Leon E. Page (1932) (which was originally published in 1906), Marovia Clark (1919), M.A. Lane (c1925), Barbara Vaughn Kennedy (1933), Ernest E. Tucker (1952), Charles E. Still, Jr. (1991) and Carol Trowbridge (1991).

Mary Still Adams

"My first book-making began away back before I entered my teens, and cost me many a tear" (Adams, 1893, p.280).

One of A.T. Still's younger sisters, Mary Still Adams, wrote *Autobiography of Mary Still Adams or In God we Trust* in 1893 (Adams, 1893). Although this work disclosed A.T. Still's family history, account of his personal life are scant. This work was in the style of an unpublished manuscript, available only through the National Center for Osteopathic History, at the Still National Osteopathic Museum (herein after abbreviated as NCOH).

| Material | Authorship | Source | Still's Life | Influences |
|--|---------------------|--|--------------|----------------|
| Autobiography | A.T. Still | <i>Autobiography of A. T. Still</i> 1 st Edition limited availability, 2 nd edition widely available | √ | √ |
| Biographies of - or relating to A.T. Still | Adams (1893) | Limited to the National Center For Osteopathic History (NCOH) | | |
| | Booth (1905) | Very Limited, Available through interlibrary loan | √ | √ |
| | Page (1906, 1932) | Limited to (NCOH) but reprinted by Éditions Spirales in 2001 | | |
| | Clark (1919) | Limited to (NCOH) | | |
| | Lane (1925) | Available through interlibrary loan | | |
| | Kennedy (1933) | Limited to (NCOH) | | |
| | Tucker (1952) | Limited to (NCOH) | | |
| | CE.Still Jr. (1991) | Limited to (NCOH) | | |
| History of Osteopathy | Trowbridge (1991) | Limited to (NCOH) | | |
| | | Widely available | | |
| | | Widely available | | |
| | Booth (1905) | Very Limited, Available through interlibrary loan | √ | √ |
| | Northup (1966) | Available at some libraries | | |
| | Hildreth (1938) | Available at some libraries | | |
| | Gevitz (1982) | Available at some libraries | | |
| | Walter (1992) | Available at some libraries | | |
| Osteopathic Books | Various | Available through interlibrary loan | √ | |
| Journal Articles | A.T. Still | <i>Journal of Osteopathy</i> , Complete volumes limited to two libraries | √ | √ |
| Journal Articles | Other Osteopaths | <i>The Journal of the American Osteopathic Association, The D.O., The Cosmopolitan Osteopath, Osteopathic Physician, The Bulletin.</i> Limited to (NCOH) and The American Academy of Osteopathy. | √ | √ |
| Unpublished Papers | A.T. Still | Limited to (NCOH) | √ | √ |
| | C.E. Still Jr. | Limited to (NCOH) | | |
| Documents relating to Still | Various | ATS [Andrew Taylor Still] Document Collection, Limited (NCOH) | √ | √ |
| Lost Works? | A.T. Still | Eye Witness Accounts. Otherwise no longer available | | √ by inference |
| Personal Library | Various | Titles of library books viewed in various libraries | | √ |
| Records | County Offices | Most accounts were taken from secondary sources | √ somewhat | |
| History Books | Historians | Available through interlibrary loan, or On-Line | √ | √ |
| Other Books | Various | Available through interlibrary loan | √ | √ |
| Internet | Various | Widely used, widely available | √ | √ |
| Expert Opinions | Various | Personal, written or electronic communication with author. | √ | √ |

Table I - Sources for Chronicling and Understanding Still: His Life, Influences and Essence.

Emmons Rutledge Booth

“Many of the facts given are drawn from the author’s personal knowledge” (Booth, 1905, p.39).

A.T. Still’s first biographer was Emmons Rutledge Booth Ph.D., D.O., a student of Still’s at the American School of Osteopathy (herein after abbreviated as A.S.O) in the class of 1900. Booth’s book, *The History of Osteopathy* (1905) was published almost a century ago, in 1905, and provided the most detailed account of A.T. Still’s ancestry. It was an attempt to compile a sense of how A.T. Still lived, where he lived and what intellectual currents interested him and influenced him. For the purpose of this thesis, it presented an incomplete account, because Still lived another twelve years following its publication. However, as it was written and published during A.T. Still’s lifetime, its value lies in the fact that direct information about A.T. Still and those people who were intimate with him, was generously provided.

Leon E. Page

“Only by understanding the man who wrote them could the true value of the works be comprehended” (Page, 1932, p.38).

The Old Doctor, (Page, 1932) was written by Leon E. Page and was filled with poetic efforts to capture the essence of A.T. Still. It described A.T. Still through five phases of his life: pioneer, dreamer, experimenter, teacher, and philosopher. It was not referenced.

Marovia Clark

“I have been asked many times by my friends and my children to write a few lines in regard to my life in Kansas” (Clark, 1919, p.1).

Marovia Still Clark, one of A.T. Still’s younger sisters, wrote *Reminiscence of the Early Events in Osteopathic History* (Clark, 1919). Her stories were quaint and undated. This work was in the style of an unpublished manuscript, available only through the NCOH.

M.A. Lane

“The key to the work of Andrew Taylor Still in his capacity as a scientific reformer was his unusually and powerful original mind” (Lane, c1925, p.18).

Dr. A. T. Still Founder of Osteopathy (Lane, c1925), was written by M. A. Lane and published in 1925. In the preface of the book, Lane was described as an experienced Osteopath with an “already established reputation for his own original researches in the biological science” (Lane, c1925, p.ix). The book was comprised of a series of ten independent articles, each written with the purpose of discussing a different phase of A.T. Still’s life. This book served as a template for the creation of this thesis because it touched on the essence of A.T. Still, within each chapter in advance of discussing his ideas. The book is not referenced, but it does try to give credence to Still’s scientific ideas. Still’s view of fascia was not a theme explored by Lane.

Barbara Vaughn Kennedy

“Imagine caring for five children, one a baby in arms, going over trails across country during storms, fording streams, camping out, making from ten to twelve miles a day in good weather, meeting and over coming many obstacles” (Kennedy, 1933, p.3).

This undated and unpublished work by A.T. Still’s sister, Barbara Vaughn, entitled *Family History* (Kennedy, 1933), was only eleven pages in length, but portrayed the early history of A.T. Still’s parents, primarily his mother and her children. It was typewritten in 1933 by Barbara Vaughan Kennedy, who was A.T. Still’s niece.

Ernest E. Tucker

“My dear Dr. Charlie [referring to Charles Still Sr. A.T. Still’s son] : I hope you get anything like as much pleasure out of reading this tribute as I got out of writing it” (Tucker, E.E., 1952).

Reminiscences of A.T. Still (Tucker, E.E., 1952), by Ernest E. Tucker was written in 1952 and is ninety-five pages in length. It was originally solicited by Charles Still Sr. to obtain Tucker’s personal reminiscences of A.T. Still. The work is part of the Charles E. Still, Jr. Collection at the NCOH, but because of its unique value it is discussed here separately from the Charles E. Still Jr. Collection. Although Tucker’s letter was in the possession of Charles E. Still, Jr. for many years, to this author’s knowledge, most of the material within its pages have never been cited before in a published work, as A.T. Still’s latest biography was published prior to the letter becoming a gift to the NCOH in 1995 and Charles E. Still, Jr. does not appear to have

taken advantage of the richness contained within its pages. It includes a great deal of personal description of A.T. Still, as well as comments on his religion, philosophy, writings and psychic ability. It is only available through the NCOH.

Charles E. Still, Jr .

“No one [Charles E. Still, Sr.] was in a better position to chronicle the events so well” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.273).

Charles E. Still, Jr., grandson of A.T. Still, wrote a recent biography of A.T. Still's life, *Frontier Doctor - Medical Pioneer* (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991) published in 1991. In the forward, Irvin Korr wrote;

The book was based to a large extent on copious notes, writings, letters, and assorted documents placed in storage more than sixty years ago by the author's father, [Charles Still, Sr., A.T. Still's son] and on the author's own extensive research and personal observation as a member of the family (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.xii).

For the most part A.T. Still's autobiography and Charles E. Still, Jr.'s biography of A.T. Still contain similar information. Unfortunately, neither book used many citations or references. Charles E. Still, Jr.'s biography does however, fill in many of the *whys* regarding A.T. Still's life, such as why did his family move so often and why did he carry a cane. The reader is cautioned that Charles' father, Charles, Sr., from whom much of the material was drawn, was described as perhaps using a “little literary license now and then, but at their [speaking of both Charles Still Sr. and Grant Hildreth], age they were entitled to some embellishment and self-aggrandizement” (Warner, M.D., 1961, p.29).

Carol Trowbridge

“Still's story can be best understood by placing him in the world of his times” (Trowbridge, 1991, p.xiv).

Historian Carol Trowbridge's biography, *Andrew Taylor Still 1828-1917* (1991), is the most recently published. It was carefully researched and documented over an eight-year period. Trowbridge used numerous primary sources, gleaned from archival sources and historical societies across the country. In addition she credited two of Still's grandchildren, Mary Jane Denslow and Elizabeth Laughlin, with their full cooperation in providing source material.

The profession is indebted to Trowbridge for her exhaustive chronicling of Midwestern frontier America in the 1800s, an era that defined Still and during which his life's work, Osteopathy, evolved.

2.2.2.3 Histories of Osteopathy

Although there was some overlap between the histories of Osteopathy and the biographies of A.T. Still, the following five books primarily represent the sources on the history of Osteopathy; Northup (1966), Hildreth (1942) which was originally published in 1938, Gevitz (c1982), and Walter (1992). Booth (1905), described in a preceding section, was also considered a historical account of Osteopathy. The value of each of these books is reviewed in the following section:

Grant Hildreth

“Dr. Hildreth was probably closer to Dr. Still than any other man in the profession” (Author Unknown, 1915).

Arthur Grant Hildreth, D.O., published *The Lengthening Shadow of Andrew Taylor Still* (Hildreth, 1942), in 1938. Hildreth was a generation younger than A.T. Still, so Hildreth's biographical recollections are of value as they reveal an older A.T. Still, the Osteopath. Hildreth stated that the purpose of his book was to help the reader “to secure a more intimate knowledge of the character and spirit of the man who gave osteopathy to the world” (Hildreth, 1942, p.28). As Hildreth was a cherished friend and associate of A.T. Still, most of his biographical and historical information was first hand. His last chapters included tributes to A.T. Still from some famous Osteopaths of A.T. Still's era, including, Carl P. McConnell and Charles Hazzard. As with Charles E. Still, Jr.'s writing, the reader is cautioned that a “little literary license” was also employed (Warner, M.D., 1961, p.29).

George W. Northup

“To say that Still was destined to be a man of conviction is to understate” (Northup, G.W., 1966, p.10).

In his book *Osteopathic Medicine: An American Reformation* (Northup, G.W., 1966), George W. Northup provided an admiring yet very objective view of A.T. Still and Osteopathy.

“All his [Still’s] ideas did not develop at once because you could see an evolution in his thinking” (Norman Gevitz, personal communications, August 10, 2001).

Sociologist Norman Gevitz, over a six year period, wrote a detailed thesis which he later published as *The D.O.’s Osteopathic Medicine in America* (Gevitz, c1982). The initial chapters of Gevitz’s book focused on tracing the intellectual currents that shaped A.T. Still’s life and thoughts. Gevitz’s research is well documented, concise and precise. The author of this study made frequent use of Gevitz’s footnotes and references, in order to follow up on Still’s medical and therapeutic influences.

Georgia Walter

“As director of the college [college library - Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine (KCOM)] for seventeen years, I had the resources all at my fingertips (Walter, 1992, p.xv).

Georgia Ann Warner Walter wrote: *The First School of Osteopathic Medicine*, which was published in 1992. It was a scholarly book in which she claimed to have made every effort to “research all known sources in the attempt to present the most accurate reports” (Walter, 1992, p.1). The account covered the years 1892 to 1987. Walter’s book was well documented using the primary sources available to her, including back issues of three osteopathic periodicals and archival files of the Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine.

2.2.2.4 Summary

Together, these books and manuscripts constituted a large portion of the ancestral and life history of A.T. Still. The materials were read to obtain their general flavour and then re-read and marked, to indicate certain facts pertaining to Still’s life, his influences, his ideas, his repetitive use of certain words or phrases, etc. Where these books, in particular Gevitz and Trowbridge, cited primary sources that were of interest to this thesis, these references were extracted and followed up on, primarily through the Still National Osteopathic Museum or through interlibrary loan. In some cases, due to the scholarly nature of Gevitz’ and Trowbridge’s work, both authors were also cited.

2.2.2.5 Other Osteopathic Books

Titles and publications of early osteopathic books written by students of A.T. Still and published within Still’s life time, were obtained by consulting the MOBIUS data base. MOBIUS is an association of academic libraries with fifty member colleges and universities in the state of Missouri, including the A.T. Still Memorial Library, in Kirksville.

Very late into the research of this thesis, a new osteopathic literature database became available, OSTMED®. It is a bibliographic index that provided access to the osteopathic medicine literature. It resulted from a five-year project sponsored by the American Osteopathic Association and the American Association of Colleges of Osteopathic Medicine (*Ostmed®*, *The Osteopathic Literature Database*, 2002).

Some of the early works of Osteopathy were obtainable on-line, from *The Meridian Institute Web-Site* (2001). These books provided very little biographical information and therefore were primarily scanned for information leading to a clearer understanding of Still’s concepts of fascia.

2.2.2.6 Journal Articles

By 1905, more than twenty osteopathic Journals were in existence, however many of them were regional (Booth, 1905, p.286-293). It was not possible to peruse all the journals, page by page, nor did they all have cumulative indexes to expedite a search. The two primary journals that were used in preparing this thesis, were the *Journal of Osteopathy*, and *The Journal of the American Osteopathic Association*.

Journal of Osteopathy

A.T. Still published the majority of his articles in *Journal of Osteopathy* (herein after abbreviated as *J.O.*). Currently, only two of the American colleges of Osteopathy, Michigan State University and Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine, possess all of the early volumes of this journal. Fortunately, these articles are now available due to the efforts of R.V. Schnucker, who, in 1991, reproduced Still’s journal articles in a collected works, entitled *Early Osteopathy in the Words of A. T. Still* (Schnucker, 1991). Schnucker did not provide the month, volume and issue numbers (in some cases) so discrepancies occur between the citation of the original articles and their reproduction in Schnucker’s book.

As the *J.O.* had an accumulative index, reprints of articles pertaining to A.T. Still or his philosophy were obtained, scanned and marked for inclusion in this thesis.

Other Journals

Other articles were selected from *The Journal of the American Osteopathic Association* because of the ease of using the accumulative index. Reprints of articles pertaining to A.T. Still or his philosophy, were obtained, scanned and marked for inclusion in this thesis.

Lesser-known journals were also used, but to a minor extent. *The D.O.*, *The Cosmopolitan Osteopath*, *Osteopathic Physician* and *The Bulletin* which was published by the Atlas and Axis Clubs of Kirksville (Booth, 1905, p.289) were used infrequently.

2.2.2.7 Unpublished Papers

There are three main sources of catalogued, unpublished, papers which were either written by A.T. Still, or written about A.T. Still. These collections included: *The ATSP (Andrew Taylor Still Papers)*, the *ATS Document Collection (Andrew Taylor Still Document Collection)* and *The CE Still Jr. Collection (Charles E. Still, Jr. Collection)*. These three collections are housed at The Still National Osteopathic Museum, in Kirksville, Missouri.

Andrew Taylor Still Papers

According to the Still National Osteopathic Museum, the *ATSP (Andrew Taylor Still Papers)* consist of approximately four and one half linear feet of material donated to the Still National Osteopathic Museum and the NCOH, over a number of years, by a number of donors. The NCOH was formerly the Special Collections of the A.T. Still Memorial Library, which was placed under the auspices of the Museum in 1997. The bulk of the material was donated to the NCOH by Elizabeth Laughlin, the widow of A.T. Still's grandson, George Andrew Laughlin, in 1990. The material included Still's original writings (essays, speeches, and letters - both handwritten and typed); letters to Still; obituaries, condolence letters, and other materials relating to Still's death in 1917; and miscellaneous documents relating to Still. Most of the material was original. The collection also included some reference copies of materials held elsewhere.

Still's authorship of a few of the documents was in question; these are noted in the box and folder listings (Gracey, February, 2002).

The material is largely undated, but provided valuable insights into A.T. Still's philosophy, not only of Osteopathy but more importantly his philosophical inquiries concerning the nature of life and mortality.

Charles E. Still, Jr. Collection

The *CE Still Jr. Collection (Charles E. Still, Jr. Collection)* was donated by Charles' widow, Dorris Still, in August of 1995. It contains approximately four linear feet of papers, photos, some relating to A.T. Still but much related to Charles Still, Sr. Ninety-five percent of the collection did not relate directly to A.T. Still. The remaining five percent, (two hundred to two hundred and fifty pages) consisted of some letters that Charles' father had solicited from Osteopaths who knew A.T. Still (Gracey, Draft - July, 2002). Irvin Korr explained that Charles Still Sr. intended to use them for a book, but instead they stayed in a metal box for sixty years (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.ix). This five percent was an invaluable resource, mostly because it was not available to biographers other than Charles E Still, Jr., who did not maximize its potential as a resource to reveal Still's character and the influences that shaped him.

The ATS Document Collection

The *ATS Document Collection (Andrew Taylor Still Document Collection)*, contained documents on Still's life, including armed forces records, pension records, medical certificates, copyright certificates and other miscellaneous documents. It was particularly useful in tracing the dates of publication of his books and provided proof of his medical licenses, issued in Missouri.

2.2.2.8 Lost Works

According to accounts from reliable osteopathic physicians, there were several journals, or notebooks, or date books, or diaries and some loose papers that are either missing, or that have apparently been destroyed by his surviving family members. Speculation on the content of these digests is a central focus of the section on Still's writing. The seeking out of this information, depended to a great extent upon this author's previous relationship with the persons who revealed

this information, so that it is unlikely that this step of the research project could actually be reproduced with identical outcomes. Not all information came as a result of this author's questions; some Osteopaths simply volunteered information.

What remains of these lost materials are eyewitness accounts by several Osteopaths and a small excerpt which Charles E. Still, Jr. reprinted in his book. Their significance lies equally between the subject matter and the fact that they were destroyed.

2.2.2.9 Personal Library

Accounts of the books contained in Still's personal library were obtainable from the Still National Osteopathic Museum (Onsager, 1992a). This section discussed the nature of A.T. Still's library, leaving the review of individual books contained within his collection, to substantiate pertinent sections within this thesis.

2.2.2.10 Records: Birth, Death, Marriage

For the most part, secondary sources were considered adequate for citing birth, death and marriage dates, except in a very few cases such as when collaborative newspaper articles were sought.

2.2.2.11 Newspaper Reports

With the exception of a few instances, newspaper reports were not used. The costs involved, the prohibitive distances and the locations of the newspapers, precluded this Canadian based author from making this method of research justifiable.

In certain cases however, County and State Historical Societies, of Schuyler, Douglas, and Johnston Kansas; and Adair and Macon counties of Missouri, were able to provide corroborating material, by special request. This method of research proved cumbersome, haphazard and expensive. Lengthy letters were written, explaining the nature of the research. Then, the Society's volunteer researchers were selected, not because they were skilled researchers but because they had *the inclination* and time. Many did not know who A.T. Still was, or what Osteopathy was. This material was used to obtain local information pertaining to schools, churches, secret societies, libraries, and historical events in their respective communities.

2.2.2.12 County History Books

The four main counties where Still lived the majority of his life; Douglas and Schuyler Counties in Kansas; and Macon and Adair Counties in Missouri, each had at least one history book, each of which was written before Still's death in 1917. They were: *History of the State of Kansas*, Douglas County (Cutler, 1883b); *History of Adair County* (Violette, 1977); *General History of Macon County Missouri* (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910); *History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties Missouri* (*History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties Missouri*, 1888); and *History of Randolph and Macon Counties Missouri* (*History of Randolph and Macon Counties Missouri*, 1884).

These books were used primarily to acquire information on the amenities that A.T. Still had available to him, such as libraries. They were also used to trace biographical material, primarily on his friends.

2.2.2.13 Other Books

A selection of osteopathic texts, written by Osteopaths who knew or studied under A.T. Still and who published their works within his lifetime, were checked for clues to A.T. Still's concepts of fascia, but few links were found.

2.2.2.14 Internet Sources and Resources

Internet citations were used as a time saving device, but were limited to enhancing the presentation of subject matter. Wherever possible, reliable Internet resources were utilized, such as University web-sites; Federal and State Government; and Historical Society postings.

2.2.3 Documentary Research

Once this author had read all of Still's published material and had interviewed fifty percent of the Osteopaths, she visited the Still National Osteopathic Museum in Kirksville Missouri, for a one week period in the spring of 2002. The purpose of the trip was to access the *ATSP*, the *ATS Document Collection* and the *Charles E. Still, Jr. Collection*, which were all held

in the Museum. Another purpose of the visit was to interview five of the Kirksville Osteopaths.

In order to determine appropriate material to review, the Osteopathic Museum provided, in advance, *Finding Aids* to the document collection. From those aids, material from the following topic headings were reviewed: Still's religious views, Still's fascial views, Still's views on life, the soul, the spirit, and documents concerning his education, his authorship and family history. Documents which were not reviewed included rough drafts of his books and titles that appeared to be drafts of articles already available in print.

Once a document was selected as pertinent to this thesis, the selected document or pages were marked with a non-acid containing bookmark (following Museum protocol). A photocopy request form, advising of the 'copyright restrictions' was then signed by this author and photocopies were made by a member of the Museum staff. Due to the large volume of material requested, some was mailed to this author's home at a later date.

Ongoing correspondence continued with the Museum staff, following the personal visit. Electronic mail, sometimes as many as twenty per week, passed between this author and the museum staff members. These correspondences were usually of a question or for clarification and are frequently referenced throughout this paper.

Another source of archival material was held at the American Osteopathic Association, in Chicago, Illinois. Although it was not a research library, there was a very small staff that maintained the collection of journals and historical publications. (Ida Sorci, personal communications, August 20, 2002). Although the library was closed during the time of this research project, the contact librarian, Ida Sorci, provided document delivery on requested topics and biographical information on selected Osteopaths.

2.2.4 Data Depository

As the literature search proceeded, selected electronic folders and sub-folders were created to sort and save the pertinent data. As the material was read, it was marked and categorized into selective topics that then became the titles of electronic folders and sub-folders. Each citation was typed into the folder and footnoted, which included name, title, source, page number, etc. The titles of the folders are listed below,

but due to the large number of sub-folders (in excess of five hundred) they are not listed, as many were never used.

In alphabetical order, not order of importance, the following topic headings were chosen: Anatomy, Complexity, Concurrent Therapies, Conflicts in Statements, Definitions, Education, Family and Friends, Foundations, Human Body, Introductory Ideas, Medicine, Motivation, New England Emigrant Society, Old D.O.s, On Fascia, Osteopathy, Personal, Personal History, Philosophy, Physiology, Reading, Religion, Sociology, Style and Mannerism, Tenets, The Place of Osteopathy, and Writing.

Once these files or folders were ninety percent complete, the contents of the folder was used as a framework for the writing of the sub-chapters within chapter three, entitled Understanding Still.

2.3 Tracing the History of Fascia to Still

This stage of the research focused on the research questions: How did Andrew Taylor Still arrive at his concepts of fascia and what were they?

In this portion of the study, an understanding of the term fascia was developed, both in terms of how it was used prior to A.T. Still's arrival on the healing arts scene and in terms of what A.T. Still meant by fascia. Although a deliberate attempt was made not to make comparisons to a twentieth century definition of the term fascia, it was unavoidable in some places. The discussion was organized as follows;

History of the Term Fascia

This section presented a historical account of the development and the use of the term fascia, beginning with the origin of this term or similar terms. A review of the contents of A.T. Still's library revealed that his first exposure to ideas about fascia was likely through his medical texts. How the term fascia and similar terms were used in other contemporary texts, not necessarily a part of A.T. Still's library, was also reviewed, to establish a basis from which Still likely developed his definitions. Subsequently, a chronological review of a sampling of the available published literature which included fascia, was completed to trace the history of the usage of this term.

| Material | Authorship | Source | History of Fascia | Still's Fascial Statements |
|-------------------------|------------|---|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Books | A.T. Still | <i>Philosophy of Osteopathy</i> - Widely available <i>The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy</i> - Not widely available until 1986 <i>Osteopathy Research and Practice</i> - Somewhat available. | | √ √ √ |
| Osteopathic Books | Various | Available through interlibrary loan and at the Still National Osteopathic Museum. | √ | |
| Still's Medical Library | Various | Available through interlibrary loan and at the Still National Osteopathic Museum. | √ | √ |
| Journal Articles | A.T. Still | <i>Journal of Osteopathy</i> Complete volumes limited to two libraries | | √ |
| Unpublished Papers | A.T. Still | Limited to Still National Osteopathic Museum | | √ somewhat |
| Other Books | Various | Available through interlibrary loan | √ | |
| Rare Books | Various | Some available at Thomas Fischer Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto. Otherwise not available to the author. | √ | |
| Internet | Various | Widely used, widely available | √ | |
| Expert Opinions | Various | Personal, or electronic communication with author. | | √ |

Table II. Sources for the Fascial Chapter

Still's Early Exposure

This section focused on Still's early childhood experiences on the frontier, with no books other than "the great book of nature" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.85).

to be confused with other contemporary therapies, he left many disparaging comments scattered throughout his writings on the subject of rival therapies.

Still's Education

This section summarized A.T. Still's medical education. This was a necessary step, to determine what component of his fascial statements arose out of his exposure to the medical thinking of the day.

What was Fascia to Still?

This section undertook to determine what types of tissue or tissues Still included under the term fascia. All of his references to fascia, membranes, connecting tissue and connective tissue were reviewed to assist in revealing Still's ideas around the term fascia.

Other Therapies

This section reviewed the list of other medical therapies and in particular mechanical therapies, or *mechano-therapeutics*, that were popular or in common use during A.T. Still's era, in order to determine if Still derived his fascial ideas from those therapies. The list was compiled from A.T. Still's own writings. Seeking a unique place in therapeutic history and not wanting

Still's Statements on Fascia

The intent of this section was to categorize Still's statements on fascia. At this point, no meaning was assigned to his statements.

Interpretation of Still's Statements

Integrating the biographical information developed

in the first stage of the study, this section addressed the question: How did Andrew Taylor Still arrive at his concepts of fascia and what were they? Particular emphasis was placed on A.T. Still's philosophical and spiritual concepts of fascia.

Assessment and Treatment

This section outlined how Still assessed and treated the fascia.

2.3.1 Review of Sources and Resources

Source materials for the review of the history of fascia came primarily from secondary sources including, dictionaries, articles, books and expert opinion. Source material for the sections on Still's views of fascia, were derived principally from books and journal articles, published by A.T. Still. As with the compilation of the previous chapter, selected themes and/or passages were extracted from this material, categorized, filed electronically and then presented in an organized, narrative fashion.

A complete list of the materials consulted and their use in compiling this chapter is outlined in Table II - Sources for the Fascial Chapter.

2.3.1.1 Other Published Books by Still

Philosophy of Osteopathy

Philosophy of Osteopathy (Still, A.T., 1899g) contained the famous chapter X, entitled 'Fascia', which was quoted in the introduction to this thesis. Also scattered throughout the book's two hundred and seventy pages were numerous other significant references to fascia.

The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy

The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy (Still, A.T., 1902e), like *Philosophy of Osteopathy*, contained a section on the fascia. Also scattered within its three hundred pages were a wide variety of references to fascia and membranes.

Osteopathy Research and Practice

Significant to this research, were the few references made to fascial ideas in this work. This was Still's last book,

since *Osteopathy Research and Practice* was originally released in 1910. In this thesis, this author cites from the 1992 edition (Still, A.T., 1910 - ['92 ed.]). This book is relevant to the evolution of Still's concepts and the importance that his fascial ideas held to him over time. In his last book, fascia is mentioned in less than ten percent of the conditions that Still discussed.

2.3.1.2 Still's Medical Library

An inventory of the authors and books that Still referenced in his writing was created, to determine if some of his ideas on fascia were similar to ideas from these sources. Originals, or copies, of these books were obtained from the Still National Osteopathic Museum or through interlibrary loan.

Osteopathic Books

These books were scanned for information leading to a clearer understanding of Still's concepts of fascia, but very little information emerged.

Journal of Osteopathy

Although the articles rarely referred to fascia, the few instances where fascia is mentioned were significant.

Unpublished Papers

No direct statements on fascia were discovered in Still's unpublished papers, but occasionally inferences could be made regarding A.T. Still's concepts of fascia.

Other Books

This section included books from A.T. Still's personal library, as well as other contemporary anatomy and physiology books of his era, which were likely available to him. Also included here was a review of any books that were dedicated to fascial descriptions.

Rare Books

Most of the history of fascia was not recorded in books that were available off the shelf or through interlibrary loan. In some cases, this author was able to review books at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, at the University of Toronto, but in most cases the originals were written in Latin or Italian.

As described in the previous chapter, in the absence of printed material, this avenue of research was employed to obtain information from expert sources.

Expert Opinions

Expert opinion in the field of Osteopathy was sought from Dr. Frank Willard and Martin Collins, whose areas of expertise are anatomy and physiology, respectively. Dr. Willard has taught anatomy to Osteopaths at the New England school since 1983. Martin Collins has taught physiology to Osteopaths at the British School of Osteopathy since 1981. Their opinions were intended to illuminate how correct, or how misguided and incorrect, Still's concepts of fascia were, in light of what is known today. Although very little of this material was included in the body of this work, it proved to be a valuable asset to this author's understanding of Still's concepts of fascia.

2.3.2 Data Depository

Similar to the methodology in the previous section, a single electronic folder entitled, On Fascia was created and sub-divided into approximately thirty sub-folders. The material was read, marked and categorized into selective topics, which then became the titles of electronic sub-folders. Each citation was typed into the folder and footnoted, including; name, title, source, page number, etc. Once these files were completed, the contents of the files were used as a framework for the writing of chapter four, entitled Concerning Fascia.

2.4 Still's Fascia and Modern Osteopathic Practice

In this stage of the research, the goal was to address research question two: How are Andrew Taylor Still's concepts of fascia understood, in particular his philosophical and spiritual concepts and utilized in a manual based practice by experienced Osteopaths?

This stage of the research entailed interviewing a sample of experienced Osteopaths. The process was divided into three steps: 1) Interview Selection and Process; 2) Presentation of Statements; 3) Synthesis of Statements.

2.4.1 Interview Selection and Process

The sample of individuals interviewed was arrived at in the following manner: A list of twelve Osteopaths and osteopathic physicians was created, with the initial criteria being that the Osteopaths were in a manual based practice for a minimum of twenty years and also that they had a strong likelihood of being available and agreeing to be interviewed. A compliment of international Osteopaths was also desirable for this study, in order to ensure a diverse representation of osteopathic education and experience. These twelve initially listed Osteopaths provided the structure for recommending further Osteopaths, who also fit the criterion. Due to the confidential nature of the interview, this author is not permitted to reveal which Osteopaths were recommended by whom. In some cases, although an Osteopath did not fall into the initial twelve-person list, an opportunity arose to interview them personally and so they were added to the initial list.

In total, seventy-three Osteopaths were sent introductory packages, over a ten month period beginning in June of 2001.

Fifty-two Osteopaths responded, one subsequently died.

Eleven declined, most of who kindly provided an explanation for their decision to decline.

Twelve did not respond.

Forty-one Osteopaths accepted, however, one responded past the deadline.

Forty interviews were conducted.

Three interviews were rejected, as they did not fit the criteria of having a manual based practice.

The data from thirty-seven osteopathic interviews was used in this study.

See Table III - List of Initial Osteopaths and Recommended Osteopaths. The left hand column of the table lists the names of the initial twelve Osteopaths, plus the five Osteopaths who were added later. Some names appear in both columns, recommended by other Osteopaths, who were not aware that the initial twelve had already been interviewed. The right hand column is the list of all those Osteopaths that were recommended by those on the original list. An asterisk (*) beside the name indicates that the individual did not meet the selection criteria.

INITIAL LIST OF 12 OSTEOPATHS

Harold Magoun Jr.
 Fred Mitchell Jr.
 Michael Lockwood
 Elliot Blackman
 William Johnston
 Robert Ward
 Anthony Chila
 James Jealous
 Philippe Druelle
 Anne Wales
 Viola Frymann
 Steve Sandler

Supplemental/Additional Osteopaths

Gilles Drevon
 Bernard Darraillans
 Alain Andriex
 Ed Stiles
 Gerald Lamb

Recommended Osteopaths

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| Jean Barral | Karen Snider |
| Pierre Tricot | Ken Graham |
| Gerald Monet * | Harriet Shaw |
| Marc Bozzetto | Robin Dyer |
| Alain Abraham Abehsera | Chris Blevins |
| Melician Tettambel | Ross Pope |
| Michael Lockwood | Anne Wales |
| Jerry Dickey | Denise Speed |
| Tony Chila | Edgar Miller |
| Walter Ehrenfeuchter | James Jealous |
| Stephen Blue | William Wyatt |
| Viola Frymann | Tom Shaver |
| Dick Feeley | John Upledger |
| David Vick | Steven Blood |
| Dave Boesler | Stephen Funk |
| Colin Dove | Hugh Ettlinger |
| Harold Klugg | Gerald Lamb |
| Sally Sutton | Stuart Korth |
| Susan Turner | Wayne English |
| Richard Holding | Alex Nicholas |
| Edna Lay | Bob Kappler |
| Frank Willard * | Thomas Schooley |
| Harold Magoun Jr. | Robert Perronneaud |
| Barbara Briner | James Jealous |
| John Jones* | Michael Kuchera |
| Herb Miller | Ernest Keeling |
| Anthony Chila | Clive Hyden |
| Robert Ward | Liz Hyden |
| Michael Murphy * | John Strosnider * |
| William Betz * | Ken Nelson |
| Fred Mitchell Jr. | Bob Kappler |
| Rachel Brooks | Peter Amaratage |
| Alain Abehsera | Charles Crosby |
| Martin Collins * | Harold Klugg |
| Barbara Briner | Alex Low * |
| John Goodridge | Nick Handoll |
| Ed Stiles | Lady Audrey Percival |

Table III. List of Initial Osteopaths and Recommended Osteopaths

| Name of Osteopath | Country of Practice | Years in Practice | Type of Interview | Date of Interview |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Harold Magoun Jr. | United States | 51 | Personal | June 16, 2001 |
| Alain Andrieux * | France | 20 | Personal | June 16, 2001 |
| Wayne English | United States | 43 | Personal | June 17, 2001 |
| Steve Sandler | England | 26 | Personal | June 17, 2001 |
| Gilles Drevon * | Argentina | 22 | Personal | June 17, 2001 |
| Edward Stiles | United States | 36 | Personal | Aug 7, 2001 |
| Anthony Chila | United States | 36 | Personal | Aug 10, 2001 |
| Anne L. Wales | United States | 75 | Personal | Aug 27, 2001 |
| Pierre Tricot * | France | 27 | Internet | Summer 2001 + |
| Fred Mitchell Jr. | United States | 42 | Personal | Oct 14, 2001 |
| Gerald Lamb | England | 20 | Personal | Oct 13, 2001 |
| Philippe Druelle * | Canada | 22 | Personal | Sept 6, 2001 |
| Alain Abraham Abehsera * | France | 25 | Telephone | Nov 4, 2001 |
| Robert Perronneaud * | France | 26 | Internet | Winter 2001 + |
| Robert Ward | United States | 44 | Personal | Dec 4, 2001 |
| William Johnston | United States | 56 | Personal | Dec 3, 2001 |
| Colin Dove | England | 45 | Telephone | Dec 17, 2001 |
| Lady Audrey Percival | England | 50 | Telephone | Dec 16, 2001 |
| Ernest Keeling | England | 37 | Telephone | Dec 17, 2001 |
| Judith O'Connell, | United States | 21 | Telephone | Jan 7, 2002 |
| Stuart Korth | England | 38 | Telephone | Feb 8, 2002 |
| Mark Rosen | United States | 20 | Telephone | Jan 28, 2002 |
| Robert Lever | England | 29 | Telephone | Feb 20, 2002 |
| Kenneth Nelson | United States | 31 | Telephone | Feb 20, 2002 |
| Nick Handoll | England | 31 | Internet | Winter 2002 + |
| Michael L.Kuchera | United States | 22 | Personal | April 8, 2002 |
| William Kuchera | United States | 40 | Personal | April 8, 2002 |
| Herbert Yates | United States | 25 | Personal | April 8, 2002 |
| David Vick | United States | 39 | Personal | April 8, 2002 |
| Melicien Tettambel | United States | 24 | Personal | April 8 2002 |
| Jerry Dickey | United States | 27 | Telephone | Spring 2002 |
| Richard Feely | United States | 24 | Telephone | June 3, 2002 |
| Charles J. Crosby | United States | 33 | Telephone | May 7, 2002 |
| Kenneth Graham | United States | 23 | Telephone | June 3, 2002 |
| Bernard Dariallains * | France | 20 | Personal | June 17, 2002 |
| Viola M.Frymann | United States | 53 | Personal | June 15, 2002 |
| Robert Rousse * | Canada | 20 | Personal | July 5, 2002 |

* French speaking Osteopath

+ conducted over several days

| Name of Expert | Home | Area of Expertise | Type of Interview |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Robert Davis | United States | Philosophy, Religion | Personal |
| Norman Gevitz | United States | Osteopathic History, Sociology | Personal |
| Martin Collins | England | Physiology | Telephone |
| John M. Jones | United States | Osteopathic History, Theology | Telephone & Internet |
| Frank Willard | United States | Anatomy | Telephone |

Table IV. List of Interviewed Osteopaths and External Experts

In addition to the interviews with Osteopaths, five *external experts* were interviewed for the purpose of understanding various other aspects of the Osteopathic profession and/or the intellectual climate of Still's era.

For this study, an external expert was defined as someone who was strongly involved in the field of Osteopathy but not necessarily in a manual based practice. These people included; Norman Gevitz, Robert Davis, Frank Willard, Martin Collins, and

| OSTEOPATH | TYPE OF INTERVIEW | TRANSLATOR |
|------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Gilles Drevon | Personal | Paula Bruner |
| Bernard Darraillans | Personal | Diane Laflamme |
| Alain Andriex | Personal | Laurier-Pierre Desjardins |
| Alain Abraham Abehsera | Telephone | |
| Robert Perronneaud | Internet | Author and Nathalie Laforest-Spilsbury |
| Pierre Tricot | Internet | Author and Nathalie Laforest-Spilsbury |
| Robert Rousse | Personal | |
| Philippe Druelle | Personal | Geneviève Forget |

Table V. French Interviews and Translators

John Jones, D.O. Although both Martin Collins and John Jones were also Osteopaths, neither fit the twenty year criterion for inclusion in the selected list of experienced Osteopaths. Biographical sketches of these experts are available in Appendix A - Profiles.

Table IV - List of Interviewed Osteopaths and External Experts - provides a list of the interviewed Osteopaths, their current country of practice, the number of years of experience, the type (personal, telephone or electronic) of interview and the date of the interview. It also provides a list of the external experts, indicating their areas of expertise.

The first contact made with the potential interviewees consisted of three elements; a letter of introduction, see Appendix C - Introductory letter; a short explanation of this thesis, see Appendix D - Short Explanation; and a brief fill-in-the-blanks questionnaire, See Appendix E - Questionnaire. The packages were sent via mail or more rarely, electronic mail. To encourage a response, a self-addressed and stamped envelope was included, in the postage of the country of the potential interviewee. In cases where no response was received within six weeks, a second package was sent by mail.

To assist this author in contacting and interviewing French Osteopaths, the introductory letter, the questionnaire, and the consent form were kindly translated by French Osteopath, Pierre Tricot. The fascial quotes were taken directly from the French translation of *Philosophy of Osteopathy*, *Philosophie de l'Osteopathie* (Still, Andrew Taylor, 1999), which was also translated by Pierre Tricot.

The purpose of the questionnaire was to derive

some preliminary information about the responding Osteopaths, concerning their frequency of assessing and treating the fascia and their self-assessed knowledge of Still's concepts of the fascia. This allowed the interviewer to direct the questions, based individually, on their initial responses. Once the questionnaire was returned, a confirmation letter or phone call was made, in order to select a mutually acceptable date for the interview.

The principal focus of this component of the research was to elicit from the Osteopaths their personal view on what A.T. Still meant, with regards to his physical, philosophical and spiritual statements concerning fascia, as well as their own personal view of fascia. As a basis for discussion with the interviewees, two quotes were selected from each of the conceptual areas (physical, philosophical and spiritual) in Still's *Philosophy of Osteopathy*; see Appendix F - Still's quotes. The quotes were shown to the Osteopaths at the time of the personal or electronic mail interview. For those interviews that were conducted by phone, the quotes were mailed or faxed earlier, but the accompanying question relating to the quotes was not revealed until the time of the interview.

For the personal interview, an unstructured interview design was employed because this type of design allows the interviewer to obtain information, perform in-depth analysis of the information obtained and from this basis, discover an individual's or group perspective on a particular issue (cf., Bailey, 1991, p.143).

In this type of interview design, the interviewer sets out clearly defined topics that relate to the overall objective of the research. The interviewee was told the

topic and the goal of the interview and then allowed to direct the flow of the conversation, guided by the list and sequence of interview questions. This type of design meant that the questions did not have to be asked in the same order from interview to interview, as in a structured interview, but could be interjected where they best fit that interviewee's line of thought. Appendix G - Interview Questions, lists the interview questions. The unstructured interview design permitted some flexibility in the questioning. Not all Osteopaths were asked all the questions and some additional questions were asked when an obvious tangent needed to be followed. In particular, one Osteopath, identified as number 30, wanted to talk about Still's extended family and the family's related issues, concerning Still's writing.

The interviews conducted with French Osteopaths were conducted in English, while the responses were given in French, in six of out of eight interviews. Alain Abraham Abehsera and Robert Rousse were able to provide English, speaking responses. As Pierre Tricot and Robert Perronneaud could read English, these interviews were conducted by electronic mail. They replied in French.

The French responses from the electronic interviews were translated by this author, with help from a professional translator, Nathalie Laforest-Spilsbury. The remaining four interviews were conducted in French, with the help of volunteer French speaking Osteopaths or osteopathic students. This author posed the question in English, the translator posed the question in French, the Osteopath answered the question in French and the translator translated the answer into English. The exception to this process was with Giles Drevon, D.O. and his translator Paula Bruner. Both were tri-lingual, so in some instances the Spanish language was also used. See Table V - French Interviews and Translators

All the interviewees signed a consent form; see Appendix H - Consent Form, stating that the interview was for this researcher's personal use, with the final goal being the production of her osteopathic thesis. The Osteopaths would not be identified by name in this thesis, thus encouraging them to be as candid as possible. Osteopath 30 insisted on being identified: He was Jerry Dickey D.O., of the United States. The five external experts all signed consent forms that permitted quoting them by name.

Each personal or telephone interview was tape-recorded with the permission of the Osteopath. For the recording, a SONY® "Cassette-Corder" TCM-465V and a SONY® "Electret Condenser Microphone"

ECM R100, were used exclusively. Telephone interviews were recorded via the speakerphone option on a BELL Vista #50 desktop phone.

Each interview was conducted using the responses from the questionnaires, in order to lead smoothly into some of the selected questions. The interviews spanned between fifteen minutes all the way to two hundred and twenty minutes, the majority lasting approximately twenty-five minutes. Four of the interviews were conducted in French. Two of the internet interviews were conducted in both English and French, with the questions being posed in English while the answers were returned in French. The majority of questions that were posed by the interviewer were answered, with the major exception being Jerry Dickey, D.O., who did not want to answer questions but did want to participate.

Each interview was transcribed verbatim by this author, from the tape recording. All the transcribed interviews (as well as the three interviews conducted by electronic mail) were then returned to their respective Osteopaths, along with a note of thanks and a stamped, self-addressed envelop, to this author. The Osteopaths were asked to check their transcript for accuracy and return it to this author. See Appendix I - Corrections, which was the letter which accompanied the Osteopaths' transcripts. If the Osteopath failed to return the transcript within six weeks, it was mailed out again. In the cases of variation of spelling between American and British/Canadian forms of English, the form of the interviewee was preserved. In the case of translation from French, the Canadian spelling was used, as this author is Canadian.

Thirty of the forty transcripts were returned. Any revisions that were indicated by the Osteopaths, were made to the file and a final version was saved.

2.4.1.1 Presentation of Statements

Once the interviews were in their final format, each Osteopath was then assigned a random number from 1-37. The responses from each interview were then sorted, so that all the answers to each question were grouped together in their own file. The author of each response was identified by number only, except Osteopath 30, Jerry Dickey, who wished to be identified. The responses to the questions specifically relating to Still's quotes, were organized somewhat differently. As two quotes were provided for each of his physical, philosophical and spiritual concepts and as each Osteopath was given the choice

of commenting on one or the other or both quotes, their responses were then grouped in accordance with which quote they selected. In some cases they selected both quotes and either commented on them together, or separately. The full transcripts of the responses from these interviews are presented in Appendix J -

Responses. The font size and line spacing were reduced in order to make the presentation size manageable. The interview responses to each question were presented in summary form in the following sub-chapter; synthesis of statements.

| SUMMARIZED QUESTIONS | | CATEGORY | PURPOSE | PRIORITY | RESPONSES |
|--|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|-----------|
| Reason for agreeing to participate | | Preliminary | Introductory | Low | 36 |
| Years in practice and country of training | | Preliminary | Introductory | Medium | 37 |
| Introduction to A.T. Still | | Preliminary | Introductory | Low | 33 |
| Continuation of Reading or Studying Still | | Targeted | Interest in Still | Medium | 32 |
| Frequency of thinking of Still | | Targeted | Interest in Still | Medium | 30 |
| Example of patient - needing to recall A.T. Still's teaching | | Preliminary | Interest in Still | Low | 27 |
| What does assessing the fascia tell you? | | Targeted | Assess and Treat | High | 36 |
| The feel of healthy fascia | | Targeted | Conceptualization | High | 36 |
| Confirmation of fascial palpation | | Targeted | Conceptualization | Medium | 33 |
| Ability to sense fascia without touching | | Targeted | Conceptualization | Medium | 35 |
| Necessity of fascial treatment | | Targeted | Conceptualization | High | 35 |
| Goal in treatment of fascia | | Targeted | Assess and Treat | Medium | 36 |
| Measurement of success in fascial treatment | | Targeted | Assess and Treat | Medium | 33 |
| Relationship between vitality and fascia | | Targeted | Conceptualization | Medium | 34 |
| Physical Concepts | Answered quote 1 | Targeted | Interpretation | Low | 31 |
| Choice of one or two quotes | Answered quote 2 | Targeted | Interpretation | Low | 12 |
| Description of physical approach to fascia | | Targeted | Interpretation | Low | 17 |
| | Answered quote 1 | Targeted | Interpretation | Medium | 13 |
| Philosophical Concepts | Answered quote 2 | Targeted | Interpretation | Medium | 8 |
| Choice of one or two quotes | Answered both quotes together | Targeted | Interpretation | Medium | 19 |
| | Answered quote 1 | Targeted | Interpretation | High | 8 |
| Spiritual Concepts | Answered quote 2 | Targeted | Interpretation | High | 10 |
| Choice of one or two quotes | Answered both quotes together | Targeted | Interpretation | High | 22 |
| Elaboration on spiritual concepts | | Targeted | Interpretation | High | 7 |
| Biogen | | Concluding | Interest in Still | Medium | 32 |
| Recommendations | | Concluding | Introductory | Low | 36 |
| Question for Still | | Concluding | Interest in Still | Low | 35 |

Table VI. Summary of Questions: Category, Purpose, Priority and Frequency of Response

2.4.2 Synthesis of Statements

This section was developed to answer research question number two:

How are Andrew Taylor Still's concepts of fascia understood, in particular his philosophical and spiritual concepts and utilized in a manual based practice by experienced Osteopaths?

This research question was addressed by analyzing the responses to each of the relevant questions, that were posed to the Osteopaths during the interview. The relevant questions were defined as those that were categorized as holding a high priority and that revealed either the Osteopaths' understanding and conceptualization of fascia along with its assessment and treatment, or that revealed the Osteopaths' understanding of Still's concepts of fascia.

As not all the questions were relevant, they were divided into three categories: *preliminary*, *concluding* or *targeted* questions. For the complete list of questions, see Appendix G - Interview Questions.

Although approximately twenty questions were posed, not all of them were analyzed. Some *preliminary* questions - Why did you agree to participate in this study? - served as a *lead in* and thus provided an introduction to the more relevant questions.

There were also several *concluding* questions that allowed the interview to come to a close smoothly, such as - If A.T. Still were able to answer one question on the fascia, what would you ask him?

The purpose of the remainder of the questions, which were termed *targeted* questions, was to allow the Osteopaths to reveal both their conceptualization of fascia and their understanding of Still's concepts of fascia.

The targeted questions were formulated to garner information, which fell into one of the following four broad topics:

To establish if the Osteopath had an interest in the work of A.T. Still. (Interest in Still)

To reveal the Osteopath's conceptualization of fascia. (Conceptualization)

To discover the Osteopath's view on assessment and treatment of fascia. (Assess and Treat)

To determine the Osteopaths' interpretation of A.T. Still's concepts of fascia. (Interpretation of Still)

Some of the *targeted* questions had a higher priority than other ones. The lower priority questions served as a lead into the higher priority questions.

Table VI - Summary of Questions: Category,

Purpose, Priority and Frequency of Response - summarizes the interview questions by listing: the question in a summarized form, its category, its purpose, the questions' priority (low - medium - high) and number of Osteopaths who were asked the question (which co-related to the frequency of response, as all the Osteopaths answered all the questions that were posed).

2.4.3 Drawing Conclusions

The last stage of the research addressed the third and final research question: **Does the understanding of fascia by modern Osteopaths differ significantly from Still's original conceptualization? What significance does this hold for Osteopathy?**

As outlined in the introduction to this section, it is the researcher's responsibility to understand the information being acquired, without imposing any interpretation of it, by avoiding personal biases that may colour the interpretation. To ensure scientific rigor, this author applied the criteria of credibility, auditability, fittingness, and confirmability, to the information derived from documentary and interview sources and synthesized for this section.

Particular care was taken to be cognizant of the significance of the terms Fact, Probability, and Possibility, as they relate to the validity of historical research. Sandelowski (1986) suggested the following methods for assuring credibility and fittingness of a qualitative study:

checking for the representativeness of the data as a whole and coding categories and examples, used to reduce and present the data

checking that descriptions, explanations, or theories about the data, contain the typical and atypical elements of the data

deliberately trying to discount or disprove a conclusion drawn about the data

obtaining validation from the subjects themselves

Chapter Six - Still's Fascia and Modern Osteopathic Practice - is presented in four sections. Section one presents a summary of the first grouping of interview questions, which addressed the Osteopaths' familiarity with the work of A.T. Still. The second section offers hypothetical replies from A.T. Still to the same set of questions that the Osteopaths were asked, in their interviews regarding fascia. Then, the

two sets of replies are compared and contrasted. The third section directly compares the proposed meaning of the six quotes of A.T. Still, that represented his physical, philosophical and spiritual concepts of fascia, to the summarized meaning of how the Osteopaths understood what Still meant in those same quotes. The fourth section summarizes the first three sections and becomes the basis for answering the third research question.

Once concluding statements had been made with respect to the third research question, the major theme of this thesis, enriching the meaning behind A.T. Still's concept of fascia, was discussed.

2.5 Summary

This chapter outlined the methodological steps used in the design, research, presentation and writing of this thesis. It defined the historical research design, discussed the traits of a qualitative design, and outlined the criteria for preserving scientific rigor.

The chapter also outlined the stages of research undertaken to address the three research questions and described the research methods used. Documentary sources were listed and reviewed as they pertained to the historical research on Still's life and times and Still's concepts of fascia. Sampling and interview strategy was presented in detail, for the stage of the research which addressed the question of how fascia is currently understood by Osteopaths. The synthesis of the research results provided the basis from which the final question was addressed, which undertook to reconcile Still's meaning and concepts of fascia with modern osteopathic practice.

CHAPTER THREE - UNDERSTANDING STILL

3.1 Introduction

“I do not think that we can understand the ideas of Dr. Still unless we consider them in their historical setting” (Proby, 1953, p.8).

This chapter provides a historical backdrop to Andrew Taylor Still's life and times, in an effort to discover some of the influences that ultimately led him to the development of Osteopathy and continued to shape and guide his writing for the following forty years. The intellectual currents of 19th century America, including the American movement of Spiritualism, are reviewed in order to provide insights into both what he wrote and why he wrote it. Elements of Still's life story, presented in a brief biographical sketch, offer important insights into Still's character and *essence*.

Still's metaphorical writing style can, in part, be traced to such involvements as service in the Civil War, tinkering with mechanical inventions and his faith in an unerring God. Once a familiarity with Still's life, philosophy, style and purpose is established, this will form the foundation for the examination of Still's concepts of fascia.

3.2 His Life

“Many of the elements that make Dr. Still what he has been and still is, are the results of the environments of his life” (Booth, 1905, p.1).

3.2.1 Introduction

Over the span of A.T. Still's eighty-nine years, he lived in ten different pioneer communities in the American Midwest. Following in his father's footsteps and the wish of his mother to have her children educated, he apprenticed in the medical profession. He came of age in the turbulent times prior to, and during, the American Civil War. He married twice and fathered thirteen children. However, both wives, eight of his children, as well as many of his dearest friends, predeceased him. He

pursued single-mindedly, with a passionate commitment, the development of a system of drugless medicine which he named Osteopathy. The following provides an account of some of the essential details of Still's life and times, which shaped both Still as an individual and the early development of the field of osteopathic study. Details of his medical education are reserved for inclusion in chapter four - Concerning Fascia.

3.2.2 Family History

3.2.2.1 Still's Parents

“So the only way to become really familiar with a man is to make the acquaintance of his ancestors” (Booth, 1905, p.1).

Andrew Taylor Still was the third of nine children born to Abraham and Martha Still, who were described as being “surrounded by all the disadvantages” of that era and who “were conquerors and heroes of the purest type” (Adams, 1893, p.210). A.T. Still's ancestors were pioneers and farmers who traced their forbearers back four generations to American, English (Booth, 1905, p.1), Scottish and German roots (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.275).

ABRAHAM STILL (1797 [1798] - 1867)

“He was a man of strong convictions, which he maintained at all times and places. He took a bold stand for abolition, which he maintained until he saw human slavery wiped from every foot of North America” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.54).

Besides farming (Still, A.T., 1895c, p.1), Abraham was a practical millwright (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.28), a Methodist minister (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.52), a circuit rider (Booth, 1905, p.2), a physician (*History of Randolph and Macon Counties Missouri*, 1884, p.1210), and a Doctor of Divinity (Still, A.T., 1896h, p.2) of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Booth, 1905, p.2). He moved his family frequently, in order to accommodate his adventurous nature and his urge to spread Methodism (through circuit-riding) and his strong abolitionist views.

Abraham began circuit-riding sometime between 1818 (Trowbridge, 1991, p.4) and 1820 (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.2). Of necessity, circuit riders were of a hardy constitution so that they could bear the numerous physical hardships of their calling and spread religion to the remotest edges of the settled frontier (Johnson, 1955, p.154). They “took it upon themselves to study and learn as much as they could about how to minister to the sick” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.3).

Martha Poague Moore (1800 - 1888)

“She was my greatest friend while alive” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.379).

As a pioneer wife, Martha [A.T. Still’s mother] could tan hides, make clothing from deerskins, and butcher hogs for meat (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.12-13). Still described his mother as a “natural mechanic” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.28). Although her ancestors were massacred by the Shawnee Indians (Brown, 1942, p.42-59), she later moved with her family to live among the Shawnee Indian Tribe. Still credited his “mother’s grit” for instilling in him his determination and the sense that to back down was a shame and a disgrace (Still, A.T., 1898, p.458). “She is the lighthouse of my chamber of reason” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.379).

3.2.2.2 Jonesville, Lee County, Virginia, mid 1820s - 1833

Andrew Taylor Still, was born on August 6, 1828, in a log cabin in Lee County, Virginia (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.408). Together with his siblings, James, Thomas and Barbara Jane (Booth, 1905, p.2), A.T. Still attended a Subscription School of the period (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.408); the quality of the education provided was so poor, however, that his mother insisted that the family relocate. In accordance with her wishes, Abraham had himself reassigned to Newmarket, Tennessee, in 1834 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.18).

3.2.2.3 Newmarket, Jefferson County, Tennessee, 1834 - 1837

In Newmarket, two more sons were born to Abraham and Martha: John Wesley and Thomas. The male members of the family were reported to have begun to develop their antislavery sentiments in Tennessee because Abraham may have been the family physician to the notorious character, Parson Brownlow (Booth, 1905, p.2). Brownlow was a circuit-riding Methodist minister, upstart journalist, and political activist who wielded a vitriolic tongue and pen in defense of both slavery and the Union (Coulter, E.M.).

In 1835, Still started school at Holston Seminary, in Newmarket (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.18). His education was soon interrupted by another relocation, either because Abraham was dissatisfied with his sedentary life style, or he found the lure of inexpensive land out west irresistible (Booth, 1905, p.2). Abraham’s new appointment in 1836, was as the first Methodist preacher (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.11) of Macon County in northern Missouri (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.18), which was at that time a pro-slavery state (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.11-14).

3.2.2.4 Macon County, Missouri, 1837 - 1839

The Stills were among the earliest settlers in the Macon County area (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.408), which was so remote that there were no schools, churches, or stores (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.8). A private teacher was hired by some of the families to teach the children during the winter of 1839-40 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.18). Still’s sister, Mary M., was born during the family’s brief time in Macon County. In the spring of 1839, in the spirit of spreading Methodism to even more isolated areas, the Still family relocated to Schuyler County, Missouri, fifty miles north of Macon (Booth, 1905, p.2).

3.2.2.5 Schuyler County, Missouri, 1839 - 1845

In Schuyler County, another sister, Marovia M. Still was born. The Stills actually made several moves within neighbouring counties during the next few years, so the children missed another year or two of school, not returning again until 1841 (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.14) or 1842. In the spring of 1845, the Stills returned to Macon County (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.18) because Abraham was bothered by some of the

Methodist residents of neighboring counties who had “pro-slavery leanings” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.15-16).

3.2.2.6 Macon County, Missouri, 1845 - 1852

Abraham and Martha's last child, Cassandra, was born in Macon County in 1845. Between 1845 and 1852, Still attended a nearby school in La Plata, Missouri. (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.18).

Due to a schism within the Methodist Episcopal Church over the slavery issue (Cartwright, 1856 [or 1857], p.361), Abraham left this affiliation. He rejoined in 1848, with the Northern or anti-slavery section. He preached in hostile Indian territory (Booth, 1905, p.2) until he was assigned to act as the Presiding Elder of a church-operated Shawnee Indian Mission, in Kansas (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.17). Abraham Still moved his maturing family to Kansas two years later, in 1852. (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.409).

Before the Still family's move to Kansas, on January 29, 1849, Andrew Taylor Still married Mary Margaret Vaughan (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.55). Their first child, Marusha Still, was born in December 1849 (Denslow, n.d.). A.T. Still farmed to support his family, but on fourth of July, 1952 their entire crop was devastated by a hailstorm (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.56). Still and his wife then turned to teaching to make their living (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.408). When that proved insufficient to sustain the family, they then moved, with Still's parents, to the Indian Mission in Kansas, in 1852 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.60).

3.2.2.7 Shawnee Mission, Douglas County, Kansas, 1853 - 1854

The Wakarusa Shawnee Mission was about six miles east of Lawrence, Kansas (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.56,62); once again there were no stores, churches or schools (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.18). Here, A.T. Still farmed (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.22) and practiced medicine with his father (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.409). When the mission closed in 1854 (Adams, 1893, p.39), the family moved to Coal Creek in Douglas County, Kansas (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.24; Trowbridge, 1991, p.57). He learned to “speak their tongue” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.57), which meant he learned to speak the language of the Shawnee Indians.

3.2.2.8 Coal Creek, Douglas County, Kansas, 1854 (56) - 1856

Due to the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the battle to decide if Kansas would become a pro or anti-slavery state was fought both politically and in the streets of the local settlements of Douglas County. Squatters from the pro-slavery cause moved in, mainly from Missouri, while anti-slavery supporters, primarily members of The New England Emigrant Society, arrived from New England (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.26-28), particularly from Boston (Trowbridge, 1991, p.4-5). Both groups vied to swing the vote in their own favour.

Being abolitionists, the Still family and their land were threatened by the pro-slavery element. In response, A.T. Still, Major James Burnett Abbott and others organized a battalion to defend against the border ruffians, also known as the Missourians. This battalion, organized in 1855, remained intact until the outbreak of the Civil War (Still, C.E., Sr., 1930).

Major Abbott was to become a life-long friend and influence on A.T. Still. Still had a great respect for his opinion and they talked freely (Still, A.T., 1897d, p.2). Of Major Abbott, Still said “that was one of the best friends I ever had. He was the first man who put into my head the idea of Osteopathy or the science of healing without drugs” (Conger, 1898, p.2). “J.B. Abbott was an eastern man, and full of knowledge and customs of the eastern states, being a goldsmith and generally skilled mechanic” (Still, A.T., 1897d, p.2). “When Major Abbott spoke of clairvoyance, he spoke of it as we talked of it as a curiosity that day” (Still, A.T., 1896d, p.3). “Whether he used clairvoyance or not, he forecasted that something would come forward that would take the place of Allopathy, Eclecticism and Homeopathy” (Still, A.T., 1897d, p.2).

A kind of turning point in A.T. Still's life came at about this time as well, with the death of his infant son in 1855. In the month following, Still wrote that April 1855 was the date that “I began to give reasons for my faith in the laws of life as given to men, worlds, and beings by the God of Nature” (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.9).

3.2.2.9 Pre Civil War, Baldwin, Kansas,
1856 - 1861

In the spring of 1856, Andrew Taylor Still moved his family to Palmyra, Kansas, which was later renamed Baldwin (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.29). Here, between 1856 and 1869 he staked land claims (Clark, 1919, p.37), practiced medicine, sawed lumber (Still, A.T., 1897a, p.79), and spent much of his time studying anatomy, physiology, chemistry and mineralogy (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.99).

Still campaigned for election to the Kansas Territorial Legislature and served from 1857-1858, representing Douglas County (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.409; Still, A.T., 1908a, p.36, 65).

It was during his time in Baldwin that A.T. Still began to voice his near-heretical condemnation of the medical profession, for their use of addictive and harmful drugs and it was here where he became the target of scorn, anger and rejection from the local preachers, and the medical establishment. A minister in Baldwin declared that Still must either change his "tactics or land in hell" (Still, A.T., 1895e, p.3). Still further described how, as he passed down the street, "more than 200 children fled from my path as though I were an unclean leper, a huge serpent or a wild boar from Russia" (Still, A.T., 1895e, p.3). Although this scorn was disturbing to Still, he later explained how "when a man has a truth abuse does him good" and that such scorn or abuse only acts as "manure to enrich my life work" (Still, A.T., 1895a, p.2).

When he offered to explain his new ideas to faculty at Baker University, he was turned down (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.29, 41, 42). Adding to Still's sorrow and trials was the death of his fifth child, Lorenzo, who lived only six days, followed by the death of his wife, Mary Margaret, on September 29, 1859 (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.409).

Still remarried in November, 1860 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.58). His second wife, Mary Elvira Turner, was raised in New York State. She was described by historian Carol Trowbridge (1991) as coming from "a world of intellectual excitement - continuous experimentation with ideas, both spiritual and secular." This world, wrote Trowbridge, gave origin to "many American movements: anti-slavery, anti-Masonry, Swedenborgianism, mesmerism, phrenology and Spiritualism" (Trowbridge, 1991, p.88).

3.2.2.10 The Civil War, 1861 - 1864

"He never wavered in the love of his country" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.118).

A.T. Still joined the Ninth Kansas Cavalry at Leavenworth, Kansas, serving under Captain R.T.J. Mewhinne, in September of 1861 when the Civil war broke out. The Ninth Cavalry consisted of men who were experienced with border skirmishes between Kansas and Missouri, in the preceding five to six years (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.48). They saw "no real action" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.48-49).

When the Ninth Kansas Cavalry disbanded on April 1, 1862 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.75), Still returned to Kansas (Still, C.E., Sr., 1930), then later joined the brigade of James H. Lane in Kansas City (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.73). Under Lane he acted as scout surgeon (Still, A.T., n.d.-f, p.11). This unit marched from Leavenworth to Springfield, Missouri under General John C. Fremont. Due to Still's medical background, he served as a Hospital Steward (Still, C.E., Sr., 1930). Still wrote that he "served as a surgeon under Fremont" which suggests he was later promoted (Still, A.T., 1895c, p.1). In the winter of 1861-62, Still's wife also served as a hospital matron (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.50). Typical of the time, Still described the complete surgeon's outfit as containing calomel, quinine, whisky, opium, rags and a knife (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.186). In the Civil War, twenty-five percent of the soldiers requiring amputations died as a consequence of the surgery. Eighty percent of the hip joint amputees died. Gangrene was widespread as a result of poor medical hygiene and the generally squalid conditions of the field hospitals (Bonner, 1959, p.22).

Disappointed that he had not seen battle nor felt victory, Still organized a company of militia known as Company D (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.80), of the Eighteenth Kansas Militia (volunteering two days a week) and was commissioned Captain (Still, A.T., n.d.-f, p.12). They patrolled the road known as The Old Fe Santa Trail as it passed through Douglas County. This unit combined with others to become the Twenty-First Kansas Regiment and Still was promoted to Major (Still, A.T., n.d.-f, p.12). It was during this time that Quantrill's dreadful "sacking of Lawrence occurred" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.53). Again, Still's regiment did not see battle and most of the unit's time was spent drilling and patrolling (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.55).

On October 10, 1864, Still's militia group joined

General Curtis under the command of General Lane, in an army of over twenty thousand men. On October 24, 1864, Still's regiment was engaged in the battle of Westport. During the battle, a bullet pierced Still's coat, while another frightened his mount; both fell to the ground, injuring him (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.58).

Still left military service on October 27, 1864 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.80), because he and the men were no longer needed (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.59). His regiment was disbanded and as a result, his formal discharge was delayed until some time after the close of the war (Still, C.E., Sr., 1930).

Still was largely silent on the subject of his years of service in the Civil War. However in 1952, Ernest Tucker, D.O., wrote that reminiscing about the Civil War was the only time he saw Still in tears. Of the war and the dead, Still said: "They used to arrive in the spirit world full of hate and vengeance; but they do not do that any more - - and his breath suddenly began to come in short trembly gasps; and tears poured from his eyes" (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.68).

Still's life was profoundly affected by the loss of his children during the period of the Civil War. During those three years, he and his new wife lost five of their children. The first, an infant boy named Dudley, lived only a month. Then over a three-day period in February 1864, they lost three more of their children, two of Still's from his first marriage (Susan, age eleven and Abram, age twelve), and one adopted child (age nine). Despite the attendance of four of the "most learned M.D.s of the land" who were given full power to "fight the enemy" (Still, A.T., 1896e, p.1) "all three died of spinal meningitis" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.87-88). Later that same month, another infant child of one month, Marcia Ione, perished. Still's views on *regular* medicine further deteriorated, following the loss of his children to spinal meningitis.

3.2.2.11 Post Civil War, Baldwin, Kansas, 1864 - 1874

Following the Civil War, A.T. Still farmed, practiced medicine, ran a saw mill (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.409), and tinkered with mechanical inventions such as a *reaper* and butter churn (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.90-93). A son, Charles Still, was born January 7, 1865 (*A Book of Adair County History*, 1976, p.213). The townsfolk here began to express their doubt about his credibility as a doctor because of his statements against medicine and his view that disease was caused by mechanical

and structural problems. He resolved to keep his ideas to himself for four years (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.65). Following this resolution, conditions improved for the Stills, but his reputation waned again when he revealed he was treating infections by manipulation rather than by drugs (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.65-67,70-71).

In May of 1867, A.T. Still and Mary Margret became the parents of twin sons, Harry and Herman. A few months later, on December 31, 1867, Still's father died suddenly of an acute attack of pulmonary congestion (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.69).

During the autumn and winter of 1870 and 1871, Still was reported to have spent studying with Dr. John M. Neil, "a graduate of Edinburgh Medical School and a contemporary of Darwin, Huxley, Wallace, Spencer, Beauchamp and other European biologists" (Deason, W. J., 1946, April). The accuracy of this aged report is questionable, as it also stated that Still had an interest in cells, which certainly is not evident in his published or unpublished writing.

Still's deteriorating reputation and the drought conditions in 1873 left the family destitute. By 1874, grasshoppers had eaten everything in the area, leaving him and his neighbours collecting seeds and provisions, to help them replant their crops (Conner, 1925, p.275). At that time, A.T. Still co-signed a letter with at least three other prominent residents of Baldwin, including the Mayor, a physician and a member of the [town?] Council, that was sent to the *Banner of Light* (Durgin, 1875, p.8), a Spiritualist periodical, asking for relief from the devastating effects of the grasshoppers.

Despite his apparent status as a prominent member of the community, based on the co-signers of the letter to the *Banner of Light*, Still recounts in his autobiography that rumors swirled among the townsfolk of his ghoulish activities, because he roamed the countryside day and night "like any other grave-robb...with shovel disinterred the dead Indian and utilized his body for the good of science" (Still, A.T., 1897a, p.99).

3.2.2.12 Macon County, Missouri , 1874 - 1875

On January 25, 1874, another son, Fred, was born to A.T. Still and his wife. Three months later, Still left for Macon leaving his wife behind to sell the farm and settle their affairs (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.87-95). Why A .T. Still returned to Macon County, Missouri, is not known. A number of reasons may

have prompted the move from Baldwin, including the loss of his reputation as a doctor among the locals, the destruction of his farm, and the hope to share a medical practice with his brother, Ed (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.85,86,90). A.T. Still's daughter Blanche, stated that it was after Still left Kansas and the family moved to Missouri, that "all of his relatives and friends turned against him" (Laughlin, B., Still, n.d.).

Upon arriving in Macon, he found his brother Ed, ill and dependent on drugs. Edward Still was reluctant to recommend Still to his former patients because their brother, Rev. James Still of Kansas, had sent Ed a letter stating that "anyone who took on 'Drew' as an associate would be in real trouble, that Drew had surely lost his mind, and that his crazy ideas about medical practice would certainly ruin not only a practice, but make him a target of ridicule from the townspeople" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.90-92).

Alone in Macon in 1874, wearing a worn suit, high boots, a black alapace [sic] coat, worn at the elbows and at the cuffs (Perrin, 1925), on the 22nd day of June at 10 o'clock, **Still proclaimed his new discovery** (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.339), for which he didn't even have a name. His announcement went unnoticed. "His proclamation...had very little impact on either the medical profession or the residents of Kansas and Missouri" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.91). It wasn't until either 1887 (Violette, 1977, p.248) or 1889 (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.131), that he was able to name his discovery **Osteopathy**.

As a doctor he was achieving good results, but the campaign against him and his practice by another local preacher, left Still dreading to walk the streets (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.93-94). He sadly recounted how, due to that preacher's, words children flew from his presence in fear (Still, A.T., 1895e, p.3). In 1875, realizing that he needed to leave Macon, he decided to try Kirksville.

3.2.2.13 Kirksville, Adair County, Missouri, 1875 - 1917

"I...went to Kirksville where I found some three or four thinking people who welcomed me and my baby Osteopathy" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.108).

A.T. Still settled in Kirksville, Missouri, in February of 1875 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.98), but did not make it his fixed home until 1887 (Booth, 1905, p.26). Although he practiced in Kirksville, he spent weeks at a time working as an itinerant healer, elsewhere in the state. His decision to settle there was based upon

his having met a few friendly, open-minded people, on previous visits (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.95). Those friendly people included F.A. Grove, M.D., Mrs. Julie Ivie, Judge Linder, Charlie Chinn and Robert Harris, whom he credits as being "Osteopathy's first advocates in Kirksville" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.110-118, 227).

3.2.2.14 Still's Friends

I will speak of a few faithful and intelligent friends. I may not call them by name, but their houses, and beds, and tables have universally been spread by the hands and hearts of kindness for my ease and comfort. They have freely and lovingly tried and succeeded in assisting me to write up my life, and encouraged me at all times to fight, defend the flag, and never surrender (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.379).

Dr. F.A. Grove

Still called F.A. Grove a "dear man" and a friend. "He was a man of principle, and finely educated. He came to me, he said, to welcome me to the town of Kirksville... He had been around the world...He and I were friends to the grave. He helped me much to unfold the truths of this science" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.109).

Dr. Grove gave Still his early referrals (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.98-100). He was a Freemason and a member of the gun club (*History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties Missouri*, 1888, p.347). F.A. Grove was active in the Spiritual and Liberal Association (Violette, 1977, p.149-152), of Kirksville.

Mrs. Julie Ivie

Still called Mrs. Julie Ivie a "dear old mother" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.108), who gave him room and board without charge for one month at the Ivie Hotel (Denslow, n.d.). "Her kind old face will never fade from my memory" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.108). Jerry Dickey, D.O., who was a friend of Still's granddaughter, Mary Jane Denslow, recounted how Mary Jane had told him that Mrs. Ivie was a Spiritualist (Jerry Dickey, personal communication, April 20, 2002). Mrs. Ivie died on December 22, 1889 (Author Unknown, 1889).

Charlie Chinn

Charley Chinn rented Still a “full suite of rooms over his store”, knowing that Still had no money. Still said “he [Charlie] proved himself the kind of a man to tie to.” Still said he owed Charley a big debt of gratitude (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.109). Charley Chinn was also a Freemason and a member of the Ancient Order of United Workmen (*History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties Missouri*, 1888, p.354).

Robert Harris

Robert Harris was “one of the best men I have ever seen” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.110). He was a mechanic, a machinist and an ex-government gunsmith. Harris felt that “man was the machine of all machines, and all others were only imitations of the parts and principles founding him” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.110). Harris was the Vice-President of the *Spiritualists Society of Kirksville* (Author Unknown, 1875b). He died on December 25, 1882 (Author Unknown, 2002).

Mr. and Mrs. Patterson

The Pattersons were among the “first of Kirksville’s prominent people who became identified with Dr. Still and Osteopathy” (Publisher’s note, 1898a, p.390). Henry Patterson was a Freemason (Author Unknown, 1902d) and also attended one of the events hosted by the Magnet Club (Author Unknown, 1883b), which was reported to have “occult characteristics” (Author Unknown, 1883a). Mr. Patterson died in early April of 1901 (Author Unknown, 1902a).

Mr. and Mrs. Morris

It was at the Morris’ homestead that Still took seclusion (Bunting, 1906, p.103) and wrote his first two books. Still credited Mrs. [Anna] Morris as being the amanuensis of two of his books. She died March 1, 1902 (Author Unknown, 1902c).

John Musick

Of John Musick, Still said “he was always ready at the gate to give a new-comer a welcome...sought green pastures of reason” (Author Unknown, 1901b, p.302).

“For a number of years he has been a close personal friend of Dr. A.T. Still, having taken much interest in osteopathy” (Author Unknown, 1901a). Of Musick,

Still said “he was a deep thinker, a fine writer, the products of his pen have a good cause to claim love and respect for him as an author. I miss him...He was my counsel and comfort in compiling two books, he was a wise counselor to me for four years...I miss him more than any man I know of” (Author Unknown, 1901b, p.302). Musick died on April 13, 1901 (Author Unknown, 1901a).

Dr. Jones

George Tull stated that Still was attracted to a Dr. Jones, who had “the reputation of being a keen and brilliant thinker, good conversationalist and ready speaker” and so they quickly became acquainted (Tull, ca1924-1938).

Still’s Interests

Whether Still or any of his friends were in an association called A Brotherhood of Independent Thinkers is not known. Still wrote about this brotherhood saying, “knowledge from any source whatsoever, regardless of consequences...to abolish all antiquated theoretical lies and live for truths only” (Still, A.T., n.d.-d).

Still met his friends daily at Henry’s Drug Store, where they “batted the breeze” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.104). Having found these few people who could think, said Still, made a change that has been “beyond all dreams or realities” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.110). But even in Kirksville, Still was pointed out in the street as someone who was “wrong in the upper story” (Still, A.T., n.d.-f, p.36). Still was a Freemason. This aspect of his life is discussed in more detail, later in this chapter.

3.2.2.15 A.T. Still in Kirksville, Adair County, Missouri, 1875 - 1917

In May of 1875, even though Still was financially destitute, he nevertheless sent for his wife and remaining children. His family began to rebuild (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.97-98). A.T. Still became an itinerant country doctor, and advertised via handbills. Many of the local Macon congregation considered Still *a crank* or possessed by Satan, and engaged in an active campaign of rumour-mongering until a Presbyterian minister pronounced in front of his congregation, that he had “complete faith in Dr. Still’s

method of treatment” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.98-101). Dr. J.B. Mitchell is credited with turning the “tide of Public sentiment toward Doctor Still and the real worth of his discovery” (Hildreth, 1921, p.83).

A bout of typhoid fever, lasting from 1876 to September 1877 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.112), left Still weakened and emaciated. At the age of forty-nine, he began to carry his famous cane and became known as the “Old Doctor” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.103,112). During his recovery he took seclusion in the countryside, where he found it more pleasant to study Osteopathy. Here he met some “well-posted persons [not named]...who could talk on all literary subjects” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.368). After recovering, he resumed his practice once more, which was interrupted briefly in 1878-79 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.99, 104-105) when he returned to Kansas, although other reports say that he remained in Kansas from 1878 to 1880 (Violette, 1977, p.248).

A.T. Still successively taught his sons the principles of Osteopathy, first Harry in 1887, then Charles, followed by Herman and Fred (Booth, 1905, p.79).

Between 1880 and 1886, Still visited dozens of communities and smaller towns surrounding Kirksville (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.112). While in Hannibal, he was reported to have treated “Mark Twain” (Warner, M.D., 1961, p.29).

Details of his life and activities between the years 1886 and 1891 are scant in both Still’s autobiography and biographies. He took on two apprentices, however neither of them worked out. Still also had his sons Charles and Harry accompany him on his itinerant trips. Apart from training in Osteopathy, they lacked the basic education, to be of real assistance to him (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.113-114). As his reputation and the demand for his services continued to increase, he finally stopped practicing on the road (Walter, 1992, p.2). As late as 1894 or 1895 (Violette, 1977, p.249) he remained “in Kirksville...to teach and treat and build up an institution” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.112). As his practice continued to grow he became preoccupied with formulating and building both a school for teaching “his new science”, and an infirmary for treating the thousands of patients that were migrating to Kirksville for treatment (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.103, 112, 126, 132).

3.2.2.16 The American School of Osteopathy

A.T. Still founded The American School of Osteopathy in 1892. The reader is referred to *The First School of*

Osteopathic Medicine (Walter, 1992), which provides a comprehensive chronicle of that institution. The A.T. Still Infirmary was completed on January 1, 1895 (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.162).

Among the first graduates of the A.S.O. were Still’s brother Edward, his sons Fred, Charles, Harry and Herman, and his friend, Grant Hildreth - who “was probably closer to Dr. Still than any other man in the profession” (Author Unknown, 1915, p.481). Within a few years, Still’s other brothers, James and Thomas, as well as his daughter Blanche, graduated from the A.S.O. (Walter, 1992, p.30). Later his nephews Guy, Mack and Will Hulett and his son-in-law, George M. Laughlin, also became Osteopaths (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.217). In 1929, two of his grandchildren, Charles Still Jr. and his sister Elizabeth, enrolled (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.270).

The A.S.O. saw many changes, advancements and improvements in its first few years of operation including, physical expansion of the school, expansion of the number and quality of faculty and staff, and expansion and advancement of the curriculum. In 1910 the findings of the famous Flexner Report on American medical institutions, were critical of the A.S.O and were “responsible for many of the changes and improvements in medical education which took place in the following years” (Walter, 1992, p.73).

3.2.2.17 End of the Century

“And come to him they did, by wagon and train, and his lawn was often filled with crowds waiting to see him” (Walter, 1992, p.2).

Believing “that I can teach this science to others, or I should quit it “ (Still, A.T., 1896g, p.3), Still taught into his seventieth year. By the mid 1890s, Still’s sons had moved away to scattered points in the Mid-West (Walter, 1992, p.28). The accidental death of his youngest son, Fred, in June of 1894, devastated Still (Author Unknown, 1894a, p.1).

Still began to publish his journal articles in 1894 and published two of his books, *Autobiography of A.T. Still* in 1897 (Still, A.T., 1897a), and *Philosophy of Osteopathy* in 1899. He chose an isolated farm, seven miles south of Kirksville, in Millard’s Station, (Bunting, 1906, p.103) owned by his friends the Morrisises, for seclusion. The earliest record of visits to this retreat was in 1896 (Hulett, M.F., 1921, p.662), but he may have been visiting prior to that. In 1898 Still’s health began to diminish further.

3.2.2.18 Turn of the Century

By the opening of the 1900-01 session of the A.S.O., Still had taken a reduced teaching role in the school but remained a kind of general overseer and was a frequent visitor to the classroom, where he was “greeted with demonstrations of enthusiasm” (Publisher’s note, 1900, p.121). Sometimes he sat silently, while other times he would completely take over the lecture (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.193-194). According to J. A. Quintal, D.O., by 1907, Still reserved the right to ‘visit’ any and all classes at his own will and he is said to have never left a classroom without imparting valuable instruction (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.390). In 1902 he published his third book, *The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy* and in 1910 he published his last book, *Osteopathy, Research and Practice*.

Andrew Taylor Still had become an extremely popular figure in Kirksville by the beginning of the century, but as his faculty grew more diverse, some of the newer members began to criticize, as well as be embarrassed by Still’s dress, conduct and personal interests, especially his belief in Spiritualism (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.193-194, 197, 218).

During this same period, the health of Still’s wife declined. In April of 1910, Mary Elvira Still lapsed into a coma (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.226) and a month later, on May 28, 1910, Still’s companion of nearly fifty years, died (Violette, 1977, p.245).

3.2.2.19 The Twilight Years.

Following the death of “Mother Still”, A.T. Still’s surviving sons returned to Kirksville (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.230). Charles Sr. and his wife built a grand mansion, which still stands today, to entertain and house all the visitors that came to see their family. In March of 1914, Still helped open an institution for mentally ill patients in Macon, Missouri, the Still-Hildreth Sanitarium (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.236).

In the fall of 1914, A.T. Still suffered a minor stroke that kept him confined briefly. When Still celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday in 1915, approximately fifteen thousand people, eleven hundred of them Osteopaths, attended the parade and barbeque in his honour (Walter, 1992, p.79).

During the winter of 1916-17, Still left his bed only infrequently. In May of 1917, Still was able to attend the unveiling ceremony of a statue in his honour, in Kirksville and his health seemed to improve somewhat

over that summer. The arrival of the cold weather in the fall, however, sent him into decline once again. In early December, Still suffered a major stroke and on December 12, 1917, he passed away peacefully (Hildreth, 1942, p.9; Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.246-247).

3.2.2.20 Freemasonry

Andrew Taylor Still claimed to have been a Mason since 1861, “I have been a mason for forty years” (Still, A.T., 1901b, p.317). With this association, he said, he took a promise to be a good citizen. As a mason he felt that he was able to “grant all sects and individuals the right to choose and live with the religious, political or scientific organization of their own choice” (Still, A.T., 1901b, p.317).

British Osteopath and Freemason, Steve Sandler explained that the word Freemason comes from free and accepted or speculative masons, as opposed to operative masons; modern or speculative freemasons do not work with stone. Instead they use allegory, comparing the work of operative or actual masons, when referring to morality. The tools of an operative mason shape the stone. The allegory using the same tools, shapes a man in life (Steve Sandler, personal communications, March 2, 2002).

A T. Still was a Master Mason in Palmyra Lodge, number 23, which is in Baldwin City Kansas. Osteopath Dale J. Raynesford, who attended the Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine, was taught that Still was evicted by both the church and the Masonic Lodge. Raynesford set out to discover if this was true. According to Raynesford, Still’s membership was suspended on August 10, 1875 for non-payment of dues. It was restored on June 4, 1879 and suspended again on January 20, 1886. Although these records were confirmed by Dr. J.D. Raynesford, D.O., he found no mention of any Masonic trial, “which would have been required for any eviction from his lodge” (Raynesford, n.d.). There was also a lodge in Kirksville, number 105, chartered May 26 1864, (Arnold, 1976); Still’s son-in-law, George Andrew, confirmed in fact that Still was expelled from the Masonic Lodge during a period of time when even the ministers were praying for him “to die” (Laughlin, G.M., 1927, p.279-281).

Still had at least two very good friends, Dr. F.A. Grove, and Charlie Chinn who were active freemasons (*History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties Missouri*, 1977, p.350). Of F.A. Grove,

Still wrote, “he and I were friends to the grave. He helped me much to unfold the truths of this science” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.109). F.A. Grove, was a charter member of Ely Commandery No. 22 and a charter member of Adair Lodge, No. 366 Royal Arch Mason, organized in 1881. (Violette, 1977, p.152). Charley Chinn was also a charter member of Adair Lodge No. 96 (*History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties Missouri*, 1977, p.351).

Upon Still’s death, Judge Higbee, who was the past Grand Master of the Missouri Masons, led the graveside Masonic Service for A.T. Still (Walter, 1992, p.87). As recorded in the local newspaper, “the Masonic Fraternity took charge of the ceremonies following the services at the house. An impressive service was conducted by Edward Higbee, State Grand Master of the F. and A. M.” (Author Unknown, 1918, p.277). Whether this was the same Edward Higbee or not, an E.H. Higbee was listed as a member of the first graduating class of the A.S.O. along with William Smith, Fred Still, Herman Still and Grant Hildreth (Still, A.T., 1894a).

Asked to comment upon the likelihood of having a graveside service conducted by the Masons, British Osteopath Steve Sandler said, “Still would never have been accorded those privileges if he was *drummed out* of a Masonic Lodge. By and large Masons have long memories and anyway if he left over non-payment of dues, he could be reinstated if he paid his arrears. He would have to have annoyed someone off, big time, to be excommunicated as it were.” (Steve Sandler, personal communications, October 6, 2002).

Of interest to this thesis is evidence of Still’s use of freemasonry terminology, that can be found scattered throughout his writing. “To stand solidly you must guard well the construction of your foundation. Level the upper surface, and square all sides and plumb accordingly” (Still, A.T., 1898d, p.4). “Survey the whole human body” (Still, A.T., 1898n, p.54), “an Osteopath must find the true corners as set by the Divine Surveyor” (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.33), and the Osteopath has “a square, a plumb, and a level” (Still, A.T., 1908c, p.433).

Sandler, explained Still’s allegorical use of mason terminology, using this example: When Still said, “act like one who is governed by the square, plumb and level of reason, knowing just why such effects have been produced”, this is an example taken directly from the 1st degree ritual in Freemasonry, which refers to the working tools of an *Entered Apprentice Freemason*, which states, “the operative mason uses the ruler to measure the work, the speculative mason

divides the rule into three equal parts, part to be spent in prayer, part to be spent at labour or refreshment and part to be spent helping a friend or brother in need; this not being detrimental to ourselves or families.” So this is exactly what Still was doing (Steve Sandler, personal communications, March 2, 2002).

3.2.3 Summary - Still’s Life

Andrew Taylor Still’s parents set the example for his early life, possessing both strong moral fibre and tough pioneer spirit. Still drew on that strength to endure the hardships of his many varied labours on the frontier, principally farming and medical service, prior to and during the Civil War. Still’s sense of self-reliance and independence and pioneer stoicism enabled him to later endure public ridicule and censure for his unconventional medical beliefs and practices and the sorrow of losing so many family members and dear friends, in his lifetime.

He was drawn to kind, thinking friends, who could talk on literary subjects and pursue knowledge from any source whatsoever, regardless of consequences. His second wife was described as coming from a world of intellectual excitement that gave origin to many American movements, including Swedenborgianism and Spiritualism, and in her, Still found a like-minded companion and supporter.

Many of his experiences can be seen reflected in his allegorical style of writing, especially military, mechanical and freemasonry exposures.

Still cited April of 1855, as the month he began to “give his reasons for his faith in the laws of life as given by the God of Nature” (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.9). Two decades later on June 22, 1874, his announcement of his discovery (not yet named) went unnoticed. A few years later, he named his new discovery Osteopathy.

Andrew Taylor Still lived his final forty-three years in Kirksville, Missouri, where he opened a school and infirmary, taught Osteopathy, and wrote his articles and books. He died peacefully in 1917, at the age of 89.

3.3 Characteristics, Character and Essence

3.3.1 Introduction

If everyone could but know him; could they but realize and comprehend all that lies beneath his plain exterior and seemingly common ways, so much higher would be their appreciation of him, and so much broader and better their conception of Osteopathy (Hildreth, 1906, p.107).

This section provides a humanized or personalized rendering of this deceased figurehead, Andrew Taylor Still, so that the reader may *keep a living picture* of him in their mind, as his concepts of fascia are unveiled throughout this thesis. His character has been described as being “mirrored in his face and physical make-up” (McConnell, 1915b, p.643), so a portrait of Still is provided here, followed by his character and then his *essence*.

3.3.2 Characteristics

“To analyze a character at best always leaves a certain coldness and flatness. For this reason I am referring to a few personal characteristics” (McConnell, 1918, p.244).

Andrew Taylor Still has been described as a “tall majestic man”, with a “commanding presence” (Sullivan, J.H., 1925, 749). He described himself as being 5’11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ” with dark hair, a dark complexion and dark gray eyes (Bureau of Pensions, Jun 14, 1904).

He was frequently compared to Abraham Lincoln, in both appearance and character (Booth, 1917, p.79), being a “tall angular man, looking about sixty years old, with hair black enough for fifty and eyes that could hardly have been as sharp and searching at forty” (Bunting, 1899, p.436). Of Still’s likeness to Lincoln, Edwin C. Pickler wrote,

Of the great men produced by this country in recent years, two stand out boldly as emancipators and benefactors of the human race. These two, it seems to me, are strongly alike in their physical, mental and moral traits. Both of them are respected and loved by all who know them and their work. One is Abraham Lincoln, and the other is Andrew Taylor Still (Pickler, 1921, p.25).

His [Still’s] tendency is to affirm, exemplified by his stature, benevolent features, piercing eyes, a most wonderfully full forehead, Roman nose, and a not too determined jaw. Associated with his noble soul there is

readily seen and appreciated a spiritualistic insight into the mysteries of life that is vouchsafed few individuals; and with it all there is fun, wit, humor, and poetical flight. One cannot escape the conviction that he is in the presence of an unusually strong, independent and original thinker (McConnell, 1915b, p.643).

As he aged, he was described by Ernest Tucker, D.O., as having “grey whiskers and grey eyes that were flecked with brown under untrimmed eyebrows, that peered through grey glasses” (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.7,12). He had a “bulge on his forehead, like the bud end of a watermelon” and “an unbelievable aquility [sic] of the nose...His moustache helped to - shall I say normalize - his nose, and moustache and beard kept his nose and forehead in harmony” (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.11).

His gait was springy, “rising on his toes”, which Tucker thought indicated an Indian gait, for he could steal into a classroom “as silent as an Indian” (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.33). Interestingly, in 1923, F. P. Millard, D.O., provided a description of the importance of a springy gait to the condition of the fascia.

Never walk on your heels. If you do you will jar the spine and fascia into all sorts of distortions and lesions. When you walk, walk on the balls of your feet and swing forward, instead of jerking yourself ahead (Millard, 1923, p.405).

Ernest Tucker, D.O., described Still in the following manner:

His hands were large, flat and no doubt very powerful. The lobe of his ears hung down quite generously. I suggest that you take note of the ear-lobes of strong leaders of men. His skin was dusky - a matter of age as well as atmosphere no doubt. The wrinkles at the outer corners of his eyes were numerous and humorous (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.12).

He had a husky voice “like a voice from somewhere else, far away; or somebody else... O, he could speak powerfully - huskiness - it had a sort of intimate quality about it - just you and me sort of effect” (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.12).

Early in life he discovered from personal experience that one’s “fortunes did not change”, based on what he wore, so he did “not come out on dress parade any more” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.352). As he aged, he became very careless about his personal appearance (Booth, 1905, p.36). His wardrobe included a rumpled suit, a slouch hat, and corduroy pants tucked into his worn boots (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.98-116).

For Still, “neckties and stiff collars were abominations” (Hulett, M.F., 1921, p.662).

Once settled in Kirksville, A. T. Still could typically be seen sitting on a *goods-box* or lying in a hammock or cot. He frequently whittled, on one of the six or seven foot staffs he carried (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.11-12). He’d go off to small towns with a bundle of bills (advertising pamphlets) and standing on an “old ox-cart or spring wagon”; he’d set up a public demonstration such as “setting hips” (Booth, 1905, p.31-32). He frequently carried a sack full, or hand full, of bones (Booth, 1905, p.59). He can be remembered treating patients on the porch, lawn, against a tree or in a wagon, “wherever a place could be found” (Greenwood, 1894, p.1).

3.3.3 Character

“To fully understand Dr. Still it is almost absolutely necessary to have a personal acquaintance with him” (Booth, 1905, p.24).

Drew, as he was nicknamed (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.4), was an early riser (Bunting, 1906, p.102), working up to sixteen hours “in study, experiment and demonstration” (McConnell, 1918, p.244). Still said, “I do not go to horse races nor to dances or to anything else that yields me no knowledge, no closer acquaintance with the human superstructure” (Still, A.T., n.d.-b, p.6).

Describing himself (in third person) he said, “he hates a hypocrite, a liar, a thief, a drone, a two-faced man or woman and a lazy man. He pays all his debts and is good to the poor, makes money easily and is possibly the best anatomist now living. He knows what he says and says only what he knows” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.173).

He considered himself a pioneer who tried to “blaze the way” (Still, A.T., 1910 - [’92 ed.], p.xxiii) and one who spoke “from practical experience in Nature’s school and from the philosophy of an American, who is neither ashamed nor afraid to say or do what he thinks truthful honesty demands” (Still, A.T., 1910 - [’92 ed.], p.1).

As the “tease of the family” (Adams, 1893, p.281) he enjoyed the exchange of practical jokes (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.198). As one becomes more familiar with his writing and verbal style, his sense of humor emerges as very dry, appreciated mostly by those who knew him best. He had a weakness for sweets, but established moderation in his eating patterns. Although Charles

Still Jr. reported A.T. Still as holding conservative views on vices such as alcohol and billiards, he did chew tobacco (cf., Still, A.T., 1903, p.2; Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.64,81,103). In fact, Still was absolutely intolerant of alcohol and drug consumption.

Each student, before entering our school [the A.S.O.] must show that he is duly sober. We will not countenance alcoholic drinks in any form. ...All future applicants...must give full evidence of at least a good English education, and that they do not use beer, old cider, wine, or alcohol, in any form whatever, or opium or any other drug as a habit (Still, A. T., 1896, p.2-3)

He was described as a philanthropist because he was “one who loves and exerts himself to do good to his fellowman” (Ligon, 1921, p.664). “Money evidently meant nothing to him unless used as a medium for the instruction and happiness of others” (Editorial, 1921, p.338). “His wit, his confidence and kindliness, were some of his very strong characteristics...Gratitude was another fine virtue” (Shibley, ca.1924-1938,).

He was benevolent (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.98-100), community spirited, and deeply patriotic (*General History of Macon County Missouri*, 1910, p.409). Like his father, he held strong anti-slavery views which, when combined with his patriotism, “made it hard for him to concentrate on his personal needs...when the fate of his nation and the anti-slavery cause were at stake” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.39).

His outside interests included astronomy (Still, A.T., 1895h, p.6), mineralogy (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.94) and ornithology (Still, A.T., 1899a, p.67); an interest which was a very important clue in unlocking the derivation of some of his writings. He collected stuffed animals and birds, including an American eagle (Publisher’s note, 1898b, p.87). He also held political and social interests, including Spiritualism (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p. 194-195).

His interest in nature and all things natural began on the frontier where, in some cases, the family’s homesteads were so remote that there were no schools, churches or stores (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.18). The frontier, he wrote, “**is the great book of nature**. It is the fountain-head of knowledge, and natural science is here taught from first principles” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.85). [emphasis added]

True to his pioneer spirit, he hunted wild animals at an early age (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.21-22). Later he would “shoot a deer, dress it, preserve the meat for household use, tan the hide and then make rude shoes, or moccasins, or clothing for his own use or for some other member of the family” (Laughlin, G.M., 1927, p.279).

As a young married man in his early twenties, he used a team of oxen to plow his eighty-acre farm at the rate of four acres a day, only to see his entire crop destroyed by a hailstorm in a single afternoon (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.55-56). Pioneer life was both back and heart breaking, but through those experiences he developed strength of character, as well as an interest in mechanics. He developed labour saving devices such as a reaper for harvesting grain and a churn for making butter (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.91-93).

Fear was an early theme in his life. Fear of the *wrath of God* instilled in him at the Methodist camp meetings, held by his father. Fear of the dreaded *Judgment Day*, a prediction of the end of the world made by the Millerites in the early 1840s (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.23), was an idea that he was later able to chalk up to ignorance (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.228).

As a child, he and his siblings lived in an air of fear, both of a physical nature due to a tornado blowing the roof off their house in 1860 (Clark, 1919, p.59), and also fear of a psychological nature (Adams, 1893, p.34-35), as the Still family was frequently under the threat of being murdered for their father's abolitionist views (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.26-27). In November of 1855, as pro-slavery and free-staters disputes escalated, the Stills were forced to leave their home in the middle of the night, for fear that pro-slavery men were coming to kill men, women and children and burn their houses (Clark, 1919, p.25-26). Still tackled this fear head on by joining the Poker Moonshine Party, to protect the family (Clark, 1919, p.24).

Still's own life was in danger on several occasions, due to his profoundly strong abolitionist views, of which he said;

I cast my lot and vote for freedom. ...I chose the side of freedom. I could not do otherwise, for no man can have delegated to him by statute a just right to any man's liberty, either on account of race or color. With these truths before me I entered all combats for the abolition of slavery at home and abroad, and soon had a host of bitter political enemies, which resulted in many thrilling and curious adventures (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.59-60).

For these views, he was hunted by border ruffians who intended to hang him "because he was a black abolitionist" (Clark, 1919, p.39).

Still felt bitterness towards two circumstances in his life. The first situation was described by his grandson, Charles E. Still, Jr., as a deep resentment and anger towards the U.S. Government, due the rejection of his pension request for injuries sustained during the Civil War. He turned this resentment to his advantage

by becoming more determined than ever to develop Osteopathy (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p. 104-105, 110-117). It was interesting that Still was later to write of fascia metaphorically, in relationship to successfully drawing a pension (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.84).

Another source of deep resentment was the defaming actions of the clergy, including his brother Reverend James Still. In Baldwin, Kansas and Macon, Missouri, his ideas had been "condemned as some form of witchcraft" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.98,176). During a church service in Baldwin, A.T. Still was asked to leave the congregation based on his reputation as a crank (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.45). Soon after in Macon, the local Methodist preacher, who had heard that he was performing miraculous cures, declared from the pulpit that "the new doctor in town must be possessed by some unnatural spirit and could become a dangerous element in the community." The preacher's efforts to "rid Macon of his evil influence" caused the people to cross over to the other side of the street to avoid him (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.93-94).

Although he had initially suffered at the hands of the ministry, it was a local Presbyterian minister in Kirksville who was credited with turning the "tide of Public sentiment toward Doctor Still" (Hildreth, 1921, p.83), by declaring from the pulpit that he had "complete faith in Dr. Still's method of treatment" after Still had successfully treated his "crippled" daughter (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.101).

Throughout all his adventures and hardships Still held a single-minded purpose, which in his own words was "continuity of thought", towards the development of Osteopathy. Still wrote in a red notebook, which has since disappeared, that;

The first principle contained in continuity is a firm determinance [sic?] along the will power, safe-guarded by a close concentrated watch over the slightest deviation, or swinging aside of the pendulum of continuous action (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.225).

3.3.4 *The Essence of A.T. Still*

Many writers have spoken of the greatness of Andrew Taylor Still, but his friend and former student, Ernest Tucker, reminded us that, "greatness is something that the truly great think little about, and care less" (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.95). Rather than recounting the greatness of A.T. Still, his *essence* - his *Still-ness*, is offered instead.

The notion of *essence* arises from the philosophical

writings of both Socrates and St. Thomas Aquinas. For Socrates, essence was a thing's *F-ness* - where *F* stood for the noun and *ness* stood for its corresponding adjective form, such as holiness (holy-*ness*) or temperance (temperate-*ness*). St. Thomas Aquinas later defined essence as that which makes it what it is, its *whatness* or its *F-ness* in Socratic terms. (Scott-Kakures, Castagnetto, Benson, Taschek, & Hurley, 1993, p.19,98).

The *essence* of A.T. Still therefore, goes deeper than either his characteristics or character, requiring a living picture - the Still-*ness* of Andrew Taylor Still - which is best revealed though the accolades of those who were closest to him. Ernest Tucker explained that "those who came in contact with the Old Doctor felt the relationship to be peculiarly intimate" (Tucker, E.E., 1918, p.247). F. W. Link explained that "there are few who have really known A.T. Still; and none has yet taken his true spiritual and intellectual measure" (Link, 1906, p.97).

Andrew Taylor Still's *essence* falls into four distinct, yet overlapping categories, purpose-*ness*, humane-*ness*, cognition-*ness*, and spiritual-*ness*, which the following quotes reveal:

Purpose- *NESS*

He is an example of a man with singleness of purpose and energy that knew no obstacle. He had decided upon his course and having truth for his foundation went steadily forward building upon that foundation as long as he lived (Englehart, 1925, p.3).

Humane- *NESS*

We revere and cherish Dr. Still's memory because of his unselfishness, his unspoiled simplicity, his democratic ideas and his love of truth (Editorial, 1918, p.265).

Always he refused praise and always he shrank from publicity. Like a beneficent fairy that comes in the night, ever he sought to do his good deeds unseen of men (Haight, ca.1924-1938).

And what a man he was - unostentatious, kindly, obliging, generous, whole-souled, sympathetic, public spirited humane (Kirk, 1918, p.336).

Father and friend to us, each and all, it was his great desire that each should be taught, that each should grasp the truth and get the vision (Hazzard, 1918, p.245).

Dr. Still's heart was so big that many times in his career his generosity was extended at the expense of his own comfort (Link, 1906, p.102).

Cognition- *NESS*

Dr. Still was a rare observer of nature. Nothing apparently escaped his notice. ...Everything to him seemed to be literally pulsing with life, of which the inner meaning was sought, analyzed and arranged after a certain order of cause and effect and its relationship to the universe (McConnell, 1918, p.244).

He grasped what the dormant mind could not (Hulett, M.F., 1921, p.661).

That the brain of Dr. A.T. Still was fashioned for the purpose of unfolding, developing, practicing and teaching the science of Osteopathy, I have no doubt (Greenwood, 1894, p.1).

Dr. Still to me, has always been the type, the purest type, of a subjective mind that I ever had the pleasure of knowing...He approaches the truth not by a slow process of reasoning, but by the flash of superior intelligence that seems to discern truth. Then he uses his reason to prove that truth...Dr. Still has always presented himself to me as the direct antithesis of that [an objective mind], a man who had a clear inspiration, and whose inspirations were very seldom wrong...The subjective mind is the mind of real intelligence, it is the mind of intuitive ability, the mind that discerns truth. Such minds had those old seers and prophets, stellar visionaries, who brought down fire from high walled heaven and gave to man immortal truths (Bunting, 1906, p.105).

Spiritu al- *NESS*

Verily his brain was 'in tune with the Infinite' (Haight, ca.1924-1938).

He had the quality and power of perceiving the inner life of the individual. He recognized and addressed himself to what we really were, not to what we offered as ourselves (Tucker, E.E., 1918, p.247).

Nature made Dr. Still and implanted a spark that neighbors and schools and colleges could neither start nor dim...We his neighbors, began to realize that titanic, imperishable, inner power of the man, power long hidden from us because we hadn't eyes to see-creative, constructive, reflective, all-absorbing, far-reaching soul power (Kirk, 1918, p.336).

Mason Pressly, D.O., a graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary, a fellow at the Divinity School at Harvard University, a Doctor of Philosophy and student of the A.S.O., blended all of Still's best qualities together, to present this rendition of Still's *essence* and his deep understanding of not only his subject, Osteopathy, but also for his world. The French call this profound understanding, *prise de conscience* (Philippe

Druelle, personal communications, December, 19, 2002).

He is a man of purpose and plans, and he works persistently to realize them. He is strongly loyal. He stands by his old friends. ...He has ability to do by means of mental prowess and by himself, that which wisdom, government, ages and corporations were unable to do; and he did it, unaided, when decried as a crank, and opposed by organized schools and legislatures...He has a great fluency of feeling. He has a heart of deepest pathos, passion, and power: and yet it is controlled by a will of extraordinary calmness, confidence and courage... (Pressly, 1898, p.225-226)

Dr. Still has unique powers of intuition and spiritual perception. He has such delicacy of sense and soul, that the vibrations of universal truth touch and thrill him as with the reality of a revelation. He reaches conclusion with the tedious processes of arguments: and his conclusions are final, and do not need to be reinforced by collateral authorities. The world of the unseen appears as real to him as the world of the seen: and, so, he has great powers of abstraction and concentration. He has fixed points in all the planes of thought, and he moves easily and naturally from the lowest concrete to the highest abstract. This gives him a bearing of undisturbed self confidence a position of absolutism and independence (Pressly, 1898, p.225-226).

3.3.5 Summary of Still's Character and Essence

Indoctrinated at an early age by the wonders and hardships of pioneer life, and by enduring all hardships and fears associated with holding strong beliefs in a war torn country, A.T. Still forged ahead, drawing strength from those experiences, with a single-minded purpose, a *continuity of thought*, to both discover and develop Osteopathy. His *modus operandi* was through observation, reasoning, intuition, and *beyond*. With no regard for dress or style, Still remained true to himself and stood in people's mind as a Lincoln-esque character with a perpetual reverence for a Supreme Power.

His friends, for the most part, were also his students at some point. They held him in awe while portraying him as having a *prise de conscience*, which enabled him to reach to depths and heights of vast achievements.

His *essence* can be described by a cascade of superlatives, so eloquently stated by Still's contemporaries, and which are so immeasurable, that trying to summarize them is to dilute their intensity.

Andrew Taylor Still's **greatness was his essence**. His *Still-ness* was a combination of intangible qualities

that were not made, but were first bestowed and then expanded. To keep a living picture of A.T. Still is to remember the words of E.H. Pratt, reprinted in *History of Osteopathy and Twentieth-Century Medical Practice* (Booth, 1905, p.15):

So his face, being toward the light, has always shone, not by his own light, but by the reflection of the light he was looking at - God's light.

3.4 What Did A.T. Still Write?

"I want to tell you these truths in words you will not forget" (Still, A.T., 1895e, p.6).

3.4.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and characterizes Still's published and unpublished material. Its purpose is to prepare the background for understanding Still's concepts of fascia. Where possible, this material is organized by date of publication, beginning with his four known books and numerous journal articles, then the unpublished catalogued works which are held at the Still National Osteopathic Museum, followed by Still's alleged lost works which are his unpublished, non-catalogued and unknown papers, notebooks and diaries.

Still's books reveal biographical material along with most of his ideas on fascia, while his published articles reveal more about his nature, character and intellectual influences. From eyewitness accounts relayed to this author, the unknown works principally reveal a core of material, full of notations related to Spiritualism. For this reason, this material was likely either destroyed by his family or lost. Although this material does not seem to contain statements about fascia, or even Osteopathy, it does lend evidence to support the view that at one point, Still held a great interest in Spiritualism. Therefore, this author recommends that Still's Spiritual concepts of fascia necessitate that they also be viewed in light of this little known fact about Still, his interest in Spiritualism.

Still published four books, one of them having a second edition, and wrote numerous articles, primarily for the *Journal of Osteopathy (J.O)*. The Still National Osteopathic Museum houses his unpublished, catalogued, material. No one associated with the production of this thesis knows the whereabouts of at

least three ‘diaries’ and countless loose pages, many of which have not been seen in ten years.

Still was writing as early as 1885, because in 1895 he wrote, “I have just been permitted by Mrs. Annie Morris, who has the manuscripts and pencils cuts of 1885, to review Osteopathy as it appeared ten years ago” (Still, A.T., 1895h, p.6). Interestingly there are no known publications by Still until 1894, when his first article was published in the *J.O.*

Dating Still’s material is difficult for three reasons. In at least one case, the copyright date and release date of one of his books, *The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy*, differ by ten years. Most of his catalogued, unpublished, work is undated and there are numerous instances where Still’s writings are repeated in two publications. As an example, in some cases, articles in *J.O.* later appear in one of his books. In other cases, writings from his books appear in the *J.O.* articles a few years later. Thus, this irregularity or unreliability in dates, prevents this author from presenting a clear chronology of the evolution of his fascial concepts.

3.4.1.1 The Published Works

These books are records of the footprints of his great idea, as it made its [sic, its?] way through his mind and through the minds of others around him. The idea was alive, and growing, and soon outgrew the written records (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.73).

Autobiography of Andrew Taylor Still

The *Autobiography of Dr. A.T. Still*, was his “first effort as an author” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.148). It was first published in 1897 (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.386), advertised in the *J.O.* in December 1897 (Author Unknown, 1897a, p.358), but likely not released until early 1898 because of “many delays and vexatious disappointments” (Musick, 1898, p.465). A copy was presented to each student and graduate of the A.S.O. (Publisher’s Note, 1898, p.554).

Autobiography was described as being “written in the Doctor’s own original vein and embodies many amusing as well as pathetic incidents in his life” (Author Unknown, 1897b, p.358). In it, Still claims to be writing for “future generations” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.148).

A second edition of *Autobiography* was published in 1908. In this volume, Still chose to omit some

information that had appeared in the first edition, that he deemed was “practically of no importance to the general reader” (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.7-8). Although some of the biographical material differed slightly, there was no significant change to any fascial references. In the 1908 edition there are at least twenty examples where he lists a string of tissue names such as arteries, nerves, veins, muscles... and completely omits the word fascia. (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.33, 44, 93, 152, 182, 184, 191, 192, 207, 223, 224, 256, 277, 289, 290, 303, 324, 324, 327, 338). In fact, this author could find no references to fascia, although he did use the term membrane, occasionally (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.207). Despite its name, *Autobiography*, it does provide a great deal of insight into Still’s philosophy and views of the human body.

Although Still’s autobiography was useful as a biographical source for an account of the first three quarters of his life, it offered very little insight into the later phases of his personal life. The first edition was published twenty years before his death and the latter half of the book is filled with reprints of speeches, given during graduation ceremonies or anniversaries of the founding of Osteopathy. Most of these chapters can also be found printed in earlier editions of *J.O.* As the reprints marked special occasions, it appears that Still repeated himself frequently. However, in Still’s style, repetition should not be mistaken for emphasis.

Philosophy of Osteopathy

Still’s second book, *Philosophy of Osteopathy*, was copyrighted on October 5, 1899 (Copyright Office, 1899a). It was written for the “information of the student” (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.14). The book was advertised in November of 1899 (Author Unknown, 1899, p.249) and it most likely went on sale shortly thereafter. As the title conveys, it covered Still’s philosophy of Osteopathy. It contains the famous chapter X, entitled *Fascia*, which was quoted in the introduction to this thesis. Also scattered amongst its two hundred and seventy pages are numerous other highly significant references to fascia. Unlike his autobiography however, where he frequently excluded the term fascia, in *Philosophy* he included the term. So this book then becomes extremely critical for the examination of Still’s concepts of fascia.

Still relied on the help of two friends for the compilation of his first two books (Still, A.T., 1902c, p.179). Mrs. Annie Morris of Millard’s Station, Missouri, was the “kind hearted amanuensis [amanuensis?] of both books” and the contemporary

frontier author, John Musick, of Kirksville provided “counsel and comfort in compiling two books” (Author Unknown, 1901b, p.302).

The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy

The purpose of this lengthy section on *The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy*, is to firmly establish that it was Still’s **third** book, not his first. In Still’s words, *Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy* (herein after abbreviated as *PMP*) was written “for the student of Osteopathy, written to assist him to think before he acts, to reason for and hunt the cause in all cases before he treats” (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.11). This book holds a highly significant position in terms of relevance to this thesis because it revealed a great deal about Still’s influences, including a tremendous amount about his concepts of fascia, and more importantly an idea which he seemed to have developed between 1899 and 1902; the role of the membranes and visceral treatment. Revealed in his writing, is the idea that the fascia and membranes act as a *system*. The nature of this *system* will become apparent as this thesis unfolds.

In the absence of absolute corroboration, this author proposes that *PMP* was the third of Still’s four books, even though a notation within it indicates that it was copyrighted in 1892, which would place it as Still’s first book.

PMP was described as “shrouded in mystery” (Fitzgerald, 1987, p.135) because of the page before the preface, which reads copyright 1892, while its published date reads 1902. This led to speculation that the book was actually written in 1892 and then suppressed by A. T. Still for ten years.

Three accounts discuss the possibility that *PMP* was written in 1892. The first account is from osteopathic physician Jerry Dickey, whose source was Still’s granddaughter, Mary Jane Denslow. According to Dickey,

Still was writing this book about the same time he has was starting his school [1892]... He only gave a few copies out and he immediately pulled it back from sale. Nobody knows why he did it. There were very few circulation copies of *Philosophy and Mechanical Principles*. Much of the work was republished again in 1899 as *Philosophy of Osteopathy* and some of the other ideas found their way into *Research and Practice* (Jerry Dickey, personal communication, April 20, 2002).

A second account conveys that “people speculated

that it was uncompleted and/or that Still delayed its publication because he wasn’t satisfied with it, until the publication date” (John Jones, personal communications, October 22, 2002). Although he didn’t state that the book was written in 1892, a 1986 news release given by Harold Goodman, D.O., emphasized that the book was “copyrighted in 1892... the book never saw the light of day until ten years, later in 1902” (Goodman, 1986). He hypothesized that Still kept his works and his story vague, so as to provide “the enemy” with as “little ammunition to use against him as possible” (Goodman, 1986), and that the glaring exception to this was the publication of *PMP*.

Many more indications, however, point to the likelihood that *PMP* was written close to the time of its release in 1902, which was after both *Autobiography of A. T. Still* and *Philosophy of Osteopathy* were released.

In an article published in September 1901, Still said that he had compiled two books (Author Unknown, 1901b, p.302), which must have been *Autobiography* and *Philosophy of Osteopathy*, as their dates of publication have been established as 1897 and 1899 respectively. The preface written by A.T. Still for *PMP*, was dated January 1, 1902. On page eleven he began a statement with “the twentieth century demands...” (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.11) and later wrote, “we are in the beginning of the twentieth century” (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.228), while in an 1898 article he began with “wonders are daily callers, and seem to be greatly on the increase during the nineteenth century” (Still, A.T., 1898j, p.249). It is doubtful, therefore, that if *PMP* was written in 1892, Still would use the wording *twentieth century*, when in 1898 he used *nineteenth century*. Upon further discussions with John Jones, he pointed out that Still could have “added the comment on the twentieth century in the final edit before publishing” (John, Jones, Personal communications, October 24, 2002). Although Jones proposes a possible scenario, a draft of the first few pages of a book entitled *The Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy* First Edition, (n.d.), shows that by and large, the prefaces are identical, except for the hand written corrections in the draft copy. In both cases, the draft version (EL-46.3) and the book, the date on the preface is January 1, 1902 (Still, A.T., n.d.-1). The draft version was initialed A.T.S. When asked about the authenticity of the initials, Cheryl Gracey, former collections manager and now curator of the Still National Osteopathic Museum, stated “the initials at the end of EL-46.3 [Draft preface to *PMP*] appear to be Still’s writing but I’m not 100% sure (say 90%)-they’re smaller and neater than what we usually see”

(Cheryl Gracey, personal communications, March 4, 2002).

The *Journal of the American Osteopathic Association* received its first copy of *PMP* in February, 1903 (Link, Hazzard & Ashmore, 1903). Henry Bunting, D.O., recounted that while Still was in seclusion at the Morris farm, he formulated the plans for the A.S.O. and his infirmary, wrote his autobiography, compiled his contributions to the *J.O.* and was preparing *Philosophy of Osteopathy* (Bunting 1899). As the A.S.O. was founded in 1892, that meant Still was at the Morris farm prior to 1892, and thus one can speculate that if Still was working on *PMP* in 1892, as the copyright indicated, then Bunting (1899, p.436) would have recorded that as well.

Charles Hazzard, D.O., who knew Still for eight years, wrote an article in 1903, calling *PMP* Still's latest work and his best writing (Hazzard, 1903, p.113-114).

Cheryl Gracey provided a logical explanation for this discrepancy in copyright dates and release dates. She confirmed that at the turn of the century "an author could file a copyright with the *Library of Congress* even before the book was written" (Cheryl Gracey, personal communications, April 25, 2002).

The application for copyright on *PMP* was actually made on December 8, 1902, **not** 1892 (Library of Congress, 1991). Peter Vankevich of the copyright office of the *Library of Congress*, confirmed that under the 1870 copyright law, into which this inquiry fell, in order for a book to be copyrighted, two copies of the book must have been deposited with the *Library of Congress*, within ten days of the book's publication (Peter Vankevich, personal communications, Nov 2002). The Library of Congress received two copies of *PMP* on January 17, 1903 (Library of Congress, 1991), thus making it **Still's third book**.

Many similarities exist between *Philosophy of Osteopathy* and *The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy*, but their differences are noteworthy. In particular, *PMP* includes a twenty page chapter entitled *Biogen*, whereas in *Philosophy of Osteopathy* a derivative of the term Biogen, *biogenic*, appeared only a few times (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.149-152). It is through the chapter on Biogen that links between Still and Elliot Coues can be made. Coues was, at one point, the leader of the Theosophical Society (Cutright & Broadhead, c.1981, p.296).

Of *PMP*, Goodman wrote,

Andrew Taylor Still bared his soul and spoke from the heart in this book. He revealed once and for all the nuts

and bolts of osteopathy in a style that was painfully personal. Here we see the Great Metaphysician, the discoverer of Law of Mind, Motion, and Matter, he who saw too much and realized that the world was not evolved to a point where his unique contribution could as yet be appreciated (Goodman, 1986).

Within the pages of *PMP*, there is evidence that Still was correcting and refining his statements written in *Philosophy of Osteopathy*. For example, when he wrote of the "triune nature of man" in *Philosophy of Osteopathy*, he wrote "all mental conclusions are bad" (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.27), whereas in *PMP*, he changed *bad* to *based*, making the quote read "all mental conclusions are based" (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.17). In the context of the work, his statement in *PMP* is much more coherent than the one in *Philosophy of Osteopathy*.

It has been reported that shortly after Still published *PMP*, he ceased the distribution of the book and tried to recall the copies that had already been sold because Still believed that he had been too explicit and feared that people who were not trained would use the work inappropriately (Fitzgerald, 1987, p.135-136). *PMP* appears to be a combination of two of his books:

- 1) an elaboration of Still's philosophy as it is portrayed in *Philosophy of Osteopathy* with the inclusion of a great deal of his visceral approach and an additional chapter entitled Biogen and,
- 2) a premature precursor of Still's final book, *Osteopathy, Research and Practice*, which takes a regional approach to the body.

Speaking of *PMP*, Goodman said;

What is even more puzzling is that shortly after its appearance Still called an immediate halt to its publication. No more copies were ever to be disseminated. As suddenly as it appeared, the mysterious volume disappeared from public view. In time, so few copies of the work remained that many people even questioned its existence. As the years passed, the rarity of the volume increased by leaps and bounds. Today it is one of the most elusive documents in the history of the profession (Goodman, 1986).

Georgia Walter, librarian of the Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine Museum between 1969-1986, recounted how she was aware of "rumors" that A.T. Still had recalled the book, but she was not able to find proof. As well, when she began working at the library, they did not have a copy, but they did later receive copies donated by alumni (Georgia Walter, personal communications, August 12, 2002).

Thus, *PMP* was virtually absent for eighty years,

until it was redistributed by *Osteopathic Enterprise*, a company founded in 1986 by osteopathic physicians Jerry Dickey and Larry Bader, along with their wives, and Fred A. Coutts, D.O. By taking the copy of *PMP* that was owned by Still's granddaughter, Mary Jane Denslow, they had it photographically reproduced. Even now, said Jerry Dickey, the book is only selling about one hundred copies per year (Jerry Dickey, personal communications, April 20, 2002).

Evidence that this book was not widely available turned up in reviews of Still's work. Shilton Webster-Jones, second principal of the British School of Osteopathy (who trained under J. Martin Littlejohn), reviewed Still's writings in 1954, for the J. Martin Littlejohn Memorial Lecture and did not include *PMP* (Webster-Jones, 1954, p.5-35). Nor did Jocelyn C.P. Proby, in her résumé of Still's books, in her presentation of the same lecture the year before (Proby, 1953, 5-34). Robert Suter, writing on the relationship between A.T. Still and Sir William Osler, omitted *PMP*, yet listed the other three books as Still's "three major works" (Suter, 1988, p.1245). It is interesting, however, that Robert Fulford D.O. was very familiar with *PMP* and wrote that "whenever a problem arises [sic] that I don't feel capable of handling, I turn to Dr. Still's *Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy*" (Fulford, 1996, p.186).

As there is a difference between both the number and the content of Still's references to fascia, between *Philosophy of Osteopathy* and *PMP*, it is proposed that an evolution of thought concerning his fascial concepts can be traced through the turn of the century by comparing these two books. Unlike *Philosophy of Osteopathy*, fascia in *PMP* does not occupy its own chapter, but there is a small section devoted to fascia early in the book. Peppered throughout both books are numerous other references to fascia, some of them quite profound.

What *PMP* lacks in content on fascia, it makes up for in references to *membranes* and treatment of the viscera. Still's concepts of membranes will provide a large basis for the chapter in this work on Still's concepts of fascia.

In addition to the significant section on fascia, *PMP* holds importance to this thesis because it sheds light on some of the very important influences in Still's life, especially when the origin of Still's chapter on *Biogen* is traced.

Osteopathy Research and Practice

Osteopathy Research and Practice, published in 1910, was Still's fourth book. Its style was similar to the popular medical textbooks, Dunglison (1844) and Dorland (1898- [1946]) of the period, as evidenced by the numbered paragraphs and sections of definitions, pathologies, etiologies, prognoses and treatments (Still, A.T., 1910 - ['92 ed.], p.xiii, xxii).

His purpose in writing this book was to "present the truth as nearly as possible and assist and aid the osteopath to reason from the effect he sees to the cause which, in many cases, is unseen" (Still, A.T., 1910 - ['92 ed.], p.6). It has been reported that *Osteopathy, Research and Practice* really wasn't widely read because it was out of print for many years (Dr. John Jones D.O., personal communication, August 7, 2002).

Osteopathy Research and Practice proves significant, due to its relative lack of inclusion of fascial ideas and some focus on the membranes and visceral treatment. Since it was Still's last book, it becomes relevant to the evolution of Still's concepts and the importance that they held to him, over time.

Other Books by Still?

There were several references to other publications in preparation by Still. *Illustrated Practise [sic] of Osteopathy* and variations on that title, appeared in the *J.O.* between 1900 (Author Unknown, 1900, p.121) and 1902 (Author Unknown, 1902b, p.44). Perhaps these represented early references to Still's 1910 publication *Osteopathy Research and Practice*, (Still, A.T., 1910 - ['92 ed.]). *Illustrated Practise of Osteopathy* was actually copyrighted on December 18, 1899 (Copyright Office, 1899b). As early as August 1900, the *J.O.* reported that Still had "in preparation a 'Practice' which will soon appear and will be adopted as the text book of Osteopathic Practice" (Author Unknown, 1900, p.121). And in January 1902, he was said to be compiling his "*Practice of Osteopathy*" (Author Unknown, 1902b, p.44).

Still applied for two copyrights on a book that seems not to exist. *Illustrated Practise of Osteopathy*, December 18, 1899 (Copyright Office, 1899b) and February 9, 1900 (Martin, 1991). Neither copyright application confirmed deposit of the required two copies of the book (Martin, 1991). Of note, Still requested that the illustrations from *A Text-book of Anatomy by American Authors* (Gerrish, 1899) accompany his *Practice of Osteopathy* (Lea Brothers & Co, 1899).

A brief note in the July, 1899 edition of the *J.O.* refers to the notion that indicated that some articles, in particular *The Buzzard* (Still, A.T., 1899a), were taken from the manuscript of *Dr. A.T. Still's system [System?] on Independent Philosophy*. "These articles are published and are taken from the manuscript of *Dr. A.T. Still's system [System?] of Independent Philosophy* - which may be published in the near future" (Still, A.T., 1899a, 67). There appears to be no record of this publication (Martin, 1991).

On October 28, 1897, *The Publishers' Printing Company* of New York wrote to Still's friend John Musick, "we received the manuscript, cuts and check for the new book of Dr. A.T. Still. We will put it in hand, at once, and give you proofs, as soon as possible" (The Publishers' Printing Company, 1897). Debra Loguda-Summers, Curatorial Assistant, Still National Osteopathic Museum and the National Center for Osteopathic History, was able to confirm that all the books by Still that are in the Museum in Kirksville, were either "self published or printed by the Journal Printing Co." (Debra Loguda-Summers, personal communications, March 4, 2003).

On August 30, 1897, Still applied for a Copyright for *Obstetrics* (Copyright Office, 1897) and *Osteopathy, A text book devoted to the principles and practice of Osteopathy as applied to the treatment of disease* (Copyright Office, 1987). Although Lawrence W. Onsager requested a search for confirmation of Still's copyrights, that search began in 1898, precluding applications made in 1897 (Martin, 1991).

Following the death of his friend, John Musick (April 13, 1901) Still said, "I am ready for him [Musick] to compile another book, *A.T. Still's Complete Work of Osteopathy*" (Author Unknown, 1901b, p.302), but no record of this book could be found.

3.4.1.2 Journal of Osteopathy

The *Journal of Osteopathy* (*J.O.*) was first published by the A.S.O. in May of 1894 (Walter, 1992, p.11). A.T. Still published over two hundred articles in the *J.O.* Some of the early articles were reprints of Still's addresses, articles of incorporation and successes of early graduates (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.189). Very few contributions by him appeared in the last ten years of his life. The last significant contribution was a reprint of a speech, given before the Missouri State and Mississippi Valley Osteopathic Association, on his *Philosophy of Immortality* (Still, A.T., 1912, p.348).

The *J.O.* was quite inaccessible up until 1991,

when R.V. Schnucker, D.O. reproduced the majority of Still's articles in a collected works entitled *Early Osteopathy in the Words of A. T. Still* (Schnucker, 1991). Prior to 1991, only two American colleges, Michigan State University and Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine, possessed all the early volumes of the *J.O.*, containing A.T. Still's writings.

There are many unique ideas expressed throughout the pages of the *J.O.*, which do not appear elsewhere in his writing.

3.4.1.3 Unpublished Manuscripts

The Still National Osteopathic Museum houses Still's unpublished catalogued material, that includes;

Still's original writings (essays, speeches, letters, both handwritten and typed); letters to Still; obituaries, condolence letters, and other materials relating to Still's death in 1917; and miscellaneous documents relating to Still. Most of the material is original; the collection also includes some reference copies of materials held elsewhere. Still's authorship of a few of the documents is in question; these are noted in the box and folder listings (Gracey, Draft - July, 2002).

The bulk of the material was donated in 1990 to the National Center for Osteopathic History (NCOH) by Elizabeth Laughlin, the widow of A.T. Still's grandson George Andrew Laughlin (Gracey, Draft - July, 2002).

3.4.1.4 The Missing Material

Some of Still's writings will likely never be seen again and any account from people who have seen these works must be couched in caution, because "a trustworthy source can still be inaccurate due to the effects of time on memory, or to the skewing of attention distorting the perception even when being an eyewitness" (John Jones, III, D.O., personal communications, October 2, 2002)

With this caution in mind, an account of Still's lost material is provided here through the recounting of statements derived from interviews and additional personal communications with Jerry Dickey, D.O., John Jones, III, D.O., Harold Magoun, Jr., D.O., Ed Stiles, D.O., and from a book by A.T. Still's grandson, Charles E. Still, Jr., D.O., entitled *Frontier Doctor, Medical Pioneer*. This accounting is of the utmost importance, for it reveals that the current picture,

or understanding of Still is only partially complete, some of the remainder being purportedly censored or destroyed by his remaining family members in the years following his death. As Still wrote that both the soul and the spirit of man resided in the fascia (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.163-165), it becomes important to also discuss his fascial concepts, in relationship to his interest in Spiritualism.

According to Cheryl Gracey, Curator of the Still National Museum of Osteopathic History, "the only notebook of Still's that we have is a small (2 1/8 x 5 1/2) memo book with a red leather cover and about 30 graph-paper (as opposed to lined) pages. It was used upside down (i.e., the back cover acts as the front), and only the inside cover and a few pages are actually written on" (Cheryl Gracey, personal communications, October 11, 2002).

In order to complete this account, three of Still's grandchildren must first be identified: Still's youngest daughter, Blanche Still (Laughlin), D.O., (1876-1959), was the wife of George Laughlin, D.O., (1873-1948). They had two children, Mary Jane Denslow, (1914-1991), wife of osteopathic researcher Sted Denslow (1906-1982), and George Andrew Laughlin, D.O., (1918-1981), husband of Elizabeth Peterson (Laughlin), who later donated much of the material housed at the Still National Osteopathic Museum in Kirksville, in the Andrew Taylor Still Collection. A third grandchild, Charles E. Still, Jr., D.O., (1907-1955), (referred to herein after as Charlie), was the son of Charles Edward Still, A.T. Still's oldest son. Charlie was married to Dorris Still.

According to a pamphlet entitled, *A.T. Still Manuscript Collection* (Author Unknown, n.d.), George and Blanche Laughlin became the first keepers of the *Still Manuscripts*, following Still's death in 1917. In 1925, a fire in the Laughlin's home almost destroyed all of Dr. Still's relics (Hulett, R.G., 1925, p.593). Some of Still's material, however, had been transferred to and remains in the *Osteopathy Collection 1887-1941* at the Smithsonian Institute (Smithsonian Institution Research Information System Archives). Following Blanche's death, the heirlooms passed to their son George Andrew, who later died in 1981. George Andrew's widow, Elizabeth, retained the boxes of manuscripts. "Though several manuscripts had been given to the A.T. Still Memorial Library prior, the major donation of over two thousand pages occurred in the spring 1990" (Author Unknown, n.d.).

According to Osteopath Jerry Dickey (personal communications, April 20, 2002), whose source was A.T. Still's granddaughter Mary Jane Denslow, all of

Still's remaining material was reviewed by the family sometime between 1959 and 1981, while George Andrew Laughlin was still alive.

While living in Kirksville, Jerry Dickey and Mary Jane Denslow were neighbors and friends. Towards the end of her life, she recounted to Dr. Dickey how, in about 1970 or maybe as early as 1963 "all of his [A.T. Still's] writings were meticulously gone through" by the surviving grandchildren. The family had a meeting and the outcome was that;

The majority of the family voted to purge this information...anything with Spiritualist leanings was taken out. To the family this material was incendiary and it was definitely going to muddy the water. And it was going to ruin his [A.T. Still's] reputation and thereby ruin their [the surviving grandchildren's] reputations...The majority of the family decided that they had finally reached a position of relative respectability and they did not want to compromise that.

And so they [the grandchildren] just decided that there was the whole body of knowledge or aspect of A.T. Still that they were not going to let the public know about. (Jerry Dickey, personal communications, April 20 and May 1, 2002)

Dr. Dickey recounted that Mary Jane told him that;

There was a suitcase full of material that was nothing but Spiritualist and that was all gleaned by the family...and Charlie was put in charge of it. Charlie kept it in an old musty suitcase, he had a suitcase full of this stuff in his possession (Jerry Dickey, personal communications, April 20, 2002).

Mary Jane, however, "was in the minority of the cousins [grandchildren], she did not want in any way to expurgate the works. ... This was one aspect of him", she said, "We can't decide what we let the people see and what we don't let them see. We don't have that right" (Jerry Dickey, personal communications, April 20, 2002).

Dr. Dickey described how he was able to see the material: "Charlie only showed the contents of the suitcase to me because his cousin, Mary Jane Denslow, who he respected, ordered him to...When Charlie permitted my wife Kathy and I to peruse the suitcase, "he [Charlie] was just as nervous as he could be ...and I don't think that he would have shown them to anybody. He didn't want to share them with me" (Jerry Dickey, personal communications, April 20, 2002).

And my wife and I sat down in their [Charlie and his wife Dorris'] apartment in Scottsdale, Arizona

and with them very nervously watching us, had probably an hour or so to peruse this material. I doubt very seriously if anyone else ever saw this diary [Still's diary in the suitcase] (Jerry Dickey, personal communications, April 20, 2002).

Of the contents of the suitcase, Dr. Dickey said;

It wasn't just a diary, it was a whole suitcase, a whole suitcase full of just loose sheets of paper... A lot of it didn't make any sense at all because they were isolated thoughts on individual pieces of paper... My attention was drawn specifically to a little pocket notebook. It was brown, pocket size, hardback and had lined paper in it. It was hardbound and was obviously in Still's handwriting because I've seen so much of it in his pencil. He always had the little stubby of a pencil. I seized on this little book. Now I spent my time going through this little book and I finally figured out it was a series of answers to specific questions, but the questions were not in the book. So the information is useless without the questions. But it does, no doubt, show he was a Spiritualist because he even identifies his medium and feel free to quote me (Jerry, Dickey, personal communications, April 20, 2002).

Within this book, Dickey said Still "had identified his *medium* as 'Matah of the Orient - answers your questions'. ...We [Dr. Dickey and his wife Kathy] tried writing it [the name of his medium] as one word and it didn't look right. But the 'h' [in Matah] was what didn't make sense. So when he talks about an Indian woman, make sure it [the woman's origin] was identified as the sub-continent [as opposed to a North American Indian]" (Jerry, Dickey, personal communications, April 20, 2002).

This author questioned Dr. Dickey as to whether the material was work related to Osteopathy, or personal. Dr Dickey replied by saying, "I can't tell you because all they were, were answers. In some cases it was something as mundane as *longitudes and latitudes*. It would be one or two sentences, totally out of context, obviously an answer but without the question" (Jerry Dickey, personal communications, May 1, 2002).

Interviews with Ed Stiles, provided additional insight into the Still family's handling of the incendiary material. Ed Stiles began the interview by offering this statement: "You know that there's some people that say Still was a Spiritist [equivalent meaning to spiritualist (Blackmore, 1924, p.54-55)], I think there could be a case made for that" (Ed Stiles, personal communications, August 7, 2001). Stiles however wanted it noted that his research partner at Pikeville College of Osteopathic Medicine, Robert Davis, found no evidence in Still's writing that he was

a Spiritualist (Ed Stiles, personal communications, March 21, 2003).

Stiles recounted how he'd [Stiles would] "go back and visit him [George Andrew Laughlin] a couple times a year and after dinner he'd take me in the living room. He'd unlock it [a glass bookcase from A.T. Still's home] and give me this book [Still's book] to read. And he'd say read this and I'd read awhile and all of a sudden he'd come to get it and lock it up. Every time I was there" (Ed Stiles, personal communications, August 7, 2001). Carol Trowbridge who has visited the Laughlin's home, remembered the bookcase, but not any of its contents, particularly about any books by Still (Carol Trowbridge, personal communications, August 21, 2002).

Although John Jones, III, D.O., and Charles Still, Jr., D.O., were friends, Dr. Jones found out from other sources that Charlie, Jr., had a *diary* belonging to A.T. Still. When Dr. Jones inquired about the diary, Charlie explained that "...it really isn't a diary... people referred to it as the diary but it's not really a diary, it's a date book for a particular year" (John Jones, personal communications, August 7, 2002).

When Dr. Jones asked to see 'the diary' he was told by Charlie that "...there were some things in there that Still's grandchildren thought would make even people in the profession, but certainly outside the profession, look on Still as more of a kook or more of a person who had some bizarre ideas and so that, rather than besmirch his reputation which they thought had enough controversy surrounding him, they thought what they would do was destroy the diary" (John Jones, personal communications, August 7, 2002).

Dr. Jones was permitted, however, to view 'the diary' for about ten minutes. Dr. Jones described it somewhat differently than the one Dr. Dickey described.

The pages were somewhat yellowed but not much. And the outside cover of the diary may have started as white but you know it was somewhat discolored by age and dirt to a sort of beige color. I don't recall the exact size. The size may have been about 8" tall and 5" wide. It looked a little bit like the little pocket date books that people get at the first of the year, I'm talking about the type that you get as a complimentary one. It was a little wider than that. Not something that looked like an official diary. But it was a little wider than the normal size for today's complimentary date book. The pages were definitely wider, I remember that...The other thing about it was that the hand writing was basically in pencil (John Jones, personal communications, August 7, 2002).

When this author queried Dr. Jones regarding whether Charlie had alerted him to the notation of “Matah of the Orient”, Dr. Jones replied with, “Charlie had in fact showed me that section but as far as I know the impression I got was that he said there was a local [native] Indian medium” (John Jones, personal communications, August 7, 2002). When questioned again Dr. Jones said that he remembered looking at “some of the stuff about the Indian medium. The one section Charlie pointed out to me as being specifically from the spiritualist aspect was with the poorest handwriting, and what I thought he was saying was that it was by an Indian woman. I thought it was a woman by the name he used, although he just said that it was an Indian medium” (John Jones, personal communications, August 7, 2002).

Dr. Jones tried to convince Charlie to save the diary, by putting a time lock on ‘the diary,’ saying, “what you could do is have it sealed up in an envelope and be opened up in twenty five or fifty years.” Charlie, after some deliberation, rejected that idea (John Jones, personal communications, August 7, 2002). Two weeks before Charlie Jr. died, Dr. Jones visited him. Although Dr. Jones had “decided I was not in the least going to push him”, Charlie revealed that he had considered Dr. Jones’ suggestions, but “the fact was that he and his cousins had made this pact and he felt it was still valid and he was going to honor that” (John Jones, personal communications, August 7, 2002).

Georgia Walter explained to this author that she knew Charlie Still had some of A.T. Still’s papers, but was not aware of a suitcase with ‘secret papers.’ She recounted how, following the completion of Charlie’s book, *Frontier Doctor, Medical Pioneer*, Charlie’s home in Arizona caught fire “and all the papers were destroyed along with pictures and most everything else he owned” (Georgia Walter, personal communications, August 12, 2002). However, Dr. Jones recalled, “yes, I knew about the fire...the so-called diary was untouched by the fire, because I saw it afterward, in a house Charlie and Dorris were renting” (John Jones, personal communications, August 20, 2002).

Carol Trowbridge, who also knew Charlie quite well, was asked by this author if she knew about the A.T. Still diary/papers that Charlie reportedly kept. Her reply was, “I know this sounds strange, but I really never asked Charlie for any information and he never offered any. I know nothing about the box of material” (Carol Trowbridge, personal communications, August 21, 2002).

Of the whereabouts of the diary today, Dr. Jones concludes,

... honestly I think the most likely thing in the world is that he just dropped it in the trash can one day and nobody else knew that it had any significance (John Jones, personal communications, August 7, 2002).

I spoke with his wife and sons after his death, and neither of them knew of the diary, and said if they found it they’d contact me. So I think he simply placed it in the trash. He had said he’d destroy it, as he and his cousins had agreed. I visited his family months later, and they’d found nothing (John Jones, personal communications, September 17, 2002).

Charles E. Still, Jr.’s book (Still, C.E., Jr.) provides the only remaining sample of Still’s non-catalogued and unpublished notations. Charlie neither refutes nor confirms the expurgation and disposal of Still’s spiritualistic writings and other notations, but he does offer some additional insights into Still’s interests and provides some examples of Still’s unseen writing.

Charlie kept “a metal box in which Dad [Charles Still, Sr.] had placed letters along with Charles Still Sr.’s writings. They had been stored away for sixty years” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.xiv).

Besides his father’s notes, Charlie revealed that at one point he was also working from Dr. Still’s notes (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.222). From those notes, Charlie wrote;

During the first few weeks of trying to meditate, his [A.T. Still’s] notes indicated that he again tried some of the techniques he had attempted ten years earlier when he had delved into spiritualism...At that time he [A.T. Still] had tried to contact the spirit of an Indian woman named Matah and directed some philosophical questions to her (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.222-223).

Charlie also described a red, pocket-sized book/diary that A.T. Still carried, to record his “philosophical observations” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.223). The notebook was actually a pre-printed book, so that A.T. Still had to make all of his notations in the space available in the margins. Charlie said, “his [A.T. Still’s] system of abbreviation and his consistently bad spelling made it difficult for a reader to be absolutely certain of his meaning” (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.223). When contacted by this author, Charlie’s developmental editor, Ken Bacher, was able to describe his relationship with Charlie, which included several visits to Charlie’s apartment. He can confirm being shown a red covered notebook with writing in

the margins, in terrible handwriting. When asked, he said he did not remember Charlie having a suitcase of papers (Ken Bacher, personal communication, October 4, 2002).

It is difficult for this author to imagine how Charlie was able to reprint some of A.T. Still's poetry, solely from the margins of a printed notebook, but replicas of A.T. Still's poetry do appear in Charlie's book, as do two of his recurrent "themes of philosophical observations", *Concentration* and *Continuity of Thought* (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.224-225).

Charlie showed A.T. Still's notations to a librarian, a Miss Per Brown of the Denver area, who solicited the help of "three osteopathic relatives and a psychologist" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.226). Together, they tried to accurately interpret the writings in the red notebook. A partial synopsis of their interpretation can be found in Charlie's book. Basically, they concluded that the handwriting was difficult to read; there were lots of errors and transpositions of words, some of which were later corrected. "Probably the one thing that will always make his meaning unclear was the lack of proper syntax, which could change the total meaning of the statement" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.226).

During the course of this research, it was discovered that Harold Magoun, Jr., D.O., was one of the "three osteopathic relatives" (two were unnamed), who were described in Charles E. Still, Jr.'s book (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.226). When Dr. Magoun was asked if he was one of the relatives, spoken about in Charles E. Still's book, Dr. Magoun confirmed that he was (Harold Magoun, Jr., personal communications, October 12, 2002). Dr. Magoun Jr., was permitted to see some of Still's private writing, sometime in the late 1970s. The writings, as confirmed by Dr. Magoun, were definitely of a spiritualistic nature (Harold Magoun, Jr., personal communications, October 12 and November 1, 2002). Of the other two *relatives*, Miss. Per Brown is extremely ill and will, no doubt, never be able to shed any additional light on the contents. The third person was a patient of Dr. Magoun's who was practicing spiritualism at the time and who has since passed away.

Details of the contents of the diary will be explored in the section on Spiritualism. Dr. Magoun confirmed that the diary described in Dr. Charles Still's book, is not the one he saw. Instead, Dr. Magoun described a diary that was "dull colored, and had no printing of any kind. It was about 5"x6" and about ½" thick, so it must have been 50-60 pages" (Harold Magoun, Jr. D.O., personal communications, November 1, 2002).

Shortly after Charlie's death in 1995, his widow,

Dorris made a donation of Charlie's material to the Still National Osteopathic Museum. The inventory list of catalogued material filled nine pages, but nowhere does there appear a description of the loose pages described by Dr. Dickey, nor the 'diaries' described by Dr. Jones and Dr. Magoun. Only one folder may have contained some of those items referred to by these two Osteopaths (Collection, n.d.).

3.4.1.5 Summary

In order to have drawn conclusions regarding A.T. Still's philosophy, both personal and osteopathic, it is proposed that a 20th century Osteopath or historian would benefit from having access to all of his writings. It has been shown that until ten or fifteen years ago, most of Still's early journal articles and one of his books were virtually inaccessible for a variety of reasons. Still published four books, of which, *The Philosophy and Mechanical Principles of Osteopathy* was the third. It was quite difficult to find until 1986, when it was redistributed. It contained a strange chapter entitled Biogen, as well as many evolved notations about fascia and, more importantly, about membranes.

Equally difficult to find, were the early editions of Still's journal articles, which weren't reproduced until 1991. There are also at least three notebook/diaries and scattered papers of A.T. Still's, which no one has seen for more than ten years. Some of these papers likely had notations that would link A.T. Still to Spiritualism, a trait that the majority of A.T. Still's remaining family felt may have been a threat to his and their reputations. His possible link to Spiritualism may become a vital key to unlocking his ideas on fascia, as he stated that both the soul and the spirit resided in the fascia of man.

3.4.2 Still's Style

"The style may appear harsh and crude; if so, I will offer only this as an apology; it is spoken after my manner and custom of speech" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.179) and "without regard to the rules of fine writing" (Still, A.T., 1908a, p.5).

3.4.2.1 Verbal Style

Although there are no known recordings of Andrew Taylor Still's voice and no known living Osteopath or family member, that remembers him, Still's verbal style is important to note because his biographer, Booth (1905), his friends and his students, are the living record of much of what A.T. Still said. For instance, W.J. Conner, D.O., said of Dr. Still, "day after day he talked to us, but much that he said usually went so high over my head, I only heard sound" (Conner, 1925, p.275). Conner knew Still since 1874 and published a book entitled *The Mechanics of Labor Taught by Andrew Taylor Still* (Conner, 1928). This publication was used as a handout as recently as 2002, in a course taught at the Canadian College of Osteopathy (Canadian College of Osteopathy, 2002).

Many of Still's addresses and speeches have been reprinted in both his *Autobiography* and the *Journal of Osteopathy*. In the words of a contemporary of Still's, his presentations "bristle with keen, incisive and unanswerable arguments...he held his audience spellbound" (Author Unknown, 1894b, p.2).

Andrew Taylor Still was difficult to understand. In his earliest biography, E. R. Booth found that Still's verbal style revealed how;

...the crowding in upon his mind of such thoughts... often give to his lectures, and even his conversation, an air of mysticism - of the supernatural. His ideas generally outrun his expression of them. His deepest thoughts often come to his mind with such rapidity and are uttered in such quick succession that the hearer may become dazed in attempting to follow him, and perhaps wonder whether there was a coherent principle underlying his expressions (Booth, 1905, p.24).

At first glance, Still's oratorical style is reminiscent of Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887), who was an American theologian who received national fame for his sermons, emotional style, and unorthodox theology. Still knew of Beecher and other contemporary theologians, but had no use for their exorbitant salaries (Still, A.T., 1895i, p.1). Still's first exposure to an evangelical presentation would have been through his father, at the Methodist camp meetings in the 1830s. Frontier preachers like Still's father, used the vernacular of frontiersmen to win the respect of the audience. Circuit-riders used an unsophisticated speech and met the settler on his own level (Johnson, 1955, p.148). They spoke in metaphors and similes that would readily "penetrate their tangled hair and find lodgment in their intellects" (Johnson, 1955, p.148).

Because many of Still's speeches were reprinted as chapters in his books or as articles in various journals (primarily the *J.O.*), it should be remembered that he was difficult to comprehend, even for those who knew him.

3.4.2.2 Written Style

His [Still's] real effort with us was not to teach the details of the science - they would come of themselves in time - but to carry us to the source, the springs, to make us appreciate that point of view, to give us understanding for that sort of osteopathy (Tucker, E.E., 1918, p.247).

One of the more significant observations made from the review of Still's writings is that caution is needed, particularly in the interpretation of his ideas, from the many and often obscure allegorical representations that occur throughout his works. Even Still's earliest biographer was baffled (Booth, 1905, p.24). A century later the difficulty mounts, as expressions such as "I go off as blank and empty as the fish lakes on the moon" (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.99) hold little meaning for the contemporary reader.

Tucker reminded his readers that;

If these books are read on the background of modern scientific knowledge, they are painful reading; let us face the fact....His language is quite unique; a bit quaint; with overtones of the Scriptures; a bit laborious at times. Often it is difficult not to be amused to the point to quite missing the intensity of the inquiry, the wistful courage of it. But if we will let ourselves respond to his feelings, we will realize an absoluteness of courage, (easy enough in a fool but more and more difficult in proportion to intelligence); we will realize the intellectual honesty also just about absolute, certainly so in intent; and how deeply he had sunk himself in his problem" (Tucker, E.E., 1952, p.69-71)..

He [Still] was a complex man, and many of his writings are difficult to understand. They were written in the idiom of his day and contained many allegories. Unfortunately, latter-day historians have used the allegories as fact and have missed their purpose (Northup, G.W., 1966, p.18).

Confounding the situation, Still cited very few sources, preferring instead to quote only from "God and experience" (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.9) and the "dictates of nature" (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.11-12).

Still's style of writing is uniquely his own. As with

his speeches, they are peppered with metaphor and allegory. Of paramount importance to a researcher, is to painstakingly pan his allegorical statements for the gold nugget and not be fooled by all that glitters.

Still's grandson, Charles Still (Jr.), found that "Andrew's style of writing and his rather constant use of allegorical references made it difficult for some readers to be certain of his meaning" (Still, C.E., Jr., 1991, p.200). Still confounded his writing by explaining his choice, using allegory with another allegorical statement, such as "this allegoric illustration has been given in order to accustom your mind to feast and learn something of the forms of the organs of life in the human body" (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.154).

"Still sometimes taught in parables, - some men never caught his meaning - the thinkers that heard and witnessed could never forget" (Editorial, 1925, p.227). Dr. Charles Hazzard said, "at first I was always puzzled to know what the Old Doctor was talking about when I heard him lecturing. His highly allegorical method of speech was very hard for me. But I soon learned to follow him" (Hazzard, 1918, p.245). Dr. Nora Pherigo-Baird recounted that only twenty-five percent of the class could understand him:

I could not comprehend him for some time. It seemed it was because he was such a superior being with so many characteristics, yet so simple and unaffected that it was only on close acquaintance he could be understood (Pherigo-Baird, c1924-1938).

Tucker described Still as not putting his thoughts into words, "that was not his *métier* - but his words circled around it like a rim around a hub; as though around some hidden center or source" (Tucker, E.E., 1952).

The reason Still portrayed his ideas in his inimitable style of analogies, metaphor, allegory and parable, was clarified by Dr. Clarence V. Kerr. He was told by Still, that the reason that he "always used extraordinary comparisons in illustrating his subjects" was because he felt "his hearers would pay greater attention to his remarks and get the real points he wanted to make, far better than if he indulged in a mere prosy recitation of dry facts" (Kerr, C.V., D.O., 1906, p.101).

From another perspective, Robert Davis, professor of philosophy and religious studies at Pikeville College of Osteopathic Medicine, has broken Still's writing style into three aspects, or forms, of language; Newtonian, Industrial Revolutionary and Evangelical. Together, they summarize "what it was that Still was trying to do and why he wrote the way he did" (Robert Davis, personal communications, August 8, 2001).

The first language was the Newtonian, the old Newtonian quantification universe, quantified universe of laws which Still seemed to believe. In the Newtonian system everything runs like clockwork. Not just the universe but everything else too. Now secondly, the one thing that was happening in this area of the country, coming out of Chicago, was the industrial revolution. You'll notice how many mechanical metaphors he likes to use. The third one, was indeed his Methodist background, his father was a Methodist minister, and whatever the depth of his faith was, I can tell you the definition of his faith is thoroughly evangelical (Robert Davis, personal communications, August 8, 2001).

This author would add to Davis' analysis, that Still also used terminology associated with the fraternal society of Freemasonry, such as "level the upper surface, and square all sides and plumb accordingly" (Still, A.T., 1898d, p.4). More germane to this thesis are his military analogies to fascia in the famous Chapter X, such as:

"It [fascia] is the fort which the enemy of life takes by conquest through disease and winds up the combat and places thereon the black flag of 'no quarters' " (Still, A.T., 1899g, p.163-164).

Still relied on Webster's Dictionary (Still, A.T., 1900c, p.210), and championed Webster's demand for an American Language. "Pioneer families on the frontiers taught their children to read from it; in the schools it was a basic textbook" (*Encyclopedia.com*, 2002). Webster's biographer, K. Alan Synder writing in *Defining Noah Webster A Spiritual Biography*, described how "Webster achieved astounding success in influencing early-American intellectual and moral thought" (Synder, 2002). "Webster believed fervently in the developing cultural autonomy of the United States, a primary element of which meant to him, having a distinctive American language with its own idiom and pronunciation" (*Noah Webster and America's First Dictionary*, 2002). Still can be seen reflecting Webster's sentiments with such statements as; "I shall talk in plain English" (Still, A.T., 1910 - [92 ed.], p.24) and "cut out your Greek and Latin. 'Talk United States' " (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.211).

One example of why Still's meaning is difficult to extract, is provided in this statement - "I have dissected and witnessed the work of the very best anatomists in the world" (Still, A.T., 1902e, p.58). This statement may lead the reader to believe that Still had the opportunity to witness the work of the very best anatomists in the world. This conclusion is questionable because Still admitted to spending all of his life, with a few exceptions, in the mid-west (Still,

A.T., 1897a, p.128). With the exception of his friend, William Smith, the professor of Anatomy at the A.S.O. in its early years, most of the best anatomists resided in Paris, France or London, England and certainly those in America were at the major medical colleges of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Cincinnati.

Professor Michelle Gadpaille, associate professor of English and American studies, was asked to analyze this statement in light of knowing that Still seldom left the mid-west. She said that statement was an exaggeration, but suggested that it also may be just a strange figure of speech “where two verbs modify the same object, but one meaning is metaphorical and the other literal. In this case let’s say he saw what he considered world-class anatomy during the war (witnessed), and then read about the work of the real world-class anatomists from London and Paris in books or papers (‘dissected’ taken metaphorically--bad pun)” (Michelle Gadpaille, personal communications, May 7, 2002).

When one has really scoured all of Still’s writing, no analysis of Still’s statements is necessary. In this case, Still’s highest regard for William Smith can be found in Still’s first edition of his autobiography (but not in his second). Still wrote that “he [Dr. Smith] has satisfied me that he is the best living anatomist on earth, his head and scalpel prove that he is as good as the best of any medical college of Europe or America...Dr. Smith is today the wisest living anatomist on the globe” (Still, A.T., 1897a, p.154).

The following example of Still’s writing illustrates the pitfalls that are associated with an incomplete familiarity with his entire body of work. Notice how, to the modern reader, the following statement seems to support abortion.

To produce the death of either child, you must disgorge the womb before motion develops [sic] the child to maturity; if not it may be a deadly enemy to life and motion. All of which you diplomates [sic] of Osteopathy know full well how to do and give Nature the ascendancy [sic] (Still, A.T., 1896e, p.1).

If one read from Still’s unpublished work in the ATS Collection, there are two solid statements illustrating his anti-abortion views. He wrote “**abortion is a system of preventing mature births of children and is equal to murder**” (Still, A.T., n.d.-a, n.d.-o). [emphasis added]

The late Herbert Yates, D.O., of the Kirksville College of Osteopathic medicine, who said that he has read “every word that I can find that he [Still]

wrote” (personal communications, date withheld), was asked to comment on Still’s first statement:

To me, this appears to be classic Victorian allegory, using the womb as the beginning or starting point... This is ‘abortion’ in the same sense that treatments abort migraines or other diseases that early intervention prevents the development of full blown disease and its symptoms (Herbert Yates, personal communications, May 8, 2002).

3.4.2.3 Summary

By the law of knowledge and intuition all persons do succeed. Thus we should not be satisfied to know that we are right, but feel so, and act with energy to suit, and our successes will grow with time (Still, A.T., 1898i, p.267).

This section showed that by critically reviewing as much of Still’s writing as is available, additional understanding and insight into his philosophy and influences can be gained. This familiarity with his writings facilitates the interpretation of his sometimes unique lexicon and modes of expression.

Still’s style of speaking and writing were uniquely his own. They encompassed an eclectic collection of worldly thoughts and backyard ideas. In order to reach his audience, Still’s use of allegory and metaphor can be seen as archaic, even for his audience of a century ago.

The task for the researcher is to tease out the allegorical meanings from his writing. This skill comes from a careful examination of both the writings of A.T. Still, the renditions of those who knew him and familiarity with the intellectual current of his day. The problem of extracting accurate meaning from Still’s statements will surface again, when his ideas on fascia and membranes are examined, in the next chapter.

3.5 Still's Influences and Ideas

"In order to appreciate the mind of Dr. Still it is quite necessary to analyze some of the factors that determine his viewpoint" (McConnell, 1915b, p.647).

3.5.1 Introduction

Viewing the works of A.T. Still in the context in which they were written, will contribute to the understanding of the man, his discovery of Osteopathy and in particular, his concepts on fascia. This section touches on the significant intellectual currents of the 19th century that influenced Still's life, and can be seen reflected in his ideas throughout his writing. Norman Gevitz (c1982) and Carol Trowbridge (1991), have written extensively on Still's intellectual influences; their works were first reviewed and then expanded upon, to help identify and clarify the themes relevant to his discovery of Osteopathy and to the development of his concepts of fascia. Those themes included his philosophy, his approach to medicine, his religion, and in particular, his ideas and beliefs derived from Spiritualism.

This section begins with a review of the contents of Still's library, as a reflection of influences on the man through his readings, followed by the influences of Jacksonian Democracy and Enlightenment thinking, that were prevalent in the intellectual circles of mid to late 19th century America. His philosophical, medical, biological, and religious views as well as views of the nature of man, are reviewed initially as the foundation to understanding his writing and style, and secondly as a guide to analyzing his concepts of fascia.

3.5.2 What A.T. Still Read

"For many years I have been a faithful reader of medical authors, ancient and modern" (Still, A.T., 1910 - ['92 ed.], p.90)

3.5.2.1 Introduction

Unlike Charles Darwin (1809-1892), who recorded everything that he read (Jones, 1999, p.xxi), Andrew Taylor Still chose not to reveal the nature of his reading, other than to say that it was extensive, in

the area of medicine. This section outlines how A.T. Still could have both read and acquired, books in the remoteness of frontier America during the middle of the 19th century, and provides some details about his personal and medical libraries. It is proposed that despite living in the frontier mid-west, he would have access to a variety of newspapers, periodicals, literary and medical books, including special interest books and periodicals on subjects such as Spiritualism.

3.5.2.2 Access

Still was apparently a voracious reader. Even in Still's early years, the family possessed books from both the literary world (such as Milton's *Paradise Lost*), as well as medical texts, which the Still family read freely (Adams, 1893, p.12). By the age of sixteen, Still was reading anatomy books (Booth, 1905, p.7). In maturity, McConnell observed "the bookseller would always find a ready buyer in him" (McConnell, 1917, p.991), and "books on science interested him provided they were not too much padded with theory" (McConnell, 1918, p.244). Into his eighty-fifth year and beyond, when his eyesight began to fail and he could no longer read easily for himself, he had someone read to him at least two hours per day (Deason, Wilborn J., 1934, p.22).

A.T. Still said he could stay abreast of the latest medical and intellectual literature, through "scientific electricity" (Still, A.T., 1896e, p.1). As early as the 18th century, Americans could stay informed on the medical scene in Europe. Local newspapers reported on medical news, while medical articles were printed in *Gentleman's Magazine* and specialized books were imported, arriving within a year of being published in Europe. There were also European periodicals for sale in America (Cunningham & French, 1990, p.210). By 1800 there were fifty-one volumes of American medical books, forty-nine volumes of reprints and translations, and seven volumes of *society transactions* (Norwood, 1944, p.31), all circulating in America.

By 1855, there were already six newspapers publishing in Kansas. By 1874, one hundred and forty-eight newspapers were published in Kansas, including counties such as Douglas (Cutler, 1883b), where Still resided. Certainly the news of Kansas reached England (Keckeisen, 1991, p.41), so it is conceivable that the reverse was also true.

In nearby Lawrence, Kansas, nicknamed the *City of Learning*, settlers were described as a class of people, largely composed of the best educated and highest