

## **Finding the professional identity of chiropractic in Australasia: A pragmatic narrative of the Formative Period to 1960.**

PHILLIP EBRALL, D.C., Ph.D., Ph. D. (Cand.)

**The purpose of this pragmatic narrative is to find within the history of the emergence of chiropractic in Australasia the elements that could be considered its professional identity. The evidence supports the view that locally trained persons latched onto the idea of chiropractic when it became expedient to do so. Threads of European osteopathy and natural cures informed lay people and self-proclaimed chiropractors proliferated without any concept of the depth of meaning inherent in Palmer's views. A sharp distinction is noted with the practice identity of North American-trained chiropractors who held that "the nervous system controls the health of the body; that if anything interrupts the healthy working of nerves, the result is disease in some part of the body." The public understanding of the profession's identity can be summarised as "chiropractor, a nerve specialist, who treats disease by manipulation of the spinal column." The American-trained chiropractors did not become engaged with education in Australasia until 1974/75, meaning the local part-time attempts at training in Australia were poor and produced worthless certificates such as mutually declared diplomas of chiropractic. The local chiropractors and educators exhibited what I call "The Beales Effect," where credible academic qualifications were not a concern.**

### **Introduction**

This paper is a pragmatic narrative reporting the emergence of chiropractic as a professional discipline in Australasia. The anchor years are 1960 to 1979 which I term the Inquiry Period and from which, more or less, came legislation in each jurisdiction and an independent educational body, incorporated on 6 March 1975<sup>1</sup> named the International College of Chiropractic (ICC). My contention is that it was the ICC that marked the commencement of chiro-

practic education in Australia.

In this paper I examine the period leading up to the inquiries, years I call the Formative Period of the profession in the nations of New Zealand and Australia. Together these two nations form the world region Australasia. The Formative and Inquiry periods represent the Emergence of chiropractic in Australasia and during which the vague<sup>2</sup> professional identity of chiropractic clarified.

I am most interested in the types of training available in Australasia for those wanting to be a chiropractor during this Emergence Period and show evidence as to why the various offerings are not accepted by me as being "chiropractic education." I propose that by understanding what I iden-

---

\*Canonbury House  
6 Sidney Nolan Place  
Diamond Creek, Vic 3089  
61-400-987-191  
pebrall@me.com

tify as flaws and weaknesses in these local Australian training schemes<sup>3</sup> the reader will appreciate why the ICC was considered to be an imperative by an association of largely American-trained chiropractors.

This pragmatic narrative specifically addresses the emergence of chiropractic as a professional discipline in Australia in the Formative Period to 1960.

## Methods

A variety of approaches were taken to retrieve the artefacts that inform this narrative, most commonly hand-searching of private collections and identification of documents using the *Index to Chiropractic Literature*.<sup>4</sup> Primary documents were evaluated,<sup>5</sup> tested,<sup>6,7</sup> and accepted as recording what happened. Documents reporting *how* it happened were considered secondary.<sup>8</sup> Interpretation was not a semantic<sup>9</sup> quarrel but one about context and purpose.<sup>10</sup>

A collection of related original documents will be cited, most of which are public documents with some no longer in circulation but held in the author's collection. These are largely primary artefacts and include advertisements on the basis the individual named in the advertisement would be directly responsible for the content of that advertisement. There are a number of secondary artefacts as reports of what a particular person may have said about another, as with a eulogy or patient comments filtered by a reporter. Tertiary artefacts are documents of emails and similar ephemera.

The primary source documents for this paper include the reports of the five inquiries which are examined in my related paper.<sup>11</sup> They are:

1. The *Western Australian Honorary Royal Commission into Natural Therapy 1961*<sup>12</sup> (The Guthie Report);

2. *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Question of the Registration of Chiropractors 1975*<sup>13</sup> (The Teece Report), also known as *N.S.W. Government Committee to report on the desirability of estab-*

*lishing machinery for the registration of persons practicing chiropractic*;

3. *Report upon Osteopathy, Chiropractic, Naturopathy, November 1975*<sup>14</sup> (The Ward Report), a report of an inquiry commissioned by the government of the state of Victoria;

4. *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Chiropractic, Osteopathy, Homoeopathy and Naturopathy*<sup>15</sup> (The Webb Report), a report of an inquiry commissioned in 1974<sup>16</sup> by the federal government of Australia; and

5. *Chiropractic in New Zealand. Report of the Commission of Inquiry* presented to the House of Representatives by Command of His Excellency the Governor-General in 1979<sup>17</sup> (The Inglis Report).

## Exposition

The pragmatic marker<sup>18</sup> in this historical narrative is the sentence, "Chiropractic education commenced in Australia in 1975." This is a single, basic message where the content is the proposition and the Direct Message Potential is that "it (chiropractic education) did (commence in Australia in 1975)." This potential allows my Experienceable Difference test that will determine my conclusion to be, "There was chiropractic education in Australia before 1975," and my precedent will be the established and developing programs of chiropractic education in North America.

I will establish a meaning for "chiropractic education" in the Australasian context drawn from the documented intent given by the founder of the profession and of its individualistic training, D.D. Palmer, and from the expressed expectations of the committees who conducted the inquiries.

The professional identity of chiropractic will be drawn from both the way the formal inquiries wrote of the profession and the behaviors of those who were either trained by chiropractors in a program of chiropractic education, or who were not yet claimed to be chiropractors.

## The beginning

In 1910 Palmer stated chiropractic was founded on tone<sup>19</sup> (frontispiece) and in 1914 that any “deviation from tone, the basis of chiropractic, is disease.”<sup>20</sup>(p.2) Palmer defined chiropractic as “the science of adjusting, by hand, any or all luxations of the 300 articular joints of the human body, more especially the 52 articulations of the spinal column ...”<sup>21</sup> and it is this expression from 1905 that I hold as the founding idea of chiropractic. Palmer’s approach allowed him to preclude drugs and surgery as not being part of this idea. When I reference “American trained chiropractors” in relation to the emergence of chiropractic in Australia, I am meaning that as the majority of early chiropractors in Australia were trained at Palmer college, then the majority idea of chiropractic in Australia would be that as established by Palmer.

It is also instructive to note Palmer’s 1895 discovery was named in 1896<sup>22</sup> as “chiropractic” by Rev. Samuel Weed.<sup>23</sup> Along with his wife and one of his daughters, Weed had been treated by Palmer in spring or summer of that year.<sup>24</sup> His letter<sup>25</sup> was headed “A list of Greek Words,” underlined, starting with “χείρ” expanded as “the hand” or “*Kiro*,” and ending after numerous others on the one page with “πρακτικά” given as “done, to be done, extended to “*practor*.” Prior to this exercise of Weed in 1896 the noun and adjective “chiropractic” and its proper noun “Chiropractor” did not exist.

Second to this, there was a rapid growth of chiropractic colleges in North America established by Palmer graduates<sup>26</sup> (pp.320-38),27-29 with most diverging from or adding to Palmer’s teachings with their own interpretations. Australians without exposure to training either at Palmer College or at those evolved and divergent institutions in this newly-named and legally distinct<sup>30</sup> discipline of chiropractic would have no validity to claim they were trained in chiropractic and thus could not be called a chiropractor nor practice the discipline as a chiropractor.

From this comes the major distinction that is evident during the Emergence in Australasia; chiropractors were either trained as such in North America, or were not. The question thus becomes, “From what did non-American ‘chiropractic’ arise?” and my answer is found in the Ward Report<sup>14</sup> which, towards the end of the Formative Period commented, “The Sydney College of Chiropractic, which was known as the Sydney College of Chiropractic and Osteopathy, now omits the reference to osteopathy in its title ... The Committee believes the reference was deleted because it saw chiropractic as a more popular cause.”<sup>14</sup>(p.49, Ch.10, f0.5&10.6) It seems futile to expect a simple change of name to effect any change in the skills of the graduate, bearing in mind this college commenced solely as the Sydney College of Osteopathy<sup>31</sup>(p.40) and that “chiropractic is not osteopathy.”<sup>32</sup>

In Australasia, non-American-trained “chiropractors” repeatedly surfaced without any training in the discipline. In the absence of legislation, registration, and educational standards the ability to call oneself a “chiropractor” or for that matter an “osteopath” or “naturopath” was unencumbered by any need for a qualification and was a means of taking money by “consulting” the public. The formal inquiries applied a pressure for survival in clinical and teaching behaviors and forced the question of professional identity.

## Pre-1960: The Formative Period

I will now address the Exposition by reporting a history of the formative events that shaped the emergence of chiropractic practice in Australia, seeking evidence of identity. I note but will not apply Simpson’s<sup>33</sup> subdivision of this period as “The Establishment Period” being 1919 to 1945, and then the “Statutory Regulation Period” of 1945 to 1961. I also note Bolton added “The Dawn Period” for 1905 to 1919<sup>34</sup> and termed the American-trained chiropractors as the “mainstream” of chiropractic in Australia. Elsewhere Bolton

had noted the emergence of people calling themselves chiropractors with no training and practicing in the fields of “naturopathy, osteopathy, and physiotherapy”<sup>35,p.14</sup> and considered these to be second-stream.

The reason for me considering these periods as one -- “Formative” -- is that I am seeking to find the professional identity of chiropractic as it naturally formed and the earliest documented threads are seen in Australia with Brake in 1905<sup>36</sup> and in New Zealand from late 1910,<sup>37</sup> both being matters I address. Readers may note I anchor the end of this period in 1960 and not 1961 as do Simpson and Bolton and the reason is simply that the Guthrie Report, delivered in 1961, was commissioned 10 February 1960.<sup>12</sup> (Commissioning statement as Preface)

### *New Zealand*

I take the position that chiropractic as a profession commenced in Australasia about 17 or so years after D.D. Palmer started to teach chiropractic in 1897.<sup>38</sup> I base my view on the first documented<sup>36</sup> Palmer-trained chiropractor to practice in New Zealand being Henry Otterholt who graduated in March 1914. Prior to Otterholt’s arrival in Dunedin an Irish immigrant practiced what he called chiropractic, first in Waiwera South and then Dunedin. He was Thomas Giles and had only read about Palmer and chiropractic. He informed his practise through books and copies of lectures and came to realise he needed to attend Palmer college and fully learn this form of care.

The first years of Giles’ untrained practice are not documented however they would have been in the period from his New Zealand arrival on 29 December 1910 and when he enrolled at Palmer on 15 August 1914.<sup>37,39</sup>

Otterholt took over Giles’s practice to allow him leave to study. Giles graduated on 24 August 1915<sup>37</sup> after a year with Palmer, returned to Dunedin, and went on to become the first chiropractor in

Australasia to utilise radiography in practice.<sup>38</sup> As Palmer graduates, both Otterholt and Giles would be trained to detect and correct displaced or “subluxed” vertebrae by hand, the adjustment. They would have learned chiropractic as D.D. Palmer described it, “I created a science out of the principles revealed to me and named it chiropractic. I correlated the art of adjusting displaced vertebrae together with the philosophy of the science and art.”<sup>40</sup>

The acts of Giles recognizing that his self-training was not sufficient to properly practice chiropractic, handing over his clinic then travelling to learn from Palmer, graduate and return can be seen as the way by which New Zealand avoided the emergence of self-trained practitioners in the founding years.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, the New Zealand chiropractors, as Palmer graduates, formed the New Zealand Chiropractors’ Association (NZCA) in February 1922<sup>42</sup> as a strong association thereby establishing the default standard for chiropractic practice. The NZCA hosted B.J. Palmer, the notional leader of chiropractic<sup>43</sup> in 1930.<sup>44</sup> In 1955 the NZCA came to have its “name” or title protected by the Chiropractors’ Association Act 1955.<sup>45</sup> The purpose of this ‘one-page’ Act was to prevent “Improper use of words implying membership of New Zealand Chiropractors’ Association Incorporated,” a legal prohibition of local therapists misappropriating the discipline’s title. In spite of this legislation, as recently as 2019 an attempt was made to foment trouble with a toothbrush company under the name of the “New Zealand Chiropractical Association,” an obvious hoax which nonetheless required the Association to address in strict terms.<sup>46</sup>

Some 25 years later the Inglis Report<sup>17</sup> spoke to the creation and maintenance of a high standard of manual skills by noting chiropractors “... develop the art of spinal functional analysis and ‘adjustment’ to a degree with which the medical profession as a whole can not compete ... developed a range of techniques and skills which few in

New Zealand outside the chiropractic profession have been able to master.”<sup>17(p.29)</sup> The early establishment of an association that maintained Palmer’s standards and an Act protecting ‘title’ effectively prevented the emergence of semi-skilled local practitioners. The NZCA went on to establish that country’s only education program in 1994<sup>47</sup> which continues to promote the “integration of each of the essential elements of the philosophy, science and art of chiropractic.”<sup>48</sup>

However an awareness of one’s limitations as seen with Giles was not evident in Australia where self-trained persons practiced as they wished, variously identifying as an osteopath, naturopath, or chiropractor or, as will be shown, any two or even all three.

My discussion of both the state and federal government inquiries that examined this period will show they formally differentiated between these locally-trained or second-stream therapists and the American trained or mainstream chiropractors. It follows that such unqualified second-stream people could not have any capacity to establish an acceptable program of chiropractic education.

### *Australia*

On its establishment the NZCA included Australians but that quickly changed as the few Australian chiropractors found it hard engage across the Tasman and took time to establish their *own Australian Chiropractors’ Association* (ACA) in 1938. The formation meeting for the ACA NSW Branch was held Friday, 2 September 1938<sup>38(pp.463-4)</sup> following a meeting of interested mainstream chiropractors held in Sydney on Monday, 15 August 1938.<sup>38(p.463)</sup> The Australian Chiropractor’s Association (Victorian Branch) (ACA-Vic) signed its Memorandum of Association under the *Companies Act 1938* four years later on 22 November 1942.<sup>49</sup>

The first graduate chiropractor to practice in Australia was Harold Williams, from 1920 in Sydney.<sup>34,38</sup> However around this time the *Nature Cure* movement took hold in South Australia in particular. It was a collection of self-proclaimed practitioners of numerous disciplines who lobbied the Victorian parliament in 1925 as the Australian Herbalists Association with a petition of six thousand signatures seeking support for the registration of “Nonconformist Practitioners (Herbalists, Naturopaths, Osteopaths and Chiropractors).”<sup>50(p.131)</sup>

The Nature Cure movement seems to have played a role in gathering local practitioners no matter their discipline and may have been a parallel movement to that which is reported to have assisted the development of the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic (LACC):<sup>51</sup> “The formation and early history of the College is intimately intertwined with the naturopathic movement.” That original college merged in 1947 with the Southern California College and retained the name LACC.<sup>52</sup> The significance to my report is that from the 1920s there were many streams of manual practitioners in Australia and as I have noted it was this that led historian Bolton<sup>34,35</sup> to identify American-trained chiropractors as “mainstream.” Bolton characterised mainstream chiropractors by two criteria: discipline and standards.<sup>53</sup> The “discipline” reflected the chiropractic college of training and the “standards” those set by statutory examinations and registration authorities of the United States and Canada. Thus, mainstream chiropractors in Australia were synonymous with “American-trained.”

The rest, clarified by Peters and Chance,<sup>39</sup> in four research theses (Peters,<sup>38</sup> Campbell,<sup>48</sup> Simpson,<sup>33</sup> and O’Neill<sup>54</sup>), as well as the Ward Report<sup>14</sup> and the Webb Report,<sup>15</sup> are considered “second-stream” and of variable designation. Webb et al. noted, “It is difficult to define chiropractic practice, or rather chiropractic practitioners, since many natural and

informal 'healers' perform spinal manipulation to a greater or lesser extent."<sup>15(p.39)</sup>

### *Mainstream or second-stream*

I agree that this matter of training is the origin of the mainstream-second-stream incertitude. It is evident in the list of Fellows of the Australian Physiotherapy Association (APA)<sup>55</sup> published in 1925 (Figure 1). Here is evidence that 22 of 40 Fellows of the APA in 1925 gave their practice as "chiropractor." Not one of these can be found in the listings of Australian graduates from Palmer College.<sup>34,38</sup>

I note that one self-proclaimed chiropractor on this list, Claude Beales, who

served as Secretary and Treasurer, was described in a 1928 press report as a "herbalist by profession, a graduate in osteopathy."<sup>56</sup> I will return to Beales in due course but now make the point that local persons calling themselves a chiropractor also called themselves other things, in this case a herbalist and an osteopath. At that time in Victoria, the *Medical Act 1915* did not "generally speaking ... prohibit a person from practicing, but interdicted the presumption of a title." In one case the Full Court of Victoria upheld fines for three Melbourne osteopaths who "pretended to be a doctor."<sup>57</sup>

I am happy to take the classifications "mainstream" and "second-stream" from Bolton<sup>58,59</sup> and Peters and Chance<sup>60</sup> and

AUSTRALIAN PHYSIOTHERAPY ASSOCIATION	
FOUNDED. MELBOURNE, VICTORIA, 1920.	
Non est vivere, sed valere vita.	
ANNUAL MEETINGS AND CONVENTION LAST WEEK IN SEPTEMBER IN EACH YEAR.	
LIST OF FELLOWS ON 1st SEPTEMBER, 1925.	
Arbery, Edith, Chiropractor, Collins St., Melb., Vic.	Darson, Mary Wilson, Chiropractor, Grenville St., Prahran, Vic.
Burton, H., Chiropractor, Brunswick, Vic.	Moss, Florence, Chiropractor, 106 South Terrace, Adelaide, S.A.
Bradley, H. R., Naturopath, Adelaide, S.A.	Meulenbelt, Jacoba, Chiropractor, Eyre St., Ballarat, Vic.
Beales, Claude, Chiropractor, 90 Collins St., Melb., Vic., Secretary and Treasurer.	Meulenbelt, Dick, Chiropractor, Eyre St., Ballarat, Vic.
Cox, A. Sanison, Naturopath, 179 South Terrace, Adelaide, S.A.	Nikola, H. Clark, Naturopath, 23 Beach Road, Mile End, Adelaide, S.A.
Caldwell, Henry, Osteopath, 11 Collins St., Melb., Vic., President.	Nikola, Elka Clark, Naturopath, 23 Beach Road, Mile End, S.A.
Cook, Harold O., Chiropractor, 90 Collins St., Melb., Vic.	Oversen, P. Chiropractor, High St., Armadale, Vic.
Dunn, Walter, Collins St., Melb., Vic.	Powell, E. M., Chiropractor, Katam St., Brunswick, Vic.
Darson, Nat, Chiropractor, Granville St., Prahran, Vic.	Patterson, J. W., Naturopath, Beach Rd., Albert Park, Vic.
Ellis, L. W., Chiropractor, Brunswick, Vic.	Stanton, Lena, Naturopath, Flinders St., E., Melb., Vic.
Geer, Ben, Chiropractor, Spencer St., Melb., Vic.	Stanton, J., Naturopath, Flinders St., E., Melb., Vic.
Huston, Rev. J. T., Naturopath, York Ter., St. Kilda Road, Vic.; Vice-President.	Reilly, F., Chiropractor, Hawthorn Rd., Caulfield, V.
Hosford, J. Lloyd, Chiropractor, Sydney Av., Geelong East, Vic.; Council.	Summerbell, A. E. P., Osteopath, 175 Macquarie St., Sydney, N.S.W.
Hogarth, J. D., Chiropractor, Beaconsfield Par., Middle Park, Vic.	Simmons, H., Chiropractor, Hill St., Hawthorn, Vic.
Harrison, B. S. V., Chiropractor, 98 Capitol House, Melb., Vic.; Council.	Terry, Edith, Chiropractor, The Block, Collins St., Melb., Vic.; Council.
Furness, Ed. Geo., Chiropractor, 4 Grange Road, Alphington, Vic.	Thomas, Amy May, Manly, Syd., N.S.W.; Council.
Jones, E. O., Naturopath, Chapel St., Prahran, Vic.; Council.	Vitar, Madam, Anzac House, Collins St., Melb., Vic.
Hogan, Arthur, Chiropractor, 90 Collins St., Melb., Vic.	Wellis, William, Brunswick St., Fitzroy, Vic.
Xennerley, W. Wallace, Naturopath, Bourke St., Melb., Vic.	Murphy, P. J. Chiropractor, Hobart, Tasmania.
Lee, Zera, Anzac House, Collins St., Melb., Vic.	Nicholls, Arch., Naturopath, Peels Bldgs, Horsham, Vic.

Figure 1: Fellows, Australian Physiotherapy Association, 1925

note that in 1925 the professional identity of physiotherapy was indistinct, taking some 60 years to be recognized by legislation under the *Masseurs Act 1958*. This Act was amended in 1967 to establish a Board for the registration of masseurs, replaced by the Physiotherapists Registration Board of Victoria with the enactment of the *Physiotherapists Act 1978*,<sup>61</sup> the same year in Victoria as the *Chiropractors and Osteopaths Act 1978*.<sup>62</sup> (No.9161) The following year the Inglis Report<sup>17</sup> dismissed physiotherapy with the comment, "The chiropractor's training in spinal manual therapy is superior to that of the physiotherapist."<sup>17</sup> (p.286, 55)

There were four related disciplines untangling their identities during the formative years: chiropractic, osteopathy, naturopathy and physiotherapy. Peripheral activities such as herbalism and homeopathy were also present to some extent. The relevance of this observation is that chiropractors trained in North America were concise in their self-description as chiropractor while those without this exposure to the founding tenets of chiropractic showed great variation in how they described themselves.

In one sense it could be thought that mainstream and second-stream are analogous to the "straight-mixer" divide<sup>44</sup> within the profession, and while they could be, I think straight and mixer are a little like the twin ideas of subluxation and adjustment<sup>63</sup> and can be argued from a number of perspectives. On the other hand, as stated, mainstream chiropractors were actually trained at the first-person level in chiropractic by chiropractors, whereas second stream were not. On this premise there is no need for any further definition of second-stream.

On acceptance of there being multiple types of "spinal manipulators" the argument becomes one of where distinctions are drawn. Bolton, a second generation Palmer graduate, drew a line on the basis of the standard of education, where he considered mainstream

chiropractic to be that which equated to the standards of accredited American colleges. The flaw in this argument is that at the time of the first American-trained chiropractors arriving in Australia there was no process of college accreditation, they were largely but not exclusively Palmer graduates from the pre-Basic Science period (1927-1944).<sup>64</sup>

This consideration reflects a bias in that Bolton self-classified as mainstream. His review<sup>65</sup> of the Webb Report<sup>15</sup> shows how the federal government of the day blurred the distinction: Webb recommended "the registration of chiropractors, osteopaths and manipulative therapists under Manipulative Therapy legislation controlled by a board ... of medical practitioners' among others."<sup>15</sup>(p.24) This is in spite of Webb recognising "the classic concept of subluxation involving the role and relationship of the spine and nervous system in health and disease."<sup>15</sup>(p.23)

### *Subluxation or not*

Those Australian chiropractors who returned with a formal qualification seemed clear in their mind regarding chiropractic as taught by Palmer College<sup>66</sup>; the advertisements<sup>67</sup> for their practices indicate this with a reliance on radiographs, the Neurocalometer, and even the "Hole-in-One" technique. This evidence allows the question of whether or not the locally-trained manipulators held the same philosophy, let alone any knowledge of radiographs, the anatomy they depicted, the Neurocalometer and the neurology it recorded, and so on. It is an argument that goes well beyond the idea of subluxation.

I make this observation while appreciating the almost ubiquitous presence of the subluxation idea, expressed as "spinal irritation" in the medical literature of the 19th century<sup>68,69</sup> even the reports of the role of the "fast thrust."<sup>70,71</sup> To be clear: D.D. Palmer did not discover subluxation, he understood it and learned how to identify and correct it by hand, a

major advance in health care at a time where usual medical treatments were burning or cutting to provide counter-irritation.<sup>69</sup> Palmer's major contribution is found in the clinical meaning he ascribed to these well-known spinal lesions. On this basis I do not propose that the two streams of chiropractic around which identity evolved leading into 1974/5 can be distinguished on the basis of either group's view of subluxation.

I am however able to make an effective argument that early manipulative practice in Australia was distinguished by the emergence of chiropractors trained in the Palmer manner within an environment where a wide range of manipulative procedures were practiced. And this position raises the question of whether a person claimed to be the first chiropractor in Australia,<sup>36</sup> was actually a chiropractor in this sense.

#### *Barbara Brake*

Barbara Brake, the wife of a Victorian politician,<sup>72</sup> returned to Melbourne in 1905<sup>36</sup> to practice as a chiropractor. Brake spent three months with Palmer and her children eventually attended the American School of Osteopathy in Kirksville, Mo.<sup>38</sup> (p.27) The certificate awarded to Brake stated she "has taken a 3 months course at the Palmer School" and continued by making it clear that the certificate can not be construed as a diploma of chiropractic. Specifically, the certificate stated it "did not pass upon the quality of the bearer as an adjustor."<sup>38</sup>(p.28) In spite of not leaving Palmer's school as a graduate Brake proceeded to advertise in Melbourne as a chiropractor. In an advertising statement of Thursday 30 November 1905 Brake stated, "Chiropractic cures all diseases,"<sup>38</sup>(p.29) a statement reflective of Palmer's teachings. This paper does not present any argument as to the meaning of Palmer's statements but must note the position he held in March

1905 as reported in *The Des Moines Leader*, with reference to a report in *The Davenport Democrat*, that during a particular inquest Palmer "could not be trapped into an admission that he attempted to cure diseases."<sup>73</sup> I note this court appearance occurred during the time Brake was studying with Palmer with the presumption Brake was aware of Palmer's stances on the matter.

The three-month course offered at that time by D.D. Palmer consisted of Principles and Clinic in month 1, with Palpation added in month 2, and Adjustment in month 3. The certificate issued was considered a certificate of attendance. The evidence points to Brake starting with Palmer in late December 1904 and leaving Davenport mid-May 1905, a period of 5 months which agrees with Hunt<sup>36</sup> reporting that Brake spent 135 days in Davenport (19.3 weeks or about 5 months). It is also known Brake wrote from Melbourne to B. J. Palmer on 30 September 1905; however her name is included in a list of students, along with Mabel Palmer, who petitioned that the course could not be undertaken by mail, undated but published October 1905. The strongest evidence is her appearance in a class photograph taken 29 February 1905.<sup>74</sup>

These dates support the certificate of attendance for a three-month course which indicates a period of training with Palmer, but I am reluctant to attribute Brake as the first chiropractor in Australia. McDowall, a chiropractic historian who has reported in-depth on D.D. Palmer,<sup>75</sup> differs and in personal communication (email July 2020) wrote,

The 3 month course was the same curricula in multiples of three and included adjustments being taught in the 3rd month. So she was taught to adjust but didn't stay long enough to repeat the experience 3 times, hence she had enough foundation to practice, make some money and then come back to the PSC for more experience and any additional instruction, which was the



whole reason for the trimester. See BJ's Vol 3 1908 Pages 340-341 for a full explanation.

My position regarding Brake suggests care should be taken with the words chosen to describe her role in the development of the profession in Australia and while there is no evidence she actually graduated from the Palmer School as a Doctor of Chiropractic there is evidence she advertised and practiced in Australia as a chiropractor. In this sense Brake could be considered the first to exhibit the characteristics of a professional identity for chiropractic in Australasia. There is no evidence she taught others.

Given her children studied osteopathy in Kirksville and also returned to Melbourne, but to practice as osteopaths,<sup>38</sup> the point is highlighted that manipulative therapies were delivered at that time by a range of therapists, in Brake's case as a family affair. My earlier point regarding the membership of the APA in 1925<sup>55</sup> supports the view of "a range of therapists" and allows the extension that locally-trained therapists saw no problem in aligning with particular groups and giving their occupation as "chiropractor" at the time Palmer graduates were arriving and practicing as chiropractors in the distinct Palmer manner. Brake was not listed among the 1925 list of 40 physiotherapists; 22 other persons calling themselves chiropractors were. (Figure 1) None can be traced to a North American college of chiropractic.

Within this milieu a naturopath named F.G. Roberts emerged<sup>76</sup> and came to play a conspicuous role in Australian developments.

#### *F.G. Roberts*

In 1936 F.G. Roberts advertised in Rockhampton as "N.D., D.O."<sup>77</sup> for "all Health and Dietetic advice, Osteopathic treatments and spinal Adjustments ..." In 1953 his advertisement became "The new science of healing - "Natures Way," Osteopathic Manipulation for bad backs

..."<sup>78</sup> The Ward Report<sup>14</sup> was less than complimentary in its discussion of Roberts:

The complicated history of fringe medicine in Victoria, and indeed Australia, is graphically illustrated by the career of F.G. Roberts<sup>14</sup> (p.5,2,4); Roberts appears to the Committee as an important figure in developing a local variety of fringe medicine<sup>14</sup>(p.5,2,5). . . In the 1929 *Sands and McDougall Directory*, Roberts is listed at 327 Collins Street, Melbourne, as a 'Herbalist,' then in 1930 at 342 St. Kilda Road as a 'Naturopath',<sup>14</sup>(p.5,2,7); From 1943 to 1947 he was listed in the Trade and Professional section of the *Directory of Victoria* as an 'Osteopath'.<sup>14</sup>(p.5,2,7)

He is documented as establishing a large number of clinics along the Eastern seaboard of Australia, from Tasmania, his home state, to Rockhampton, QLD. Roberts failed in an attempt to register an institution to teach naturopathy. The Ward Report<sup>14</sup> states,

However his British and Australian Institute of Naturopathy was refused registration as an approved teaching body on 31st March, 1944, by the Board. A report by Prof. R.D. Wright dated 25th February, 1944, found that 'There is a good deal of evidence that there has been a deliberate attempt to mislead the Board.' Professor Wright and another Board member inspected the Institute on the 21st March, 1944, and reported that evening classes were held five nights per week in physically inadequate facilities.<sup>14</sup>(p.6,2,10)

It seems improbable that the British and Australian Institute of Naturopathy was a registered teaching body in 1942, a matter relevant to the training of Fred Price who is an example of how unexacting it was to become a D.C. in Australia. In other words, the master-apprentice system was the local approach in which Price worked as a masseur for naturopath F.G. Roberts in Brisbane.<sup>79</sup> He was sent to the Roberts institution in Melbourne and was awarded a Diploma of Naturopathy (N.D.) on 24 November 1941. After completing further practical work he received a Diploma of Chiropractic (D.C.) on 23 December 1942.



**Figure 2:** Diploma of chiropractic awarded to Fred Price by F.G. Roberts 1942

The important things to note in Figure 2 are the year of issue, 1942; the name of the institute British and Australian Institute of Naturopathy which was refused registration as a training body in 1944; the award, a Diploma of Chiropractic; and the signature of F.G. Roberts as President which he appends with “N.D., D.C.”

Later in the 1940’s Roberts established a health academy in Melbourne which in 1959 “became ‘The Chiropractic and Osteopathy College of Australasia.’”<sup>14</sup> (p.6,2.15) The relationship of this to the British and Australian Institute of Naturopathy is not yet known, however the “College” is the institution claimed by Australia’s smaller professional association Chiropractic Australia (CA) as its antecedent.<sup>80</sup> It is inarguably a self-trained, mixed-discipline, second-stream of Australian chiropractic. A number of its graduates progressed to positions of influence in the profession’s regulation and

education. When the College closed in the late 1970s its remaining students transferred to the mainstream program at Preston Institute of Technology and were graduated in 1979 with a double diploma.<sup>81</sup> By the end of 1981, the year in which Government funding was introduced, the PIT/ICC program had completed 97 graduates. In 1982 that year’s graduates and all previous graduates received the award “B.App.Sc.(Chiropractic).”<sup>81</sup>

These early graduates were an amalgam of mainstream and second-stream ideology, philosophy, and technique skills. The Chiropractic and Osteopathy College of Australasia ceased to exist and its business name is no longer registered,<sup>82</sup> however for some time the name was held by John Reggars<sup>83</sup> then surfaced in Queensland<sup>84</sup> as a continuing education body led by Bruce Walker. Both Walker<sup>85</sup> and Reggars<sup>86</sup> give their chiropractic qualification as ‘D.C.’ a diploma of the Chiropractic and Osteopathy College of Australasia.<sup>87</sup>

### *The Diploma of Chiropractic*

Today within Australian higher education the accepted abbreviation for a diploma is “Dip”<sup>88</sup> and it is a lower level (level 5) award than a Bachelor degree (level 7), usually requiring a volume of learning of one or two years.<sup>89</sup> A Diploma of Chiropractic would be abbreviated as DipChiopr, not as D.C. There would be no confusion if Australians who held a diploma-level qualification in chiropractic used the correct post-nominals. To the author’s knowledge there is no “D.C.” as “Doctor of Chiropractic” issued by any Australian Higher Education institution, nor has there been.

Of Roberts, the Ward Inquiry<sup>14</sup> reported, “F.G. Roberts was obviously a man with a flair for adopting fashions in the healing arts and consequently had little difficulty in using various methods of healing which captured the imagination of supporters of drugless therapies in various forms for more than fifty years.”<sup>14</sup>(p.6,2.19) The Inquiry concluded, “F.G. Roberts

N.D., D.O., D.C. - The qualifications represented diplomas in naturopathy, osteopathy and chiropractic. The origin of the diplomas is unknown [sic]."<sup>14</sup> (p.6,2,22) Of the college itself, the Report stated it "appeared to be that [sic] Americans would call a 'Mickey Mouse College.'"<sup>14</sup> (p.49,10.9)

The issuing of diplomas was subject to abuse in Australia at that time. Peters reports that the first known occurrence of Roberts using the "D.C." post-nominal was December 1930.<sup>38</sup> (p.321) It seems he was influenced by American naturopath Benedict Lust who considered chiropractic just "*part of the armamentarium of naturopathy*."<sup>38</sup> (p.321) Roberts introduced a home-studies course in Naturopathy in 1935 and included chiropractic. By 1940 his Institute of Naturopathy was advertising a "Chiropractic Course,"<sup>38</sup> (p.323) a "complete course."

In 1944 the brother of F.G. Roberts, W.E. Roberts, in Sydney called himself a naturopath on the basis of a diploma from his brother.<sup>90</sup> Elsewhere in Sydney, Gilbert Wheeler hung "about half a dozen" diplomas from the Australian Physiotherapy Association (a claim of graduation denied by the secretary of the APA), the N.S.W. Union of Herbalists, and the Australian Hygeian Institute, among others.<sup>91</sup> To explain his degree, Doctor of Osteopathy, Wheeler is reported as saying he took a course with the Hygeian Institute in Brisbane, by correspondence, and sat for his exams by correspondence.

The Australian Hygeian Institute seems to have been a creation of the aforementioned Claude Beales and from premises in Fortitude Valley Brisbane, a red-light district, he "trained students in naturopathy."<sup>92</sup> The front-page story was prompted by police inquiries into a matter of alleged fraud by a member of Beales' "medical" group none of whom had an "orthodox degree in medicine." The report continues, "But, to make up for this deficiency, they issue each other with 'certificates' under the most amazing set-up imaginable." The missing person had

qualified in Beales' College of Physiotherapy, Dept. of Psychology, School of Physical Education, Dept. of Chiropodial Orthopedics and College of Osteopathy. The certificate was a "Diplomat" as Beales explained, "We're not allowed to say 'diploma,' that's the nearest we can get to it." Beales signed these certificates as President. There are more salacious details reported in *Truth* that are not relevant beyond establishing that in Australia in the 1930s and 40s, entrepreneurial types could practice any health discipline they chose and award themselves certificates, primarily for self-interest as Beales stated, "I like to see my own patients. I can then handle my own fees."<sup>92</sup> (p.4)

With regard to Wheeler<sup>90</sup> he added, "My doctorates are only courtesy titles." When the reporter asked, "Do you make a physical examination of your patients to diagnose their troubles?" he replied, "No, I rely entirely upon the patient's story." The reporter's conclusion about Wheeler was not complimentary. It was also reported that a contemporary of Wheeler hung certificates from the British and Australian Institute of Naturopathy and the Cottam Cole Chiropractic College (United States).<sup>93</sup> This college is not known by chiropractic historian Senzon (personal email 26 July 2020), nor does it appear on listings by Wiese and Callender.<sup>94</sup>

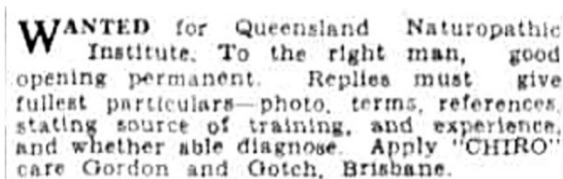


Figure 3: Chiropractor Wanted, 1934

Chiropractors were hired by naturopaths in Queensland in the 1930s. One advertisement under the heading "Chiropractor wanted" is shown in Figure 3.<sup>95</sup> There are two things to note: suggestion that training was available, and an expectation of the ability to diagnose.

### *Roberts was not a graduate chiropractor*

Roberts was The Chiropractor of the Month for the UCA in 1968.<sup>96</sup> This tribute states “The profession knows that Mr. F.G. Roberts, D.C., was probably the first chiropractor in Australia.” It is noted Roberts was a Tasmanian and worked his passage to “the Old Country” and was in England “when the Titanic went down” (1912).<sup>79</sup> Roberts returned to Tasmania in 1914<sup>14(p.5,2,6)</sup> to establish the renowned F.G. Roberts Health Service.

There is no record of Roberts studying chiropractic and I have no evidence he used the term in describing his health services, even though he provided study materials in chiropractic from about 1935 to 1940,<sup>38(p.323)</sup> yet he is credited in the UCA report<sup>96</sup> with “The greatest of his achievements has been the establishment of a Chiropractic College in Australia.” This article concludes with “This man is the Father of Chiropractic in Australia. This man is the founder of the Australian Chiropractic College.” The clinic website<sup>97</sup> of a descendant of Roberts links directly to the minority chiropractic association in Australia, Chiropractic Australia, the outgrowth of the Australian Chiropractic College and its iterations.

My point is that there are no records of Roberts training as a chiropractor in a chiropractic institution and no record of him claiming to provide chiropractic services. Indeed, the evidence is that in 1936<sup>77</sup> and 1953<sup>78</sup> he advertised himself as an osteopath while considering chiropractic part of naturopathy.

In 1939 he was a naturopath,<sup>98</sup> in 1942 an N.D., D.O. with a Health Academy at Ellena St. Maryborough,<sup>99</sup> also in 1944,<sup>100</sup> while offering a ‘complete course’ in chiropractic.<sup>38(p.323)</sup> This is the period in which his Melbourne-based British and Australian Institute of Naturopathy was denied registration as a training institution. The Institute had in the 1930s published a “Practical dietotherapy: Dietitians course.”<sup>101</sup>

Meanwhile in Adelaide in 1949 Lance Milne, the President of the Chiropractic Patients Association, was arguing for a chiropractic college.<sup>102</sup> He had successfully lobbied for legislation enacted in South Australia in 1949.<sup>64</sup> Strong argument was made for a program with standards equal to the colleges in the U. S., with Anthony Hart speaking to the role of X-ray and Richard Le Breton to a chiropractic research agenda. These two chiropractors will appear in my subsequent paper on the ICC. At this stage there was no reference to F.G. Roberts, suggesting he was of little significance to American-trained chiropractors and their educational activities.

In fact, the evidence is that Roberts held spurious qualifications, having studied naturopathy part-time for about two years in London,<sup>14(p.5,2,6)</sup> yet claimed diplomas of naturopathy, osteopathy, chiropractic and as Price’s diploma shows, probably “taught” other modalities such as dietetics,<sup>101</sup> iridology and hydrotherapy.

In contrast I find no difficulty in agreeing with yet another advertisement by Roberts (1947)<sup>103</sup> in which he describes himself as “Australia’s Leading Naturopath” with the post-nominals “N.D., D.O., F.S.D.” By way of disclosure I state that as a chiropractic student in 1986 I received an F.G. Roberts Memorial Award from the UCAA for academic merit.

### **The Australian Position**

F.G. Roberts and James E. Doyle conducted osteopathic and chiropractic courses in Melbourne during the 1930s and ’40s.<sup>79(p.28)</sup> Doyle relocated his PAX College to Ballarat while Roberts retained a presence in Melbourne and with clinics elsewhere.<sup>77,78</sup> In 1959 he announced the Chiropractic and Osteopathic College of Australasia (COCA) in Melbourne.

Upon Doyle’s death in 1965 the PAX College was bequeathed<sup>31(p.32)</sup> to Alfred Kaufmann, whose osteopathic degree was honorary.<sup>31(p.31)</sup> Kaufmann was a former Minister of Religion<sup>31(p.36)</sup> and a qualified

biotherapist<sup>31(p.38)</sup> practicing in Epping, Sydney, as a homeopath and osteopath.<sup>31(p.39)</sup> Earlier, in 1959, Kaufmann had formed the Sydney College of Osteopathy<sup>31(p.40)</sup> and in 1970 absorbed PAX into it.<sup>31(p.92)</sup> Coincidentally in 1959 Roberts founded the Chiropractic and Osteopathic College of Australasia in Melbourne.

Pharmacist Gary Stavrou graduated from the Sydney College in 1970 and became Principal in 1971.<sup>31(p.95)</sup> He advanced the teaching of chiropractic and osteopathic techniques by writing a textbook based on the "manipulation text of the National College" (NCC).<sup>31(p.96)</sup> The osteopathic techniques were those of Stoddard, a noted British osteopath. On 18 January 1973,<sup>13(p.3)</sup> the NSW government announced the Teece Inquiry and about then the College decided to include chiropractic in its title. It eventually removed osteopathy on which the Ward Report commented "The Sydney College of Chiropractic, which was known as the Sydney College of Chiropractic and Osteopathy, now omits the reference to osteopathy in its title ... The Committee believes the reference was deleted because it saw chiropractic as a more popular cause."<sup>14(p.49, Ch.10,10.5,10.6)</sup> It did not add any trained chiropractor as an educator.

There seems to be no record of any American-trained chiropractors providing teaching to either the Sydney or Melbourne institutions and the *Press* reports of the time show what I call "The Beales Effect" where the credibility of academic qualifications was not a concern.

The Australian position was therefore one with a stream of therapists influenced by European methods including osteopathy,<sup>104</sup> which I have shown *came to convince itself* when it suited politically that it was chiropractic, and a stream from North America which was *trained to believe* it was chiropractic. Indeed Baer, an anthropologist who examined *The Drive for Legitimation by Osteopathy and Chiropractic in Australia*,<sup>105</sup> observed that "some osteopaths transformed themselves into

chiropractors with the creation of the United Chiropractors' Association in 1961," citing O'Neill<sup>54(p.27)</sup> and others.

A reason for the early spread of osteopathy in Australia can be seen in a 1919 advertisement<sup>106</sup> for Mr. W.H. Judd, "osteopath, of Glebe, U.S.A," who 'has arrived in Sydney for a tour of the Australian states.' The public would attend and then go forth with their ideas under various names of which one was "Mechano-therapist." Mechano-therapy was an idea from a Glaswegian medical practitioner who related it to osteopathy in 1910.<sup>107</sup>

**"MONEY ALWAYS COMES."  
SAYS VERSATILE PROFESSOR**

PROFESSOR CUTHBERT SOTHERN BECKETT MAKES NO CHARGE FOR HIS SERVICES AS PHRENOLOGIST, NATUROPATH, OSTEOPATH, CONFIDENTIAL CONSULTING METAPHYSICIAN OR SCIENTIFIC CONSULTING VOCATIONAL ADVISER.

"Money always comes," he said. "I received a £10 note in the post only yesterday. I don't know who sent it, he told the Sydney newspaper 'The Sun'.

"I don't need to charge for my services. I have very big properties in Marrickville, some of them 100 years old."

The professor makes a charge only for nerus and music lessons.

He teaches, according to a sign outside the academy, violin, organ, mandoline, viola, banjo-mandoline, ukulele, voice production, and pianoforte. Lessons are 2/6 a half-hour, and 5/- an hour. The professor has 17 pupils.

Lessons are given in the parlour of "Chez nous," his Academy of Music in Ultimo.

He likes best to teach the violin.

"I have six violins," he said. "One is 200 years old, and another is 100 years old."

"I studied music for 15 years from the late Professor Daniels."

"Professor Jones taught me phrenology when I was a kid."

"I learned naturopathy and osteopathy in 1935, in Brisbane and Melbourne."

"I've knocked around a bit. Travelled, too. Been to New Zealand and Tasmania. But I always come back to Sydney."

"Lots of people come to me for guidance when they're worried about their people at the war. I tell them that, it's God's will that the worst is to happen, it will happen. I tell them to have faith."

"But I never charge for it. Those who can pay, pays."

The professor has seven plates outside his house, indicating his versatility. He has 29 letters after his name.

"H.M. means Honourable Mention," he said. "In osteopaths, that is, M.P.M.U.A. is member of the Professional Musicians' Union of Australia. M.A.H.I. is member of the Australian Hygiene Institute. F.A.P.A. means Fellow of the Australian Psychotherapy Association."

Figure 4: 'Professor' Becket, 1944

Nathaniel Darson of the Geelong region advertised in 1921 as a "Mechano-therapist and Chiropractor."<sup>108</sup> He treated "Uranic Disorders, Deformities, Stomach Troubles, Rheumatism, Nervous Prostration, Neuritis, Insomnia, Infantile Paralysis, Stiff Joints, Headache, Obesity, and Vital Depletion." All successfully, he claimed. He called chiropractic "the great health science ... has brought health and hope to many who failed to derive benefit from other treatments."<sup>109</sup> His 1924 marriage announcement<sup>110</sup> noted he was a chiropractor and he gave that occupation in 1925 as a Fellow of the APA<sup>55</sup> (Figure 1).

Figure 4 (previous page) is an advertisement<sup>111</sup> as evidence that the appellations selected early in the *Formative Period* were many and varied; here Cuthbert Southern Beckett is styled as a Professor and provided free services as a phrenologist, naturopath, osteopath, and consulting metaphysician. He stated he was a Fellow of the APA and stated, "I learned naturopathy and osteopathy in 1935 in Brisbane and Melbourne." Incidentally, perhaps, he also claimed to be a talented musician.

### *Professional Identity*

Professional Identity becomes fluid and evolves over time,<sup>112</sup> influenced by narratives among its participants.<sup>113</sup> It is these narratives that inform my paper and I do not distinguish between the discipline as a body of knowledge forming the science of chiropractic, and the profession as the group of people engaged or qualified in expressing that knowledge which is based on standards of practice, codes of ethics and of professional conduct. I do have an expectation that education in the discipline of chiropractic to produce graduates who form the profession will reflect the nature of chiropractic as it was founded by D.D. Palmer. As an academic with post-graduate content expertise in the field of chiropractic I also reasonably expect my discipline to be taught by persons qualified as chiropractors.

I have shown that what passed as chiropractic training prior to 1975 was haphazard on a spectrum between naturopathy and osteopathy, delivered in Australia as part-time courses the completion of which allowed the use of post-nominals N.D., D.O., and D.C. The American trained chiropractors, all D.C. only, identified the need for a program which would bring national recognition and legitimize its proponents and I explore this initiative in a forthcoming paper.<sup>11</sup> This proposition reduced to untrained persons adopting Palmer's *identity* of chiropractic at the time Victoria and other states were considering the intro-

duction of legislation. The worst-case outcome would have been generic registration as a manipulative therapist or physiotherapist under a board of medical practitioners while the ideal was for chiropractic-specific legislation<sup>35,65</sup> with a board inclusive of chiropractors. As always, the outcomes were compromises.

### *Chiropractic clinical practice*

The argument of this paper is that American-trained chiropractors held an identity of chiropractic based on Palmer's teachings, however divergent they may have become as they spread to Australasia; for example G.M. McKenzie was a graduate of LACC and established his practice in Brisbane about 1928,<sup>114</sup> advertising "Watch this paper every Wednesday for striking testimonials from satisfied patients." About that time J.L. Smiley, given as a 1927 graduate of Palmer<sup>34</sup> and who had established a chiropractic practice in Fremantle, on the West Coast of Australia, took two years away to visit the East Coast.<sup>115</sup> He advertised in 1928 in Brisbane as a chiropractor under the heading "Medical" that "Chiropractic removes the cause of disease. Nature makes you well."<sup>116</sup> As with Brake, Smiley knew Palmer's position but unlike her did not claim chiropractic was a cure. Palmer's idea was to "remove the cause"<sup>117</sup> of disease as expressed a few years later by another Brisbane chiropractor, John Pickles, a 1937 Palmer graduate,<sup>34</sup> who in a press advertisement explained the "cause of disease and the factors that change disease back again to health."<sup>118</sup>

Smiley is a case study of early American-trained chiropractors in Australasia and an understanding of press reports of his practice in Fremantle provides an identity of chiropractic as seen through the eyes of patients. There, in 1926, a year before his listed year of graduation, Norman Ward wrote as a patient of Smiley to say, "Will you let me tell your readers, through your paper, what chiropractic has done for me?" He wrote of suffering "bilious attacks,

deafness, vertigo, and constipation.” In “despair of my life” he took chiropractic adjustments also written of as “spinal adjustments.” His constipation disappeared, the bilious attacks ceased, and he had “no vertigo seizures since my first adjustment, six weeks ago.”<sup>119</sup> This is a patient testimonial associating improvement in a range of symptoms with chiropractic adjustment, matters that are forbidden today under the Australian Health Practitioner Regulation National Law Act (2009)<sup>120</sup> enforced by the Chiropractic Board of Australia,<sup>121</sup> effectively stifling the expression of chiropractic’s professional identity. The New Zealand Chiropractic Board seems less antagonistic to the profession and offers a comprehensive advertising policy.<sup>122</sup>

After four years in Brisbane Smiley returned to Fremantle and a news report said, “The followers of chiropractic believe that the nervous system controls the health of the body; that if anything interrupts the healthy working of nerves, the result is disease in some part of the body.”<sup>123</sup> Mrs. Cummings, an older woman, is quoted as now “having better health than ever” in her life, and Mrs. Stoye of South Fremantle spoke strongly about “those women who do not take due care of their children’s backs in infancy, where a great deal of spinal misalignment takes place.” Mr. West, of Robert Harper and Co., said, “If I had five young children ... I would have them examined at the end of their first year of life.” Mr. West “severely strained his back” yet was “ready for work in ten days to the amazement of friends and employers. These comments are classic to the teachings of the Palmer method of chiropractic and clearly establish a professional identity for early chiropractors in Australia similar to that of North America.

It does not seem possible that local practitioners without an exposure to Palmer’s concepts in an American institution such as undertaken by McKenzie and Smiley could have any consequential knowledge of “chiropractic” other than sec-

ond-handedly through texts. I note it was possible from 1913 to buy from the American University in Chicago a two-volume set for home study called *Chiropractic - The Science of Spinal Adjustment*.<sup>124</sup>

Interpretations of chiropractic by those lacking exposure in North America could be modified by their own ideas taken largely from European manual therapists,<sup>125</sup> *napravits*,<sup>126</sup> and as the record shows, naturopaths. Perhaps this is a reason for McKenzie distinguishing himself as being trained in America, albeit it at LACC and not Palmer College.

Another example of the Palmer approach to chiropractic practice is seen with 1928 graduate<sup>34</sup> Thomas Lampert who, in 1937 wrote<sup>127</sup> on the “vitality of the body” that the “patient is given a Chiropractic examination with the Neurocalometer (nerve heat-testing instrument); the injury, aggravated by years of pain, is discovered; an X-ray is taken, and finally, a spinal correction is made ... The full flow of 100 per cent, energy is restored ... there are numbers of those whom one sees about who are well below par, working on 80 per cent, to 90 per cent, of capacity or energy, and do not know it.”

The public understanding of chiropractic may be summarised by these anonymous words published in 1938 as “Answers”<sup>128</sup> to matters that had previously arisen in *The Courier-Mail*: “PETER. — Do you mean ‘chiropractor’, a nerve specialist, who treats disease by manipulation of the spinal column?” In contrast, an un-named medical correspondent writing for *The Bulletin* in 1963<sup>129</sup> noted “Chiropractic is a method of curing disease by manipulating the spinal column.” The context of this observation is a report of a change within the Victorian Branch of the Australian Labor Party where in 1960 they agreed that “it be a plank of Labor’s platform that the Chiropractors’ Association of Victoria be recognised” and three years later, in 1963, that the Association “not be recognised ‘in the interests of the welfare and health of

the community.” I am furthering my research on this new artefact and will explore the events of those ‘three years’ with my report of the Inquiries.<sup>11</sup>

As for the matter of professional identity it is clear the public held a favorable view of chiropractic and the relationship between disease and “manipulating the spinal column” while a medical correspondent saw the extreme of “curing disease by manipulating the spinal column,” a claim made by Brake.<sup>38(p.29)</sup> As noted in my methods, a Pragmatist’s understanding of history is not a semantic quarrel and here I see an identity emerging that chiropractic had to do with disease and spinal manipulation. This “idea” seemed common in press advertising and other commentary during the Formative Period. I am also aware I do not know the nature of “chiropractic” which informed these views; it could have been that of the American-trained approach or it could have been a self-proclaimed local.

### *Education and identity*

My answer to the question, “Did the characteristics of chiropractic’s professional identity play a role in the emergence of chiropractic education, and if so, which characteristics?” is no, on the basis that chiropractic education did not emerge during the Formative Period. The training that did exist from time to time lacked any content from American-trained chiropractors and represented the simple renaming of naturopathic and osteopathic training.

It was important for the profession to establish an internationally-recognized educational program as it would establish the professional identity of chiropractic in Australasia. The commencement of the region’s first such program with government recognition and support would validate chiropractic in general and the clinical approach in particular of the group which achieved this.

Apart from the ever-changing terminology which moved from naturopathy to os-

teopathy to become chiropractic, the pre-1975 Australian institutions had no capacity to deliver “basic sciences.”<sup>130</sup> This point is relevant because North American colleges went into what was called<sup>64</sup> the “Basic Science Period” between 1927 and 1944. It took longer<sup>131,132</sup> for the majority of colleges to make the transition but this element of the curriculum was not lost on the curious Australians undertaking campus visits to inform their particular Inquiry and who came to associate the sciences with validity. Such courses were notably absent from local training programs

As noted in the Ward Report,<sup>14</sup> when reporting their view of the pre-1975 training program in Melbourne at the Chiropractic and Osteopathic College of Australasia, “the educational standards of staff were inadequate,”<sup>14(p.49)</sup> and of the training at the SCC “the faculty (staff), although well-intentioned, did not possess the academic qualifications that the mainstream of tertiary education in Australia expects- only two members of the administration and faculty possessed qualifications other than ‘of Chiropractic.’”<sup>14(p.49)</sup>

Meanwhile the soon-to-be established ICC program would evolve with contract teaching for the science courses<sup>133(p.26)</sup> to support the American-trained chiropractic staff such as Marcia Cerutti, a 1966/67 graduate of Cleveland College and the founding Senior Lecturer at ICC in 1975.<sup>134</sup> ICC became that program now based at RMIT University Melbourne, the history of which I have previously reported.<sup>135,136</sup> Additional information regarding the Sydney College of Chiropractic (SCC) was added to those papers by Devereaux<sup>137</sup> and colleagues,<sup>138</sup> and regarding educational standards in general by Bolton.<sup>139</sup> There was also an “Editors’ Note”<sup>140</sup> of general principles for the reporting of history. Two points of relevance for this paper are taken from that exchange:

i. the supporters of the SCC hold the belief their program was of a higher standard than reported by Molyneux and me based on documents we had available at the



time; and

- ii. Bolton had addressed the question of educational standards earlier than we had reported.

Today I have no difficulty in accepting Bolton's version of events as he was offering a first-person account of his role in the matters. With regard to the SCC this paper presents additional views taken from period documents and the reader can draw their own conclusions.

Meanwhile I have shown Brake actually had some training as a chiropractor and was practicing in Melbourne from 1905, and that Harold Williams was practicing chiropractic in Sydney from 1920, both in the Palmer manner. Even though Roberts, born 11 November 1892,<sup>141</sup> returned from England mid-way during this period (1914) he did not practice as a chiropractor nor advertise his services as a chiropractor. He persistently claimed he was a naturopath and an osteopath and does not seem to be qualified in any way that would entitle him to establish a program of chiropractic education let alone be considered the "Father of Chiropractic Education in Australia." If such recognition was warranted it would, in my view, apply to Doug Winter,<sup>142</sup> whose report<sup>143</sup> was instrumental in setting appropriate standards for the first chiropractic program in Australia. Winter's report, among others, will be examined in detail elsewhere.<sup>11</sup>

To summarize this section, I see the early situation in Australia as one where some locally or self-trained therapists were *converging* towards chiropractic, while those trained in North America were returning to Australia and perhaps *diverging* from Palmer's approach, a divergence reflected in the rapid growth of other colleges established in North America by Palmer graduates<sup>26(pp.320-38),27-29</sup> with most diverging from or replacing Palmer's teachings with their own interpretations. The most extreme example of divergence I can identify is Oakley Smith, an 1899 graduate of Palmer's School<sup>26(p.29)</sup> and who also com-

pleted post-graduate studies with Palmer (1901),<sup>26(p.52)</sup> and went on to found in 1917 a replacement profession, "Naprathopathy."<sup>144</sup>

The outcome is that the ICC would develop the first program of chiropractic education in Australasia outside the 'master-apprentice' model of training and of a standard that could be formally accredited by an external body of experts.

### **The American chiropractor down-under**

Peters and Chance<sup>60</sup> clarified the distinction with careful documentation of all early mainstream chiropractors who were largely if not always graduates of Palmer College. Peters named each in his thesis on the topic.<sup>38</sup> I have given one known to be a graduate of LACC. All others can only be second-stream practitioners.

Simpson<sup>33</sup> makes the point that "Second stream chiropractors were active in Australia from about 1901 and were treating patients in each State's capital city" which contradicts his preceding statement, citing sociologist Campbell,<sup>50</sup> that "Chiropractic first appeared in the Australian health care delivery system shortly after World War I." He does recognize Campbell's view that "Second stream chiropractic describes those who were self-taught or had learnt their skills in Australia by apprenticeship or, later, studying in one of the Australian Colleges."<sup>48</sup> Campbell earned his doctorate with a thesis examining Australian chiropractic and used the term "motley mixers"<sup>50(p.203)</sup> to describe locally trained chiropractors particularly those from a college operated by an entrepreneur of health modalities, mostly naturopathy, F.G. Roberts.

### *Straight-Mixer not really a matter*

The presence of self-trained chiropractors and Campbell's observation raises the straight-mixer divide which originally referred to the philosophical approach as either Palmer's "pure" method of adjusting

specific vertebrae<sup>145</sup> or Langworthy's "mixed" approach with a range of therapies and a more regional approach to the spine.<sup>26</sup> It is to be expected that "those persons who learnt their skills in Australia, often with little formal training"<sup>50(p.4)</sup> and with no exposure to Palmer would have a mixed-bag of therapeutic modalities and stand in stark contrast to those Palmer graduates who identified and adjusted subluxations.

This may have been a useful distinction early in 20th century Australia but I am not prepared to make the argument that a straight-mixer divide played a role in the events of 1974/75. Rather, I will claim these philosophical approaches became divisive, with the Palmer position of treating a broader scope of symptoms beyond pain and mechanical disorders with a narrow scope of practice, the subluxation-centered adjustment, contrasting with the locally trained who also accepted holistic presentations but treated them with an immensely wide range of interventions, from the bourgeois European fondness for health spas<sup>146</sup> to spinal manipulation, also a European approach to health considered by Palmer as "natural bone-setting."<sup>147</sup> Spas are specifically noted as F.G. Roberts made his name along the East Coast of Australia with such establishments, marketed as "Nature Cures" where care was provided by "those who were self taught or had learnt their skills in Australia by apprenticeship ..."<sup>38</sup> (p.54)

## Conclusion

The evidence supports the view that locally trained persons latched onto the idea of chiropractic when it became expedient to do so without any concept of the depth of meaning inherent in Palmer's views as embraced by North American-trained chiropractors returning to Australia. We therefore end the Formative Period and prepare to enter the Inquiry Period (from 1960/61) with four types of chiropractors which I propose to be:

1. A European thread of manual thera-

pists with little to no idea about chiropractic;

2. Local Australians who thought it a good idea to practice 'chiropractic' as an emerging therapy that was being promoted by others to government for formal recognition;

3. A North American group which came to include graduates from colleges other than Palmer, who diverged from Palmer's view to greater or lesser degrees; and

4. A coherent group of chiropractors who would come to firmly advance a model of chiropractic in the Palmer manner.

My companion paper<sup>11</sup> will report the Inquiry Period that led to the ACA-V being the group which firmly advanced a model of chiropractic in the Palmer manner albeit with internal conflict, while the Kaufman and the Roberts Colleges are seen to be an agglomeration of opportunists with little to no training in chiropractic per se.

My exposition gave my Experienceable Difference Test, the Pragmatist's homologue of the null hypothesis, as "there was chiropractic education in Australia before 1975." The evidence presented in this paper does not uphold this test and I conclude there was none. I also find that the characteristics of chiropractic were as put forward by Bolton<sup>51</sup> in 1985, namely the discipline of chiropractic unsullied with naturopathy, osteopathy or other nature cure, and the institutional standards which during this period were North American.

From these I find that the discipline of American chiropractors was indeed chiropractic being the discipline of the college from which they graduated, and the standards came to be those from the late 1920s as American colleges started to align their curriculum with statutory examinations required of graduates and registration authorities of the United States and Canada.

Both the discipline of chiropractic and educational standards of any sort were absent from all training provided by Australians who chose to call themselves a chiropractor during this Formative Period.

Overall, the professional identity of chiropractic during the Formative Period, to 1960, was one that associated the amelioration of disease with spinal manipulation.

## Notes

1 Corporate Affairs Office. Certificate of Incorporation of Public Company, Victorian Companies Act 1961. Melbourne: CH Rixon Government Printer 1975. Original document held in the author's collection.

2 Swinburne, R.G. (1969). Vagueness, inexactness, and imprecision. *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 19(4), 281-99.

3 Bolton, S.P. (1995). Early days of Australian chiropractic [Letters]. *Australian Journal of Public Health*, 19(1), 105.

4 Chiropractic Library Collaboration. (2020). *Index to Chiropractic Literature*. Search screen at <https://www.chiroindex.org/#results>.

5 Garraghan, G.J. (1946). *A Guide to Historical Method*. New York: Fordham University Press.

6 Bucheli, M, Wadhwani, R.D. (2014 Jan). Organizations in Time: History, Theory, Methods, published to *Oxford Scholarship Online*. <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093>

7 Hockett, H.C. (1955). *The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

8 Tosh, J. (2015). *The Pursuit of History. Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* 6e. London: Routledge.

9 Kent, C. (2018). Vertebral subluxation: semantic pathology, epistemic trespassing, and ethics. *Journal of Philosophy, Principles and Practice of Chiropractic*, 1-7.

10 Zammito, J. (2005). Ankersmit and historical representation. *History and Theory*, 44(2), 155-81.

11 Ebrall, P.S. (in submission). Finding the professional identity of chiropractic in Australasia: A pragmatic narrative of the Inquiry Period from 1960 to 1979. *Chiropractic History*. tba.

12 Guthrie, H.N. (1961). *Western Australian Honorary Royal Commission into Natural Therapy*. Perth: Alex B. Davies, Government Printer.

13 Teece, J.C. (1975). *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Question of the Registration of Chiropractors*. Parliament of New South Wales.

14 Ward, H.R., Chair. (1975). *Report upon Osteopathy, Chiropractic, Naturopathy. Ordered by the Legislative Assembly to be printed, 27th November 1975*. Melbourne: CH Rixon Government Printer.

15 Webb, E.C., (Chairman). (1977). *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Chiropractic, Osteopathy, Homoeopathy and Naturopathy*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

16 The Editors. In Memoriam: Professor Edwin Clifford Webb. (2006). *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 36, 118-9.

17 Inglis, B.D., (chairman). (1979). *Chiropractic in New Zealand. Report of the Commission of Inquiry presented to the House of Representatives by Command of His Excellency the Governor-General*. Wellington: Hasselberg, Government Printer.

18 Fraser, B. (1996). Pragmatic markers. *Pragmatics*, 6(1), 167-90.

19 Palmer, D.D. (1910). *Text-Book of the Science, Art and Philosophy of Chiropractic for Students and Practitioners*. Portland OR: Portland Printing House Co.

20 Palmer, D.D. (1914). *The Chiropractor*. Los Angeles: Press of Beacon Light Printing Company.

21 Palmer, D.D. (1905). *The Chiropractor*, 1(3), inside cover.

22 Keating, Jr., J.C. (n.d.). *D.D. Palmer's Lifeline*. Phoenix: National Institute of Chiropractic. Personal archives.

23 Weed, S.H. (1905). Letters. *The Chiropractor*. 1 (5), 16,17.

24 Hawk, C. (2005). When worldviews collide: maintaining a vitalistic perspective in chiropractic in the postmodern era. *Journal of Chiropractic Humanities*, 12. <http://archive.journalchirohumanities.com>

25 Weed, S.H. Handwritten undated letter, copies of which are held in various collections.

26 Faulkner, T.J. (2017). *The Chiropractor's Protégé*. Rock Island IL: Association for the History of Chiropractic.

27 Fitton, J., Green, B.N., Ruge, R. (1994). John Fitz Alan Howard, D.C. founder and first president of The National College of Chiropractic. *Chiropractic History*, 14(1), 37.

- 28 Keating, Jr., J.C., Jackson, R.B., Oliva, M., Phillips, R.B. Origin of the LACC, 1901-1922. *Journal of Manipulative and Physiological Therapeutics*, 1994;17(2), 93-106. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/8169549>.
- 29 Keating, Jr., J.C., Montgomery, D.P. (2006). Logan Basic College in the era of Vinton Logan. *Chiropractic History*, 26(2), 55-70.
- 30 Senzon, S.A., Myers, S.P. (2019). The Morikubotrial: Content analysis of a landmark chiropractic legal case. *Chiropractic History*, 39(1), 88-116.
- 31 Devereaux, E.P., O'Reilly, B.K., Cice, J. (2015). *History of the Sydney College of Chiropractic*. Pathway to a profession. Sydney: Macquarie Light-house Press.
- 32 Palmer, D.D. (1906). Chiropractic is not osteopathy. *The Chiropractor*, 3(1,2), 36-41.
- 33 Simpson, J.K. (2002). *The Influence of Political Medicine in the Development of the Chiropractic Profession in Australia*. [Thesis]. University of Queensland. <https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:105997>.
- 34 Bolton, S.P. (2006). A retrospective view of historical periods in Australian chiropractic history. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 36, 9-16.
- 35 Bolton, S.P. (1970). Report on chiropractic. *Journal of the Australian Chiropractors' Association*, Aug- Oct:11-4.
- 36 Hunt, R.G. (1997). Australia's first lady of chiropractic: There is more to the story! *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 27(2), 42-50.
- 37 Peters, R.E. (2015). Chiropractic in New Zealand: 1914 - the first Palmer graduate arrives. *Chiropractic History*, 35(2), 7-18.
- 38 Peters, R.E. (2014). An early history of chiropractic. The Palmers and Australia. Dissertation, RMIT University. Asheville: Integral Altitude.
- 39 Peters, R.E., Chance, M.A. (1995). 1910: A significant year (or the New Zealand influence). *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 25(2), 42-9.
- 40 Palmer, D.D. (1904). Chiropractic History. *The Chiropractor*, 1(1), 8.
- 41 Van Gent, W.P.G. (2013). The science by which the cause of disease is removed by spinal adjustments: Chiropractic in early twentieth century New Zealand. *Chiropractic History*, 33(2), 37-55.
- 42 New Zealand Chiropractors Association. About / History of NZCA. Retrieved 26 November 2019 <https://www.chiropractic.org.nz/about-us/history-of-nzca/>.
- 43 Palmer, B.J. (1931). What is Chiropractic? B.J. Palmer - Part 1 (1931). Video accessed 26 November 2019 at <https://youtu.be/Thrgmi-bvkw>.
- 44 Peck, J. (2015). The straight-mixer quandary - will chiropractic survive? Can it thrive? *Chiropractic Dialogues*, (1), 1-8 <http://chiropracticdialogues.sharepoint.com>
- 45 Parliament of New Zealand. (1955). Chiropractors' Association Act 1955 (No. 60). Hansard. p. 556.
- 46 Fairest C. (2019). email as [Media Alert] addressing fake letter published in the *NZ Herald*.
- 47 Holt, K., Kelly, B., Haavik Taylor, H. (2009). Practice characteristics of chiropractors in New Zealand. *Chiropractic Journal Australia*, 39:103-9.
- 48 New Zealand College of Chiropractic. Home / Our College. Accessed 15 July 2020 at <http://chiropractic.ac.nz/about-our-college/>.
- 49 Australian Chiropractor's Association (Victorian Branch). (1938). Memorandum of Association. An unsigned copy of this document as amended November 1961 is held in the author's collection.
- 50 Campbell, S.A., Black, A., Dillon, J. (1985). The Rise and Legitimation of Chiropractic: A study of professionalisation [Thesis]. University of New England. <https://hdl.handle.net/1959.11/12799>.
- 51 Keating, Jr., J.C., Jackson, R.B., Oliva, M., Phillips, R.B. (1994). Origin of the LACC, 1901-1922. *Journal Manipulative Physiological Therapeutics*, 17(2), 93-106. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/8169549>.
- 52 Nugent J.J. (1947 May). California school merger completed. *Journal of the National Chiropractic Association*, pp. 11,63.
- 53 Bolton, S.P. (1985). Roots: A mainstream chronicle. *Journal of the Australian Chiropractors' Association*, 15(2), 44-5.
- 54 O'Neill A. (1994). Enemies within and without: educating chiropractors, osteopaths and traditional acupuncturists. [Thesis]. LaTrobe University.
- 55 Australian Physiotherapy Association. List of Fellows on 1st September 1925. (1925). Nature Cure and Medical Freedom. p. 16. Note: The year for this item is also given as 1924 in A.C.A. News, May 1988. (Source: Rome collection).

- 56 Lecture on healing. [News]. (1928 Dec 1). *Daily Examiner* (Grafton, NSW), p. 4. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](http://trove.nla.gov.au).
- 57 Osteopaths in court. [News]. (1927 Sep 3). *The West Australian* (Perth, WA), p. 12. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](http://trove.nla.gov.au).
- 58 Bolton, S.P. (1997). Chiropractic education in Australia: Historical perspectives and contemporary issues. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 27, 70-7.
- 59 Bolton, S.P. (1998). Second-stream colleges in Australia [letter]. *Chiropractic History*, 18(1), 8.
- 60 Peters, R.E., Chance, M.A. (1997). Chiropractic education: The beginning. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 27, 51-63.
- 61 Physiotherapists Registration Board of Victoria. (2006). Background notes for New Board Members. Melbourne: Collins St West.
- 62 Chiropractors Registration Board of Victoria. (1994). *Chiropractors and Osteopaths Act 1978* (No. 9161). Melbourne: Law Printer. <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au>
- 63 Palmer, D.D. (1904). Chiropractic defined. *The Chiropractor*, 1(1), i.
- 64 Milne, L. (1952). Forgotten Freedom. Davenport: The Palmer School of Chiropractic. p. 192.
- 65 Bolton, S.P. (1977). The Webb Report. *Journal of the Australian Chiropractors Association*, 11(2), 23-5.
- 66 I use the term "College" to encompass the institution in its evolution from "School and Infirmary" to "School" and then "College. Of course, these events are dated well before the institution became a "University" in May 1991. (Ref Keating).
- 67 Advertisements by Palmer graduates practicing in Sydney Australia. (1938). *The Chiropractor*, 34 (7), 31.
- 68 Jewell, J.S. (1881) Spinal irritation. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, pp 760-72. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00005053-188110000-00004>.
- 69 Gillies, H. (1895). *The Theory and Practice of Counter-Irritation*. London: Macmillan.
- 70 Hood, W. (1871) On the so-called "Bone-setting", its nature and results. Parts 1-4. *The Lancet*: 11 March 336-8; 18 March 372-4; 1 April 441-3.
- 71 Hood, W.P. (1871). *On Bone-Setting (So Called) And Its Relation to the Treatment of Joints Crippled by Injury, Rheumatism, Inflammations, &c. &c.* London: MacMillan and Co.
- 72 Hunt, R.G. (2005). Adjusting the record: revealing more of the story. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 35, 125-39.
- 73 Dr Palmer on the stand. (1905). *The Chiropractor*, 1(4), 13.
- 74 Class photograph. (1905). *The Chiropractor*, 1 (3), 8.
- 75 McDowall, D., Chaseling, M., Emmanuel, E., Grace, S. (2019). Daniel David Palmer, the Father of Chiropractic: His heritage revisited. A story of enlightenment, spiritualism and innovation. *Chiropractic History*, 39(1), 25-40.
- 76 F.G. Roberts' Facebook page. Accessed 26 November 2019 [https://www.facebook.com/pg/FG-Roberts-230575361494/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/FG-Roberts-230575361494/about/?ref=page_internal).
- 77 F.G. Roberts [Advertisement]. (1936 Oct 31). *The Morning Bulletin*. Rockhampton, p. 2, col. 5. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](http://trove.nla.gov.au).
- 78 F.G. Roberts [Advertisement]. (1953 Jul 11). *Maryborough Chronicle*, p. 6, col. 2. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](http://trove.nla.gov.au).
- 79 Devereaux, E.P., O'Reilly, B, Cice, J. (2008). Profiles of Australian chiropractic pioneers. Frederick George Price, ND, DC. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 38(1), 28-30.
- 80 Chiropractic Australia. Home. Retrieved 4 September 2019. <https://chiropracticaustralia.org.au>.
- 81 Phillip Institute of Technology. (1979). Chiropractic. Graduating classes. p. 68. Data collated by the author as Head of the Department of Chiropractic RMIT University. 2005.
- 82 Australian Government, ASIC, Connect. Business name availability The Chiropractic and Osteopathy College of Australasia. Available on 23 July 2020. <https://connectonline.asic.gov.au/RegistrySearch/>
- 83 Australian Government, ASIC, Connect. Business names holder The Chiropractic and Osteopathy College of Australasia. Accessed on 23 July 2020. <https://connectonline.asic.gov.au/RegistrySearch/>

84 Walker, B.F. (2005). The establishment of the Chiropractic & Osteopathic College of Australasia in Queensland (1996–2002). *Chiropractic and Osteopathy*, 13(3). DOI 10.1186/1746-1340-13-3.

85 Murdoch University. Home / My profile. Professor Bruce Walker DC, MPH, DrPH, FRCC (UK), AM. Accessed 23 July 2020 <http://profiles.murdoch.edu.au/myprofile/bruce-walker/>.

86 French, S., Cameron, M., Walker, B.F., Reggars, J.W., Esterman, A.J. (2006). A Cochrane Review of superficial heat or cold for low back pain. *Spine*, 31(9), 998-1006. DOI 10.1097/01.brs.0000214881.10814.64.

87 Ringwood Clinic/Meet Dr Reggars. Accessed 23 July 2020 <http://www.ringwoodclinic.com.au/meet-dr-john-reggars>.

88 For example, Griffiths University. Academic Awards, Programs, Nomenclature and Abbreviations Schedule of Abbreviations for University Awards. p. 2, item 2.0. <https://policies.griffith.edu.au>

89 Australian Qualifications Framework. (2013). AQF specification for the Diploma. pp. 38-40. <https://www.aqf.edu.au/aqf-levels>.

90 Pullen, R. (1944). The looking glass. (1944 Sep 3). *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), p. 7. Retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>

91 Whacko! Wheeler the healer! The story of a pain in the neck. [News]. (1947 Mar 16). *Truth* (Sydney), p. 29. Retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>

92 “Certificates” go merry round. (1953 Aug 30). *Truth* (Brisbane), p. 1,4 retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>

93 McKie, R. Sydney has its odd little clubs. (1946 Aug 22). *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), p. 14. Retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>

94 Wiese, G., Callender, A.A. (2007). How many chiropractic schools? An update. *Chiropractic History*, 27(2), 89-119. <http://data.memberclicks.com/site/ahc/v27n2.pdf>.

95 Chiropractor wanted. [Advertisement]. (1934 Jan 19). *The Sun* (Sydney, NSW), p. 4. Retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>

96 The chiropractor of the month. (1968) F.G. Roberts, D.C. *Chiropractic News*. July-August:7. Note:

Chiropractic News was a publication of the United Chiropractors Association of Australia.

97 Brisbane Chiropractic Group. Home. Dating back four generations. Accessed 20 July 2020. <https://www.brisbanechiropracticcentre.com.au>.

98 F.G. Roberts. [Advertisement]. (1939 Sep 18). *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, p. 2 col. 5, lower. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).

99 F.G. Roberts. [Advertisement]. (1942 Aug 25). *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, p. 2. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).

100 F.G. Roberts. [Advertisement]. (1944 Aug 2). *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, p. 2 retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).

101 Roberts, F.G. (1930-1939). Practical dietotherapy: Dietitians course. Melbourne: British and Australian Institute of Naturopathy, [193-?]. Retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/>

102 Need for chiropractic college stressed. [News]. (1949 Nov 21). *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), p. 2. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).

103 F.G. Roberts. [Advertisement]. (1947 Apr 21). *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate* (NSW), p. 7. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).

104 Note: Still's founding version of osteopathy splintered around 1900 with J Martin Littlejohn forming the Chicago School and then returning to England around 1913 to form the British School of Osteopathy which laid the European foundation of Osteopathy. <https://www.iosteopathy.org/the-io/history-of-osteopathy/>.

105 Baer, H.A. (2006). The drive for legitimization by osteopathy and chiropractic in Australia: Between heterodoxy and orthodoxy. *Complementary Health Practice Review*, 11(2), 77-94. DOI 10.1177/1533210106292467.

106 W.H. Judd. [Advertisement]. (1919 Jul 10). *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney, NSW), p. 6. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).

107 Bryce A. (1910). Mechano-therapy in disease with special reference to osteopathy. [Remarks]. *British Journal of Medicine*, 2(2592), 581 DOI 10.1136/bmj.2.2592.581.

108 N. Darson. [Advertisement]. Geelong Advertiser (Vic) .Wed 14 Sep 1921. p. 7 retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).

- 109 N. Darson. [Advertisement]. (1922 Oct 8). *The Telegraph* (Brisbane, Qld), p. 22. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).
- 110 Darson-Smith. [Marriages]. (1922 Mar 24). *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), p. 1. Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).
- 111 C. S. Becket. [Advertisement]. (1944 Jan 7). *The Weekly Gazette* (Goomalling, WA), p. 3 Retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au)
- 112 Okura, M., Uza, M., Izumi, H., Ohno, M., Arai, H., et al. (2013). Factors that affect the process of professional identity formation in public health nurses. *Open Journal of Nursing*, 3, 8-15. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojn.2013.31002>.
- 113 Slay, H.S., Smith, D.A. (2010). *Professional Identity Construction: Using Narrative to Understand the Negotiation of Professional and Stigmatized Cultural Identities*. The Tavistock Institute. 10 November. <https://doi.org/>
- 114 G. M. McKenzie. [Advertisement]. (1928 Oct 6). *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld), p. 3. Retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>
- 115 Smiley, well known chiropractor ... [Personal]. (1930 May 8). *The Advertiser* (Fremantle), p. 1. Retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>
- 116 J. L. Smiley. [Advertisement]. (1928 Nov 23). *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld), p. 2 retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>
- 117 Palmer, D.D. (1904). Chiropractic history. *The Chiropractor*, 1(1), 8,9.
- 118 J. F. Pickles. [Advertisement]. (1938 Jul 30). *Dayboro Times and Moreton Mail* (Qld), p. 2. Retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au>
- 119 Chiropractic and Health. [Letters]. (1926 Aug 13). *The Advertiser* (Fremantle WA), p. 5. retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au](https://trove.nla.gov.au).
- 120 Health Practitioner Regulation National Law Act 2009. <https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/inforce/current/act-2009-045>.
- 121 Chiropractic Board of Australia. (2019). Testimonials. <https://ahpra-search.clients.funnelback.com>
- 122 The New Zealand Chiropractic Board. (2020). Advertising Policy. <https://www.chiropracticboard.org.nz>
- 123 Chiropractic. Fremantle adherents. [News]. (1930 Aug 14). *The Advertiser* (Fremantle WA), p. 2. retrieved at [trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper](https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper)
- 124 Author unknown. *Chiropractic: The science of Spinal Adjustment*. Books 1 and 2. Chicago: American University.
- 125 Rock, K. (1991). Kjellberg. The Man and the Healer. Brisbane, Boolarong Publishers.
- 126 Palmer, D.D. (1905). Napravit trail. And, Bohemian napravit. *The Chiropractor*, 1(8), 17-21, 21-4.
- 127 TL Lampert. (1937 Mar 4). [Personal]. *The Katoomba Daily* (NSW). p. 3, retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper>
- 128 Answers. (1938 Jun 15). *The Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), p. 9 retrieved at <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper>
- 129 From a Melbourne Correspondent. (1963). The chiropractors' lobby. The spine manipulators and the ALP. [Medicine]. *The Bulletin*. Sydney, N.S.W.: John Haynes and J.F. Archibald. June 29. p. 10. National Library of Australia.
- 130 Gibbons, R.W. (1985). Chiropractic's Abraham Flexner: The lonely journey of John J. Nugent, 1935-1963. *Chiropractic History*, 5, 45-51.
- 131 Lineweaver, W.S. (1945). Further discussion on basic science. *National Chiropractic Journal*, January. pp. 27,48.
- 132 Budden, W.A. (1945). More about basic science. *National Chiropractic Journal*. March. pp. 9,42.
- 133 Carroll, B. (1995). *A Decade of Achievement: Phillip Institute of Technology*. Melbourne: RMIT Press.
- 134 Chance MA. (2002). In memoriam: Marcia Rita Hart Le Breton Cerutti. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 32(1), 27,8.
- 135 Ebrall, P.S., Molyneux, T.P. (2005). Thirty years of chiropractic education at RMIT University: The establishment period 1975 - 1978. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 35, 29-38.
- 136 Ebrall, P.S., Molyneux, T.P. (2005). Thirty years of chiropractic education at RMIT University: The consolidation period 1979 - 1999. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 35, 71-84.
- 137 Devereaux, E.P. (2005). Thirty years of chiropractic education at RMIT University: The establishment period 1975 - 1978. [Letter]. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*. 35:117.

138 Devereaux, E.P., O'Reilly B, Cice J. (2005). Thirty years of chiropractic education at RMIT University: The establishment period 1975 - 1978. [Letter]. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 35, 117-8.

139 Bolton, S.P. (2005). Thirty years of chiropractic education at RMIT University: The establishment period 1975 - 1978. [Letter]. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 35, 118-20.

140 Editors. (2005). Thirty years of chiropractic education at RMIT University: The establishment period 1975 - 1978. [Editors' Note]. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 35, 118.

141 Frederick George Roberts [In Memoriam]. (c. 1978). *Australian Practitioners Journal*, 1(5), 1. Note: This was early issue from the United Chiropractor's Association.

142 Ebrall, P.S. (2018). In memoriam, Douglas Winter : The father of university-based chiropractic

education in Australia. *Chiropractic Journal of Australia*, 46(1), 118,9.

143 Winter, D.O. (1975). *A Submission on Chiropractic by the Australian Chiropractors' Association to the Federal Committee into Chiropractic, Osteopathy and Naturopathy*. Springwood: Australian Chiropractors Association.

144 Smith, O. (1917). *Naprapathic Chartology*. Chicago: Chicago College of Naprapathy.

145 Palmer, D.D. (1905). Chiropractic mixed - or - pure and unadulterated. *The Chiropractor*, 1:8.

146 Brown, A. The history of spas. Blog accessed 11 July 2020. <https://www.tripsavvy.com/history-of-spas-3085930>.

147 Natural Bone-Setters. (1905). Story, in: *The Chiropractor*, 1(6), 18-20, 12.