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# The establishment of the International College of Chiropractic (ICC) Melbourne

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Abstract: The purpose of this pragmatic historical narrative is to report events leading to the establishment of the first program of education by chiropractors for chiropractors in Australasia. The mainstream chiropractors in Australia formed an independent education body incorporated on 6 March 1975 as the *International College of Chiropractic* (ICC). The anchor years are the early 1970s to 1975 during which the ICC went from an idea to a reality in a very short time. It then transitioned from a private, stand-alone fee-for-education institution to be within a state tertiary education system which resulted in government funding for student places. The evidence strongly supports my contention that the ICC marked the commencement of chiropractic education in Australia.

Indexing Terms: chiropractic; history; Australia; Government Inquiries; identity; education.

## Introduction

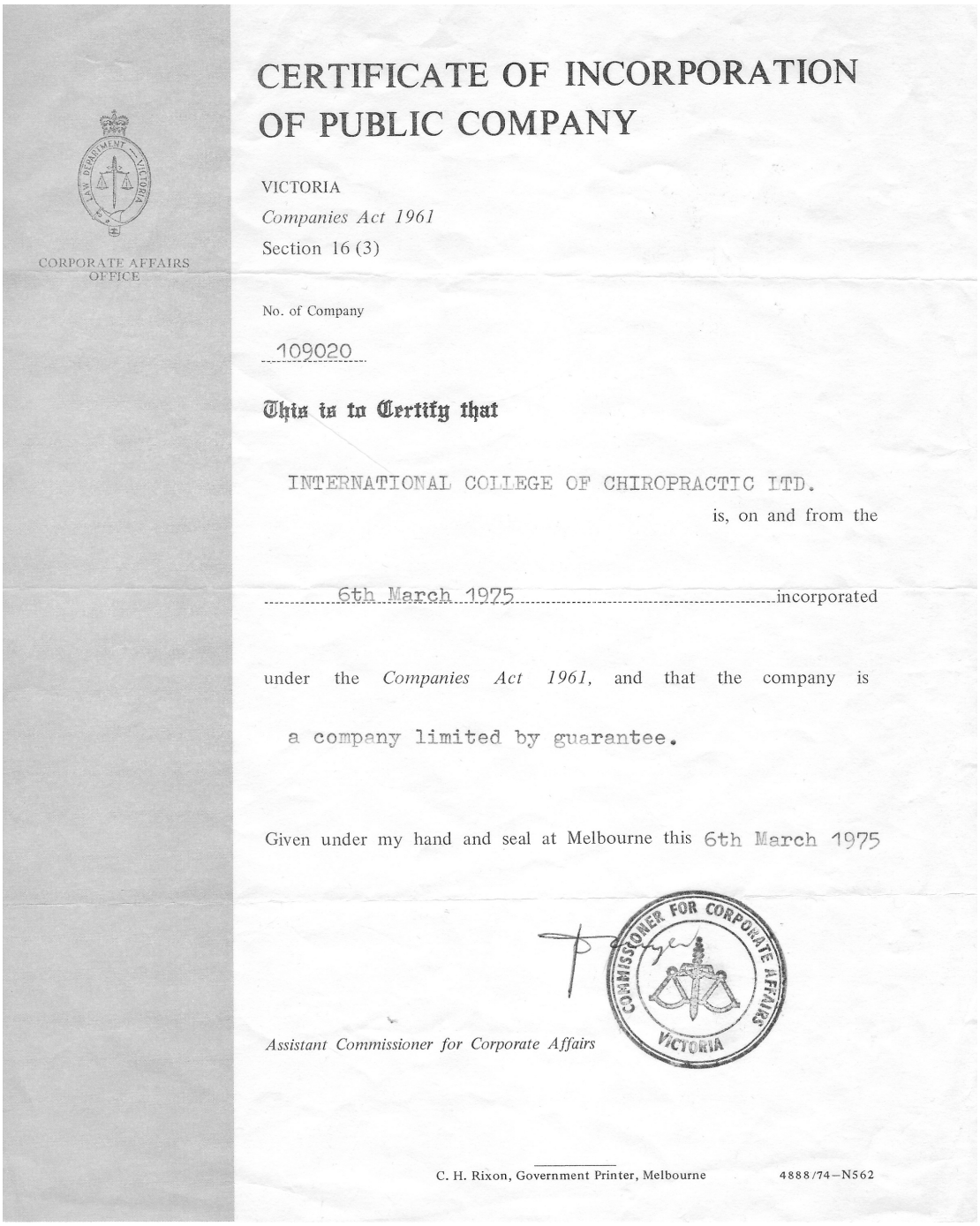
This paper is a pragmatic historical narrative reporting the establishment of an independent education body incorporated on 6 March 1975, (1) the *International College of Chiropractic* (ICC) (Figure 1). My narrative winds around a variety of documents ranging from minutes of meetings to published reports.

I consider that the rigour of ICC's focussed chiropractic curriculum brought clarity to the vague (2) professional identity of chiropractic that had characterised the discipline in Australia up until this time. I contend that an understanding of the nature of the ICC program and the qualifications of the chiropractors who conceived, founded and managed it demonstrates the paucity of intellectual merit in other Australian educational efforts at that time. Those second-stream programs purported to qualify persons as chiropractors but had no qualifications to do so. I maintain these local Australian training schemes (3, 4) were not and could not be considered to be 'chiropractic' education.

*... Australasia's first formalised program of chiropractic education taught by trained chiropractors holding to Palmer's founding principles was established in Melbourne in 1975 as the International College of Chiropractic (ICC) ...'*

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 RG. Vagueness, Inexactness, and Imprecision. Bri J Philos Sci. 1969;19(4):281-99. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjps/19.4.281.
3. Devereaux AM, EP, O'Reilly BK, Cice J. Alfred Frederick Kaufmann: A pioneer of osteopathic and chiropractic education in Australia. Chiropr Hist. 2021;40(2), 21-41.
4. Bolton SP. Early days of Australian chiropractic [Letters]. Aust J Pub Health. 1995;19(1):105.

Fig 1: The Certificate of Incorporation of the International College of Chiropractic Ltd (ICC)



CORPORATE AFFAIRS OFFICE

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF PUBLIC COMPANY

VICTORIA

*Companies Act 1961*

Section 16 (3)

No. of Company

109020

**This is to Certify that**

INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE OF CHIROPRACTIC LTD.

is, on and from the

6th March 1975 incorporated

under the *Companies Act 1961*, and that the company is

a company limited by guarantee.

Given under my hand and seal at Melbourne this 6th March 1975

COMMISSIONER FOR CORPORATE AFFAIRS VICTORIA

*Assistant Commissioner for Corporate Affairs*

C. H. Rixon, Government Printer, Melbourne 4888/74—N562

This pragmatic historical narrative specifically addresses the emergence of ICC in what I have elsewhere described as Inquiry Period (5) of chiropractic in Australasia. From 1960 that period followed the Formative period. (6) The period of this paper (1974 onwards) is placed towards the end of the Inquiry Period (1960-1979).

The front page of the Memorandum of Association is given as Figure 2.

5. Ebrall P. Finding the professional identity of chiropractic in Australasia that shaped education: A pragmatic narrative of the Inquiry Period from 1960 to 1979. Asia-Pac Chiropr J. 2022;3.1. URL apcj.net/papers-issue-3-1/#InquiryPeriod.

6. Ebrall PS. Finding the professional identity of chiropractic in Australasia: A pragmatic narrative of the Formative Period to 1960. Chiropr Hist. 2020;40(2):42-65.

Fig 2: ICC Memorandum of Association, front page

COMPANIES ACT 1961

COMPANY LIMITED BY GUARANTEE AND NOT HAVING

A SHARE CAPITAL

MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION

OF

INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE OF CHIROPRACTIC LTD.

I. The name of the Company is International College of Chiropractic Ltd. hereinafter called "the College".

II. The objects for which the College is established are:

(a) To institute a course of training in the science of chiropractic leading to the conferring of a degree in Chiropractic.

(b) To concur in the conferring of the degrees in Chiropractic.

(c) To provide facilities for continuing education post graduate research and research generally in the science of chiropractic.

(d) To associate with other tertiary institutions or their representatives with regard to standards of training, length of training and the examination of candidates for the degrees in Chiropractic.

(e) To procure funds for the carrying out of the objects of the College.

(f) To determine qualifications for the membership of the College.

AND solely for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing objects and not otherwise the College has power:-

## Methods

Standard approaches were taken to retrieve the artefacts that inform this narrative including hand-searching of private collections and identification of documents using the *Index to Chiropractic Literature*. (7)

Primary artefacts include the original minutes of the *Australian Chiropractors' Association of Victoria* (ACAV). The substance of this report is based on secondary artefacts as reports of the program and its activities. Tertiary artefacts include oral histories and documents such as emails and similar ephemera.

7. Chiropractic Library Collaboration. Index to Chiropractic Literature. Search screen. URL https://www.chiroindex.org/#results.

All documents were evaluated, (8) tested, (9, 10) and accepted as recording what happened. Documents reporting how it happened were considered secondary. (11) Interpretation was not a semantic (12) quarrel but one about context and purpose. (13)

## Historical context

Australia entered its eighth decade as a federated nation in 1970, the year of Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*. The war in Vietnam was dividing the nation as it readied to change national government in 1972, the year Nixon was besieged by Watergate in the US. *The Formative Period* of Australian chiropractic (6) had clear demarkation between a mainstream of chiropractors trained in North American colleges of chiropractic, meaning they were educated by chiropractic academics as licensed chiropractors, and a haphazard second stream of self-proclaimed practitioners. This second stream mainly consisted of people calling themselves an osteopath or a naturopath and to a varying extent, a chiropractor. Their education, such as it was, saw no role for qualified chiropractors as teachers, and relied on an apprenticeship model of a year or less, (14) if indeed there was any model.

In terms of chiropractic the 1970s was the decade in which Australia's first program of chiropractic education commenced. I will describe what is known about the formation of the *International College of Chiropractic* (ICC) by trained chiropractors from North American colleges. This new institution accepted its first students in 1975. The ICC was recognised in the *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Chiropractic, Osteopathy, Homoeopathy and Naturopathy*, (15) prepared by a four person panel led by Emeritus Professor Edwin Webb, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic), *University of Queensland*. During the conduct of the hearings Webb was appointed Vice-Chancellor of *Macquarie University*, now home to a chiropractic program. The committee first met on 16 October 1974 (15 p. 2) and delivered its report to the Australian Minister for Health, Ralph Hunt, on 27 April 1977. (15 p. i)

Notwithstanding that Barbara Brake, a pioneering female, undertook the first 3 month 'loop' of chiropractic study with DD Palmer and returned without graduating to practice as a chiropractor in Melbourne from 1905, (16) the mainstream of chiropractic began in 1920 (17) when Harold Williams, a graduate from Palmer College, arrived in Sydney. By 1938 there were sufficient qualified chiropractors to meet in Sydney on Monday, 15 August (18 p. 463) and to form an association a month later. (18 pp. 463-4) Four years later the Victorian branch was formed (ACAV) with its Memorandum of Association under the Companies Act 1938 being signed on 22 November 1942. (19)

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8 Garraghan GJ. *A Guide to Historical Method*. New York: Fordham University Press. 1946.

9. Bucheli M, Wadhwani, RD. Organizations in Time: History, Theory, Methods, published to *Oxford Scholarship Online* (Jan 2014). URL http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199646890.001.0001/acprof-9780199646890 and http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199646890.001.0001/acprof-9780199646890-chapter-13.

10. Hockett HC. *The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1955.

11. Tosh J. *The Pursuit of History. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history 6e*. London: Routledge. 2015.

12. Kent C. Vertebral Subluxation: Semantic Pathology, Epistemic Trespassing, and Ethics. Journal of Philosophy, Principles and Practice of Chiropractic. 2018:1-7.

13. Zammito J. Ankersmit and Historical Representation. History and Theory. 2005;44(2):155-81.

14. Devereaux EP, O'Reilly B, Cice J. Profiles of Australian chiropractic pioneers. Frederick George Price, ND, DC. Chiropr J Aust. 2008;38(1):28-30.

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

16. Hunt RG. Australia's first lady of chiropractic: There is more to the story! Chiropractic Journal of Australia, 1996;27(2):42-50.

17. Bolton SP. A retrospective view of historical periods in Australian chiropractic history. Chiropr J Aust. 2006;36(1):9-16.

18. Peters RE. *An early history of chiropractic. The Palmers and Australia* [Dissertation. RMIT University]. Asheville: Integral Altitude. 2014.

19. 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.

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)*.' (20 p. 131) Twenty years later chiropractic was sufficiently established in South Australia for a patient-led body to successfully lobby the State government and achieve legislation enacted in South Australia in 1949. (21) Lance Milne, the President of the *Chiropractic Patients Association*, also argued for a chiropractic college. (22) He made strong argument for a training program with standards equal to the colleges in the U.S. and was honoured at the 1975 Federal Conference of the ACA in Canberra. By then Milne had been admitted as an O.B.E., (23) an honour bestowed by Government in recognition of service to the community. Chiropractors Anthony Hart spoke to the role of X-ray and Richard Le Breton to a chiropractic research agenda; both subsequently played a significant role in the establishment of ICC in Victoria.

## Australian chiropractic in the 1970s

The following data are taken from a *University of Queensland* study known as the '*Western Report No. 2*' dated January 1977 (24) and presented to the Webb Inquiry. (15) Elsewhere (6) I have examined in some detail the report of the Webb Inquiry and other reports noted in this paper. Western's data on the number of chiropractors is best taken from their 'typing' of practitioners given in Section D. (15 p. 375) Their 'Type 1' or ACA members totalled 158, and 'Type 2' as UCA members, 147, however other tables confound these simple numbers and allow me to conclude that as the decade opened there were about 315 practitioners who only called themselves a chiropractor and about 200 or so who used various combinations of chiropractor, osteopath, naturopath and/or homeopath. Other tables make it clear that the members of the ACA only used the title '*chiropractor*' and held a *Doctor of Chiropractic*, the North American 'DC' as an accredited diploma, while the members of the UCA largely used both 'chiropractor' and 'osteopath' and held an unaccredited diploma. I have shown (5, 6) that these diplomas were easy to obtain in Australia at that time.

The observation relevant to this report is that untrained locals sought to profit from the chiropractic name and newspaper advertisements suggest they trailed by a year or so the establishment of formal clinical practices by trained chiropractors arriving from the *Palmer College*. Any training they offered was very much lacking the substance of chiropractic as it was being taught in North America. The only other college outside the United States and Canada was the *Anglo-European College of Chiropractic* (AECC), in England, which opened in 1965. (25)

## Australian students of chiropractic

The club of Australian students at Palmer College (26) was led by Dave Warry who returned to practice in Victoria and recently passed (2021). (27) Other leaders included Richard Hooke as Vice-President (now retired) and Charles Keynes as Secretary. The *Australian Students Club* at *National College* reported visitors to their college as including Raymond Sandoz and a chiropractor from South

20. Campbell SA, Black A, Dillon J. The Rise and Legitimation of Chiropractic: A study of professionalisation [Thesis]. University of New England. 1985. URL https://hdl.handle.net/1959.11/12799.

21. Milne L. Forgotten Freedom. Davenport: The Palmer School of Chiropractic. 1953:192.

22. Need for chiropractic college stressed. [News]. The Advertiser (Adelaide). Mon 21 November. 1949:2. URL https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/35778363?searchTerm=Need%20for%20a%20chiropractic%20college%20stressed.

23. Conference '75 [News]. J Aust Chiropr Assoc, 1975;9(4):17.

24. Boven R, Lupton G, Jasman S, et al. A study of alternative health care practitioners. Western Report #2. University of Queensland. 1977. In: Webb, E.C. (Chairman). Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Chiropractic, Osteopathy, Homoeopathy and Naturopathy. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service. 1977:364-412.

25. Wilson FJH. A pictorial history of the Anglo-European College of Chiropractic. Chiropr Hist. 2007;27(1):75-9.

26. College Reports, Palmer. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1970;4(3):20.

27. Brockley N. *David Warry (1942-2021).* In: Australian Chiropractors Association. eNews. (2021). email distributed 27 January 2021 at 8:31am.

Australia, Dr Ralph De Conte. (28) De Conte was a graduate of *Columbia Institute* and travelled to Sydney then settled in Adelaide. (29) *Columbia Institute*, now *New York Chiropractic College*, had about 260 students at that time (30) and was expanding by leasing additional teaching facilities. (31)

De Conte played a role in the emergence of chiropractic education in Australia. Being from upstate New York and serving in the US Navy he valued his training with the *Columbia Institute* which allowed him to be a successful practitioner in Adelaide from the 1960s. (32) He was concerned to learn that when registration was to be introduced there would be provision to grandfather self-proclaimed and untrained practitioners. He and his colleagues prepared for this by providing basic training in radiography and patient safety to untrained practitioners. De Conte's rooms were on the corner of Henley Beach Rd and Airport Rd, in the Adelaide suburb of Brooklyn Park. He called his clinic the *U.S.A. Western Chiropractic Clinic* as a nod to his roots. Whilst not leading to formal certification, the training he and his colleagues provided could be considered the first instance of chiropractic training by American-trained chiropractors in Australia. The end of this teaching came about as his colleagues returned to the US and his last students transferred to ICC during 1975.

In 1974 Mahinder Lall prepared a comprehensive document (33) representing the position of three local training programs, the Melbourne-based *Chiropractic College of Australia* (CCA), the Sydney-based *Sydney College of Chiropractic* (SCC), both independently dating from 1959, and the Adelaide-based (at Wayville) *Chiropractic and Osteopathic College of South Australia* (COCSA). This Adelaide program was not that of De Conte and in the preamble to its curriculum (33) Lall wrote '*professional training during the period 1959-1968 was supervised by Messrs. Charles Frazer, J. Fielder, and Dr. O. Minkiewicz, and took place in the private clinic at Croydon*'. Croydon is also a suburb of Adelaide to the North-West of the city, with Wayville being on the Southern edge of the CBD. Campbell notes the clinic was called the '*Naturopathic College of South Australia*.' (20 p. 207) I find it interesting and perhaps not coincidental that the starting date is given as 1959, the same as for the Sydney and Melbourne '*colleges*'. The fact that two supervisor's names were given without the honorific 'Dr' suggests this '*professional training*' was most likely an observation arrangement in, as stated, a '*private clinic*', and not under a trained osteopath or chiropractor. So, who was Dr. O. Minkiewicz?

Minkiewicz was a Polish medical graduate (20, p. 207) in Adelaide who published articles in Polish under the heading '*Poradnik lekarski*' or '*medical handbook*': on smoking (10 May 1953), (34) cancer (24 May 1953), (35) and vitamins (7 June 1953). (36) He appeared in court in 1954 and was convicted of offensive behaviour at the *Morphettville Racecourse*, being sentenced to one month's gaol. (37) On appeal it was stated that he was '*a doctor of medicine in his own country and during the*

28. College Reports, National College. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1970;4(3):21.

29. Personal conversation: David De Conte, son of Dr Ralph De Conte. By phone with the author. Adelaide. 12 November 2020. 15:20.

30. Wiese G, Callender A. How many chiropractic schools? An update. Chiropr Hist. 2007;27(2):89-119.

31. College Reports. Columbia Institute of Chiropractic. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1973;7(4):22.

32. Oral History: Loretta De Conte. By phone with the author. Adelaide. 14 November 2020. 0930.

33. Lall M. Australian Federation of Chiropractors. Submission on behalf of Australian Association of Chiropractors, Chiropractic Association of Queensland, Chiropractic and Osteopathic Institute, United Chiropractors Association, Western Australian Chiropractors Association. Representing the Chiropractic College of Australasia, Chiropractic and Osteopathic College of South Australia, Sydney College of Chiropractic. East Brighton, self-published (Lall). Undated, c. 1974.

34. Dr. Minkiewicz. Poradnik lekarski, ku uwadze palaczy. Nasza Droga, Adelaide. 10 May 1953. URL https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/240227718?searchTerm=Minkiewicz.

35. Dr. Minkiewicz. Poradnik lekarski, co powinnismy wiedziec o raku. Nasza Droga, Adelaide. 24 May 1953. URL https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/240227755?searchTerm=Minkiewicz.

36. Dr. Minkiewicz. Poradnik lekarski, witaminy. Nasza Droga, Adelaide. 7 June 1953. URL https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/240227783?searchTerm=Minkiewicz.

37. Ordered a month's gaol [News]. The Advertiser (Adelaide). 13 July 1954. p. 5. URL https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48119546?searchTerm=Minkiewicz%20Olgierd.

*war suffered at the hands of the Russians and Germans …*'; instead of gaol he was fined £10. (38) Along with his wife he was naturalised 2 years later, in 1956. In 1980 he published '*A scientific basis for chiropractic*', (39) a 14 page book as a '*summary of observations and their interpretation in terms of the relationship between the vertebral lesion and the sympathetic nervous system*.' Lall (33) gave his qualifications as MD, DC, DO, and I suspect that as with most untrained chiropractors of this time his 'DC' was self-proclaimed.

On face value Lall's report suggests *Wayville* was a college of some substance, however it can not be thought that such substance dated any earlier than Lall's representations in 1974, where he states the controlling body of the College was the *Chiropractic and Osteopathic Institute (South Australia)* and that it was admitted to the *Australian Federation of Chiropractors* (AFC) on 30th May 1974, the most likely year of Lall's document. The facility had only been inspected by the state Education Department in late 1973 and Lall stated that there were 48 students in 1974. (33 p. 3)

Details of the 'program' at *Wayville* were given by Lall along with a listing of lecturers and those given as holding a 'DC' also held a 'DO', typical of the habit of self-proclaimers. Classes were taught between 7:00 pm and 10:15 pm 4 nights a week with clinical practice on Friday evening. Lall noted that the years 1969 to 1973 '*often proved turbulent*' and attributed this to '*academic upgrading and unification measures*'. This may represent the attempts to change from the original 1959 curriculum. (20 p. 207).

There were 8 graduates for 1969, 9 in 1970, 5 in '71, 14 in '72 and 10 in 1973. The '*48 students*' in 1974 given by Lall would have been spread across all 4 years of the program. The last of its students also transferred to the *ICC program* in Melbourne and Campbell claimed there were 84 'graduates' between 1969 and 1977. (20 p.207)

As with the programs in Melbourne and Sydney, which have been examined elsewhere, (5, 6) this Adelaide program can only be considered second-stream and most certainly not one in which chiropractic as a discipline was taught by chiropractors trained and qualified in the discipline. I am certain De Conte was not associated with it. (32) I make comment later in this paper of a 'feeder' program in Adelaide which followed these closures.

## Planning for ICC

The formation of ICC was an ongoing matter of discussion by the ACAV. The meeting of 27 July 1974 noted the minutes of the previous meeting (p. 12) that '*a report regarding a Chiropractic College in Victoria will be presented under general business*'. I am unable to retrieve minutes of the meeting which this remark references therefore it is not known to which report this item refers. Dr A. Hart subsequently presented and the minutes read:

> *'College Committee Report: (Interim report - A Hart DC). That the report be received (seconded Martin, carried). Discussion followed on this matter. That the executive council consider the above report as soon as practicable. (carried)'*.

The meeting kept its options open with a $200 donation to the *National College*. Other business centred on the establishment of a Federal Director for the ACA and the preferred arrangements for branch representation.

There were two reports of note in circulation at this time. The first being that of Lall on behalf of the second-stream institutions gathered as the *Australian Federation of Chiropractors*. (33) This was a strong argument for recognition of programs that was impressive on paper but questionable in reality. The programs were delivered in a few hours each evening part-time, had no external accreditation, and no trained chiropractors as lecturers.

38. Given fine instead of gaol [News]. News (Adelaide). 24 August 1954. p. 31. URL https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/131251405?searchTerm=Minkiewicz%20Olgierd.

39. Minkiewicz, Olgierd. A scientific basis for chiropractic. Gillingham Printers, Adelaide 1980. URL https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/150968466?keyword=Minkiewicz

The mainstream of chiropractic was represented by Winter's report. (40) As with Lall's report this was a substantial document of nearly 70 pages. Winter presented arguments specific to *The Webb Inquiry* and focussed on educational standards and recommended that '*when an Australasian course is established which is Government funded or recognised, all new students must enrol in such course. Students who have already commenced training at other institutions shall transfer ... '* (40 p. 62, 9.11) It seems that while both the Adelaide and Melbourne second-stream programs did transfer their students, SCC continued to operate on its own.

By taking a broader view I am able to defend my claim elsewhere that Winter was 't*he Father of University-based chiropractic education in Australia*' (41) and now have further information that allows me to qualify that view. I still consider Winter as such given his role in the mainstream association at national level especially as accreditation evolved. I now consider that he may not have been particularly supportive of the Victorian initiative, indeed, there are reports of him clashing strongly with Marcia Cerruty, the first lecturer (1975) at the ICC. (42, 43) I will further discuss Cerruty below but the clash with Winter was regarding her teaching of a strongly philosophical content, whereas Winter argued for medical sciences to dominate. Winter certainly does not have the profile I would have expected in the minutes of the ACAV, indeed if anything I would consider the ACAV was more of an observer of the establishment of ICC than a driver. Handwritten minutes that are difficult to read and are undated but seem placed in late 1974, have the only discernible reference to a '*college*' being notation of names being put forward to '*the chiropractic college foundation in Australia*'.

## The Australian college emerges

The Chairman of the *ICC Public Relations Committee*, Dr Graham Kinney, gave (44) four '*salient reasons*' for why a chiropractic college was needed in Australia:

1. To help raise the level of national and individual health through chiropractic;
2. To ensure the progress and acceptance of chiropractic science and art;
3. To provide a more accessible and less expensive source of education for Australians and New Zealanders qualified to study chiropractic; and
4. To encourage Governments and industry to recognise the rights of the citizen to choose chiropractic as (a) a career opportunity and (b) as a primary source of health care.

The intake for the first year of ICC was set at a minimum of 30 and maximum of 40 students. The minimum entry qualification was university entrance and mature students were welcome. Classes were scheduled to commence on 5th March 1975 with an entrance fee of $25 and a tuition cost of $200 per month for 8 months, discounted to $1,500 if paid in advance. (45) I will return to this figure as it is more believable than the figure given by Sherman in his report of a visit in mid-1975. It was stated that there was a possibility of government funding from 1976 however it took longer, until about 1982 to be fully implemented.

There is no doubting the serious intent to deliver high standards of instruction. It was seen as a '*vital necessity*' to '*produce graduates able to meet the academic and practical standards required by the present and prospective chiropractic registration boards in Australia, New Zealand, U.S.A., Canada, South Africa and European countries.*' (45)

40. Winter DO. A submission on chiropractic by the Australian Chiropractors' Association to the Federal Committee into Chiropractic, Osteopathy and Naturopathy. Springwood: Australian Chiropractors Association. 1975.

41. Ebrall P. In memoriam, Douglas Winter: The father of university-based chiropractic education in Australia [Obituary]. Chiropr J Aust 2018;46(1): 118-9.

42. Editors. In memoriam: Marcia Rita Hart Le Breton Cerutty [Eulogy]. Chiropr J Aust 2002;32(1):27-8.

43. Oral history: Chris Hart. By email with the author. Melbourne. 6 July 2020 0946.

44. Kinney G. International college of chiropractic developments. J Aust Chiropr Assoc 1975;9(1):26,7.

## The role of the Hart family

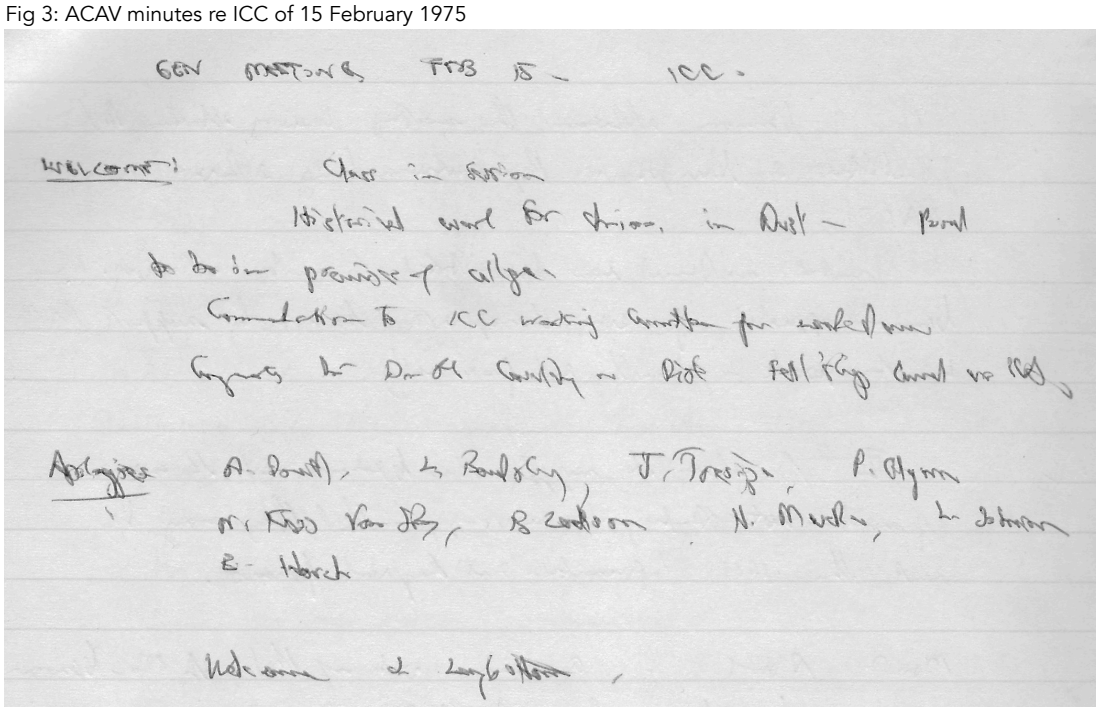
There is also no doubt that Anthony (Tony) Hart, a 1948 graduate of Palmer College (45) was key to the establishment of ICC. It is said (43) that in 1974 he was at lunch at his local Italian restaurant with his son Dr Chris Hart who lamented the need for Australians to travel to the USA to obtain their chiropractic qualification. At this time in the 1970s registration was being delayed in Victoria because the government understood the Australian colleges were diploma mills and would not contemplate registration of a profession where the only method to gain a degree was to study overseas. This pointed to the need for a local college of international standard and as Victoria seemed it would become the next Australian state with registration, it followed that Melbourne would be the ideal location for such a college. Hart Senior was an experienced fund-raiser and consulted the principal of a company he had hired for another organisation and was given the estimate of possibly raising $50,000. The campaign was a remarkably successful with a rapid raising of funds, achieving just under $300,000 in pledges from ACA members in weeks. In '2022 Australian dollars' this is about $2.25 million.

Concurrently Marcia Cerutty, nee Hart, a 1970 graduate of *Cleveland Chiropractic College* and teaching at that College in Kansas City, worked with her nephew (Chris) to design the content for a 4 year course. Cerutty trained at the *Wellington Teacher's College in New Zealand*. (42, 43) The name *International College of Chiropractic* was then taken as a potential limited company (limited by guarantee) and I have noted above that Anthony Hart provided ACAV with an appropriate report at its July 1974 meeting.

The first meeting of the ACAV in 1975 (15 February) (Figure 3) was a general meeting about ICC. Again the handwriting of the minutes is barely legible but it is clear the meeting noted it was an historical moment for chiropractic in Australia for the college to be opening. The members of the Working Committee (Table 1) were commended.

Figure 1 is a snapshot of the ACAV minutes of a General Meeting held 15 February 1975 which specifically addressed progress on the establishment of the ICC. This image shows the difficulties inherent in interpreting hand-written documents. The image is taken from the original minute book which is held in my collection. The minute book was discarded by the ACA under the direction of then CEO Matthew Fisher. It was retrieved from a rubbish hopper.

Fig 3: ACAV minutes re ICC of 15 February 1975



45. Editors. In memoriam: Anthony Robert Hart [Eulogy]. Chiropr J Aust 2003;33(4):154-5.

The younger Hart had secured the first floor at *Sonora House* at 300 Little Collins Street Melbourne to teach the chiropractic sciences. The basic sciences were to be provided by *Technisearch Ltd*, (45) a commercial arm of the *Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology*, not then a university. Members of the committee painted the rooms at Sonora House and hand-laid new carpet. The furniture was purchased and delivered along with some AV equipment. Cerutty arrived over Christmas 1974 (43) to assume interim control of the college and Gonstead was to be the primary technique.

The remaining two meetings of the ACAV for 1975 were silent on the ICC, in fact, if I was reliant only on those minutes to determine a relationship between the ACAV and the college it would be difficult to evince.

**Table 1:** ICC (College) Working Committee February 1975

| Position | Office-holder |
|---|---|
| Chairman: | A.R. Hart, D.C. |
| Vice-Chairman: | S.M. Martin, D.C. |
| Secretary: | K.F. Glynn, D.C. |
| Treasurer: | E.M. Fyson, B.Comm. |
| Members: | Drs J. Waterhouse, C.R. Hart, G.J. Piera, G.F. Kinney, D. Lovett, B.V. Lonsdale, B.L. Dobson, R.K. Brodie, R.T. Sims, A.G. Thomson, D.G. Mortlock, R.G. Hunt, and Mrs. N. Cannon. |

Source: Kinney, G. International college of chiropractic developments. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1975;19(1):26,7.

## The meaning of the ICC

The value of the establishment of the ICC in 1975 lies in it being the first program in Australasia specifically to train chiropractors only as distinct from a blend of chiropractor, osteopath, and naturopath. In this sense the most basic understanding of education is the transfer of specific skills and capabilities from one who has them to one who wants them; a transference of skills from one generation of craftsman to the next. ICC was the first program to have a craftsman as a trained chiropractor who had passed various licensing exams, to teach chiropractic and chiropractic only to the next generation.

Formal associations of craftsmen date from the '*collegia*' model of ancient Rome (46) and re-appeared in Europe during the 11th and 16th Century with their core purpose being the preservation of skills at certain standards. It follows that one could not become a mason, for example, unless one learned that 'trade' or skills-set from a mason. Eventually the '*master-apprentice*' model emerged and with it, government regulation.

To determine if a program of education could be considered as perpetuating the skills-set of a discipline such as accountancy, professional bodies determined the standards that were to be met. For the discipline of chiropractic such standards emerged in the United States in the late 1920s (47)

46. Britannica. Guild. URL https://www.britannica.com/topic/guild-trade-association

47. Nugent JW. Alfred Budden, D.C. 1884-1954. Chiropr Hist. 1981;1(1):22.

with Budden and into the 1940s with Nugent, (48, 49) causing friction with BJ Palmer. (50) Ostensibly the friction was over Nugent's drive to enforce the teaching of basic sciences in the chiropractic curriculum. Nugent advanced his own cause by writing the statute for the state of Connecticut mandating basic sciences. (49) It probably did not help his relationship with BJ that he was expelled from Palmer College on 19 June 1922. The faculty aligned with Nugent and forced BJ to reinstate him. The relevance of this snapshot is found in Gibbons' attribution '*Nugent said of himself "I am the symbol of revolt against Palmerism"* '

What this means is that the Palmers saw themselves as the founder and developer respectively of chiropractic and by extension, its education, and therefore the experts as to what the curriculum should encompass. The question of the curriculum is essential to the purpose of education and we first see a divergence from Palmer's founding ideas in 1904. (51) Oakley Smith, an 1899 Palmer graduate (52, 53, 54) and Solon Langworthy, a 1901 graduate (55 p. 10) founded the American School of Chiropractic in Cedar Rapids, (56) nearby Palmer's school, and taught a mixture of chiropractic and osteopathy. It was this which caused Palmer to coin the term '*mixer*', (57) writing '*if you want a mixture of Osteopathy, Orthopedial Surgery, Vibratory Chiropractic and Bohemian treatments, go to Cedar Rapids ...* '. (57)

To justify his position Smith tried to argue that Palmer did not discover chiropractic and therefore was in no position to be critical of his (Smith's) interpretations of what should be taught. Smith argued to Weed that he had met the man, a '*Dr. Hibbets*', who '*knew the man*' who taught Palmer. Weed replied in no uncertain manner explaining how he came to name Palmer's methods to which Smith replied it seemed Weed wanted proof otherwise he would never believe Smith's proposition that Palmer did not discover the clinical approach Weed named as chiropractic. The exchange between Weed and Smith covers 2 pages in *The Chiropractor* under the heading '*Truth will out. What do you think?*' (58)

Pragmatically it is hard to argue against Palmer naming, with help of scholar Rev. Samuel Weed, the discipline he founded. The name '*chiropractic*' arose in Spring 1896 on the coining of the term from the Greek roots *chiros* (hands) and *praktikos* (pertaining to action) by Weed, a patient along with this wife and daughter, of Daniel David Palmer in Davenport. In a letter (59) to Palmer Weed wrote '*I did not make any memoranda of dates. The first I knew of the system of adjustment was when you gave Mrs. Weed and Catherine (then three years old) adjustments in the spring of 1896. Mrs. Weed understood you to say that you had changed from Magnetic to Chiro in January, 1896. This does not*

48. Gibbons RW. Chiropractic's Abraham Flexner: the lonely journey of John J. Nugent, 1935-1963. Chiropr Hist. 1985;5:45-51.
49. Gibbons RW. Historical perspective: John J. Nugent, DC (1891-1979). J Am Chiropr Assoc. 1997;January:33-5.
50. Keating Jr. JC. Before Nugent took charge: early efforts to reform chiropractic education, 1919-1941. J Can Chiropr Assoc. 2003;47(3):180-216.
51. Faulkner TJ. The chiropractor's Protégé. American School of Chiropractic. Rock Island IL: Association for the History of Chiropractic. 2017:320-38.
52. Zarbuck MV. A profession for 'Bohemian Chiropractic': Oakley Smith and the evolution of naprapathy. Chiropr Hist. 1986;6:76-82 http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/?term=11621192.
53. Beiderman RP. Oakley Smith's schism of 1908: the rise and decline of naprapathy. Chiropr Hist. 1994 Dec;14(2):44-50.
54. Keating Jr. JC. Chiropractic at the Turn of the Century. [Newspaper] Dynamic Chiropractic. March 12 2001;19(6): https://www.dynamicchiropractic.com/mpacms/dc/article.php?id=17943.
55. Keating Jr. JC, Cleveland III CS, Menke M. Chiropractic History: a primer. Davenport IA: Association for the History of Chiropractic. 2004.
56. Gibbons RW. Solon Massey Langworthy: Keeper of the flame during the 'lost years' of chiropractic. Chiropr Hist. 1981;1(1):15-21.
57. Palmer DD. Chiropractic Mixed - or - Pure and Unadulterated. The Chiropractor. 1905;1(8):6.
58. Truth will out. What do you think? [Letters]. The Chiropractor. 1905(5):16,17.
59. Keating Jr JC. Entry: Palmer Timeline 1896: Rev. Weed names chiropractic; later writes of this to DD in a letter, citing The Chiropractor. 1905;1(5):16-7.

*necessarily conflict with the fact that "Chiropractic was discovered by D.D. Palmer, of Davenport, Iowa, in September, 1895.*"'

Whether or not Palmer 'discovered' chiropractic is of no concern to this report. My interest is with the curriculum and I have shown that from the beginning there was a divergence. I have shown how Nugent effectively forced curricula change against BJ's will, and I have shown how Winter held a strong pro-science stance for emerging education in Australia. However it is important to note the commonality amongst these parties as they disputed what was being taught, and that commonality is that they were all trained chiropractors. In the case of Smith and Langworthy they were also certified by DD Palmer to teach chiropractic as well as to practice.

## The key differential

This is the profound circumstance that sets the ICC program apart from all previous training provided in Australia; it was the first and only program to provide teaching by chiropractors trained by chiropractors in accredited programs of chiropractic education.

The further significance is that these trained chiropractors had met and passed State Board exams and the programs from which they graduated had to some extent been externally accredited.

The three programs put forward to authorities by Lall (33) could not be considered in any way to have been acceptable programs of chiropractic training. The significance of this position is found in the Report of the *Committee of Inquiry into the Question of the Registration of Chiropractors 1975* (*The Teece Report*), (60) also known as '*N.S.W. Government Committee to report on the desirability of establishing machinery for the registration of persons practising chiropractic.*'

## The inevitable politics

As 1974 ended the SCC had a total enrolment of 116 with claims it would enrol over 70 students a year from 1975. (61) SCC delivered this program as evening and weekend courses over 4½ years. Notwithstanding this, R Graham Hunt, President of the national ACA, wrote, regarding the ICC due to open in March, that '*this college will be the first such educational facility in the Southern Hemisphere. Its graduates will be accepted world-wide as Doctors of Chiropractic.*' (62) Hunt went on to claim the college was '*established by worthy members of the Australian Chiropractors' Association who have worked to attain the Number One objective of the Association*'. Hunt was in no doubt that the ICC represented the first training program in Australia to produce internationally equivalent chiropractors, and claimed it as meeting the objective of the ACA, thus relegating the second-stream AFC (33) to the position of providing local training programs of poor quality.

To summarise a complex matter which I have addressed in detail elsewhere (5, 6) *The Teece Report* recommended the registration of chiropractors but not the prohibition of persons not registered, from practicing manipulative therapy. It considered chiropractors as persons who make corrections to the spinal column by the use of hands such as a chiropractor, osteopath or naturopath. It was this abject lack of understanding that chiropractic was distinct from osteopathy and naturopathy that raised the ire of the ACA, representing American-trained chiropractors, but not the UCA which issued diplomas in each of those 3 fields for the same program of study. Further, Teece set the grandfathering provision at just 4 years of practice.

It is little wonder that the ACA took a strong position on standards and insisted they be such as to be acceptable to the ACA, and this is the point at which Winter took exception. He was critical that the NSW branch did not instead propose '*acceptable standards*' being those of '*legally constituted bodies in Australia i.e. registration boards.*' (63) It was also noted that the NSW branch had

60. Teece JC. Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Question of the Registration of Chiropractors. Parliament of New South Wales. 1975.

61. Excerpts from the report of the committee of inquiry into the question of the registration of chiropractors. J Aust Chiropr Assoc 1975;9(1):6-8.

62. Hunt RG. President's communique. J Aust Chiropr Assoc 1975;9(1):3.

63. Winter D. 'Feed back'. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1975;9(1):16.

established a college building fund to keep its resources within the state now the ICC was a reality in Victoria. (64)

The AFC (33) was seen as a rival amalgam of practitioners and was noted as preparing a submission for the coming Webb Inquiry. I have discussed this document, authored by Lall, earlier in this report. It was reported that the ACA was sensitive to being linked with dubious fringe practices and being delayed in its evolution of chiropractic as a separate discipline. The fear was that medicine would establish its own '*chiropractic-type*' skills then argue that recognition of the profession was redundant.

Acknowledgement was given to the ACA for '*recognising only diplomas gained in the leading chiropractic schools overseas*' however no matter the validity of the ACA's concerns over education standards, the body was seen by outsiders as the profession's elite. (65) This '*elite*' ACA was numerically smaller in size than the AFC, some 200 members to 400 or so, however its key point was that to 'accept anything less than the highest standards is to expose the public to unacceptable risk.' (66)

Now that the ICC was a reality the test would be its curriculum and teaching staff. As I noted earlier, the first lecturer was Marcia Cerutty, a trained teacher and a graduate of Cleveland College with 5 years experience of educating chiropractors. I see Cerutty's involvement as an auspicious beginning for the new college.

## The opening of the ICC

The opening of ICC on 25th February 1975 at 300 Little Collins Street Melbourne was reported in the April - June issue of the *Journal of the Australian Chiropractors Association* (66) and the *College Council Working Committee* (Table 1) was formally dissolved. The college became a legal entity and the company took the name reserved by Hart, the *International College of Chiropractic*. Hart Senior was chairman of directors, Dr K. Glynn secretary, Hart Junior acting treasurer, and Mr E.M. Fyson, Bursar and financial advisor. I give other members in the table. (67)

The commencing class was 30 but one dropped out and 2 deferred, leaving a class of 27. Of these, 21 completed and became the first graduates in May 1979, each receiving a double diploma. I list these first Australian graduate chiropractors in Table 2.

These 21 graduates can rightfully be considered the first graduate chiropractors trained in Australia. There were taught by formally trained chiropractors in a program based on accredited programs in North America. No other Australian chiropractors prior to this date can legitimately claim to be so-trained.

A further 15 students graduated in December 1979, also with the double diploma (Table 3). It is understood this group largely represented transfer students from second-stream programs who commenced after the first group but graduated in the same year on the basis of credit granted for prior learning.

At this time I have not located a copy of the curriculum implemented by Cerutty and my note is that it was based on that of *Cleveland College*, a program that met programatic accreditation standards such as they were at that time. However I have been able to reconstruct the timetable that was in place on the commencement of teaching in 1975 and give it as Table 4.

64. Martin N. 'Feed back'. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1975;9(1):17.

65. 'Chiropractors split over training at unfortunate time.' Extracts from The National Times, 19 October 1974. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1975;9(1):25.

66. State Reports. Victoria. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1975;9(2):24.

67. Mortlock D. I.C.C. report. J Aust Chiropr Assoc. 1975;9(3):7.

| Table 2: ICC first graduates, May 1979 | |
|---|---|
| Gary Blunt | Terry Molloy |
| Terry Crisp | Douglas Osborne |
| Nola Davis | Bharatkumar Pandya |
| Peter Davis | Frank Polese |
| Johnathan Dobson | Victor Portelli |
| Terry Field | Annika Rosenbaum |
| Robert Hooke | Lindsay Rowe |
| Michael McCann | Stephen Savage |
| Elspeth McFarlane | J. Phillipe Selsis |
| Robert Maxwell | Ian Werry |
| W. Russell Mock | n = 21 |
| Source: Graduating lists, RMIT University, library of the author. | |

| Table 3: ICC second graduates, December 1979 | |
|---|---|
| George Belle | Mark Noble |
| Gary Coleman | D. Scott Pattinson |
| John Drinkwater | John Sheldrick |
| Philip Drysdale | Allan Terrett |
| John Gowers | Peter Ulbrick |
| Gary Hill | Kenneth Vagg |
| Karl Leskovic | Michael Webb |
| Paul Lockhart | n = 15 |
| Source: Graduating lists, RMIT University, library of the author. | |

| Table 4: ICC timetable. Freshman year, 1975 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday |
| 9:00 am Chemistry | 9:00 am Histology | 9:15 am - 12:15 pm Biology Lab (RMIT) | 9:00 am Physics Lecture | 9:15 am Physics Lab (RMIT) |
| 10:00 am Chemistry | 10:00 am Histology | | 10:00 am Spinology | 10:15 am Physics Lab (RMIT) |
| 11:00 am Spinology | 11:00 am Principles | | 11:00 am Spinology | 11:15 am Study |
| 12 - 12:30 pm Lunch | | 12:15 - 1:00 pm Lunch | 12:15 - 1:15 pm Lunch | 12:15 Study |
| 12:30 pm Principles | 12:30 pm Terminology (History, Law) | 1:00 pm Tutorial Biology | 1:15 pm Principles | 1:15 - 3:15 pm Lunch |
| 1:30 pm Palpation | 1:30 pm Terminology (Preliminary Symptomatology) | 2:00 pm Chemistry | 2:15 pm Biology Lecture | 3:15 pm Physics Lecture (RMIT) |
| 2:30 pm Histology | 2:30 pm Terminology (Preliminary Symptomatology) | 3:00 pm Chemistry | 3:15 pm Biology Lecture | 4:15 pm Physics Lecture (RMIT) |
| Source: Sherman RA. A visit to the I.C.C. J Aust Chiropr Assoc 1975;9(3):18,19. | | | | |

## The ICC programme

Cerutty was the full-time instructor for first year chiropractic content, supported by Graham Kinney and Stan Martin as part-time lecturers. All were American trained chiropractors, the first time in Australia that chiropractic as a discipline was taught by chiropractors trained in the discipline.

The commercial arm of RMIT, an institute of technology, was *Technisearch*, and this provided science content on a fee-paying basis. (68) *Technisearch* delivered applied physics and biology at first year level and also an introductory course in biochemistry. (68)

Dr. AM Kleynhans had been hired as Principal of the college from his role as Director of Research as the *National College of Chiropractic*. Kleynhans, a graduate of Palmer College also held a BSc in psychology. He was due to arrive in Melbourne in September 1975.

## A visit to the ICC

Dr Ray Sherman, editor of the *Journal of the Australian Chiropractors Association*, undertook a visit to the college and published his report in the July - September issue (1975). (69) He was unimpressed with Melbourne's classic wet weather, calling it the '*award-winning combined cold-wind-and-drizzle-event city of Melbourne*.' (70) This section is paraphrased from his report. (69).

The building, *Sonora House*, was old, owned by an insurance company, and slated for demolition. At the time of writing this paper the site is now around the Little Collins Street entrance of *The Walk Arcade* and the *Laurent Bakery*. It was inferred the rent was affordable given the state of the building and if the financial resources had permitted, the college would have been located elsewhere. As it was, it occupied rooms at the rear of the space, the 2 smallish rooms at the front being (a) a clinic used by chiropractic staff to treat patients and (b) as the office of the ACAV. Hunt was President and Mary Ann Chance-McLeod, Executive Secretary.

There was another office for the College secretary, then Dr Cerutty's office and next, the main classroom. This large room had a chalkboard across one end with a dais, and then 5 or 6 rows of desk-chairs. Sherman described it as '*comfortable if not sumptuous*' and complemented the local DC's who had re-furnished the room to this standard. The college space was completed with two smaller classrooms and a student common room. The library was yet to be established and the WA Branch was forwarding its collection to establish this. A teaching clinic was yet to be arranged.

Cerutty described the space as about 3,000 square feet with a yearly rental of $10,000, plus the '*expenses of telephone, gas, electricity, cleaning, etc*.' The timetable shows about 18 hours a week for basic sciences, some taught off-site at RMIT with the remaining taught on-site at the college. Of these, Cerutty taught 3 hours of Histology. The additional 10 hours of '*chiropractic*' included practical classes (palpation) and were taught by chiropractors, in particular Dr Cerutty who delivered 7 hours (Principles 3h, Palpation 1h, Histology 3h). Kinney delivered 3 lectures per week (Terminology, Physical Diagnosis) and Martin, also 3 (Spinal Biomechanics as Spinology). Martin focussed on osteology and arthrology in Term 1, then kinesiology and rudimentary pathology in Term 2.

This gives a program of 28 taught hours per week plus 2 structured study hours (total 30), a figure higher than seen in contemporary Australian programs. It was taught during daytime hours on weekdays as a full-time program. Sherman stated the student fee was $40,000 per year and said that some saw this as good value given the RMIT facilities in particular, and others felt exorbitant. I question the accuracy of this observation given both Kinney's statement of the annual cost being around $1,600, and the tuition costs of the part-time second-stream programs in Melbourne and Sydney being about $400. It could be that he meant the total income from all students was $40,000 for the year (25 students at $1,600 = $40,000).

68. Carroll B. A decade of achievement. Melbourne: RMIT Press. 1995:27.

69. Sherman RA. A visit to the I.C.C. J Aust Chiropr Assoc 1975;9(3):18,19.

70. Sherman RA. Inside … the journal. J Aust Chiropr Assoc 1975;9(3):2.

No matter the cost of the ICC program, it was much lower than the cost of travelling to North America, sustaining oneself while a student, and paying the North American college fee. In 1975 the tuition fee for the *Palmer College Pre-Chiropractic program* was USD $525 per quarter. (71) At the 1975 exchange rate (72) this was = AUD $365, half the per term cost of AUD$700 at ICC. Most Australians took all 4 quarters per year, an annual cost of about $1,500, about the same as the annual 'up-front' fee for ICC. I think that comparisons of the curriculum of ICC with those of SCC and CCA are meaningless in terms of hours, the missing data being the number of teaching weeks in a term and then the number of terms per year. Further, the basic sciences at ICC were taught by content experts at a cost that ICC thought high. (69)

For reasons previously noted I am wary with Lall's report (33) of the second-stream curricula and consider them more aspirational and factual only in the contemporaneous context. This means it was as true in 1975 as Lall wanted it to be. I also question its value as a record of what had actually been taught by each of the 3 programs in the preceding years. This is not a criticism of Lall whom I respect as a diligent servant of education who came to be a valued contributor to the ICC program as it developed and relocated to the *Preston Institute of Technology* (PIT). In my experience his input to committees such as *Course Advisory* was informed and balanced. The point that I do make is that than none of the educators named by Lall in his comprehensive report (33) was American-trained. In concise terms, there was one Palmer graduate listed, 'Mr. D. Graley', as '*Overseas Colleges Consultant*'. Lall, perhaps relying on Graley, was critical (33, p. 54) of *Palmer College* and claimed that those persons teaching its basic sciences lacked qualification.

Lall also claimed that *Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College*, *National College of Chiropractic*, and *Logan College of Chiropractic*, produced '*second grade medical practitioners rather than first class chiropractors …*', a rather cynical observation based on their inclusion of '*too many medical and adjunct therapies in their curricula*'. (33 p. 54)

There is also no merit in grasping the number of hours taught as '*chiropractic*' to be a comparator as this leads to arguments of placement in the program and quality of teaching. I note CCA certainly had chiropractic texts to read from, and that SCC taught no chiropractic content in Term 1, a small amount as Principles in Term 2, and none in Term 3. I note ICC had 3 trained chiropractors teaching 10 hours of chiropractic content per week from Day One. I also note that the institution Lall described as CCA was otherwise known as the *Chiropractic and Osteopathic College of Australasia* and is still considered as such by its progeny, *Chiropractic Australia*. (73) I can not propose a reason for this but note he also omitted Osteopathy from the title of SCC, yet retained it for the Adelaide institution.

## *'Dr. Kleynhans assumes duties'*

The title of this section was the title of the piece in the *Journal of the Australian Chiropractors' Association* announcing the arrival of AM Kleynhans as Principal of ICC. (74) Kleynhans was recommended by Martin from a short list provided by Janse of *National College* who had previously visited Australia for the ACA's Federal Conference in 1970. (75) Kleynhans was Director of Research for Janse at *National College* and had served as the chairman of the Department of Chiropractic. In that role he introduced *Nimmo Triggerpoint Therapy* and augmented the emphasis on biomechanics. Kleynhans brought *Nimmo* and also *Toggle Technique* to the first Australian program.

71. Palmer College of Chiropractic. Bulletin 1975-1976. Retrieved with assistance, Special Collections and Archives, Palmer College of Chiropractic.

72. Foreign Currency Exchange Rates and Currency Converter Calculator. URL https://www.fx-exchange.com/aud/usd-1975-exchange-rates.html.

73. Chiropractic Australia. Home. Retrieved 4 September 2019. URL https://chiropracticaustralia.org.au.

74. Dr. Kleynhans assumes duties at I.C.C. [News]. J Aust Chiropr Assoc 1975;9(4):13.

75. Dr Joseph Janse at our Federal Conference [Advertisement]. J Aust Chiropr Assoc 19704(3):7.;9(4):13.

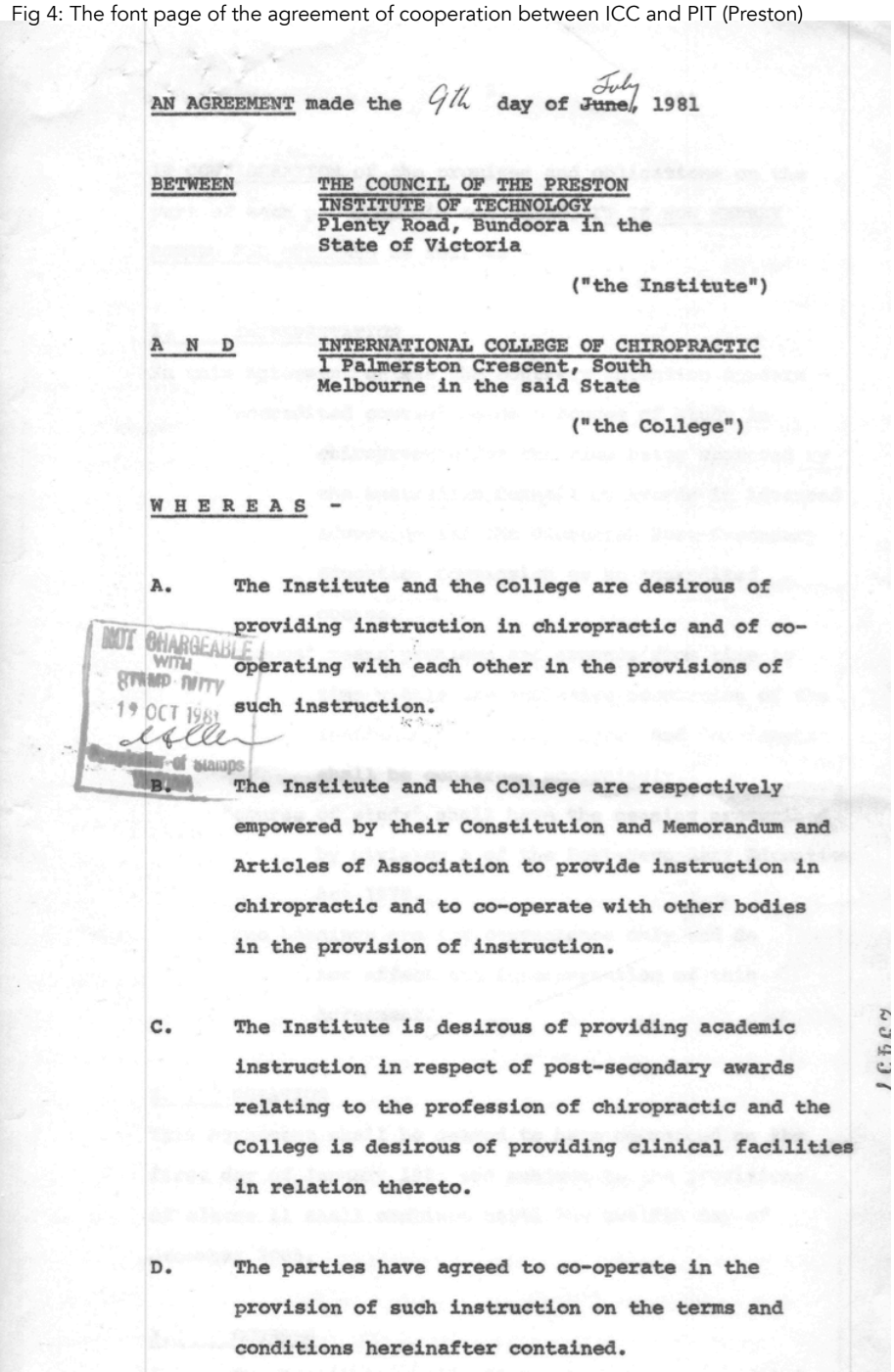
Of particular interest was his membership of an NIH team of 8 scientists who conducted an on-site visit to review the research proposals submitted by Dr. Suh and his team at the University of Colorado, and spoke elsewhere on the '*Research Status of Spinal Manipulative Therapy*.' (69) He settled in Melbourne with wife Rita and children Louise and Hendrik.

At this time, the closing months of 1975, the agreement between the ICC and *Technisearch* (RMIT) was fractious and PIT was in the frame to assume the teaching of basic sciences. Should there be a companion paper to this report it ought to commence with this matter. It can be said with surety that Kleynhans was the right man at the right time to steady the fledgling college and steer it strongly forward.

## The transfer to PIT

Kleynhans drove the engagement of the ICC with the then *Preston Institute of Technology* (also known as PIT) and with the ICC entered into a formal agreement with PIT to cooperate in the provision of chiropractic education. The original agreement is held in my collection and the front page is given as Figure 4.

Fig 4: The font page of the agreement of cooperation between ICC and PIT (Preston)



AN AGREEMENT made the 9th day of ~~June~~ July, 1981

BETWEEN THE COUNCIL OF THE PRESTON INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
Plenty Road, Bundoora in the State of Victoria

("the Institute")

A N D INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE OF CHIROPRACTIC
1 Palmerston Crescent, South Melbourne in the said State

("the College")

W H E R E A S -

A. The Institute and the College are desirous of providing instruction in chiropractic and of co-operating with each other in the provisions of such instruction.

B. The Institute and the College are respectively empowered by their Constitution and Memorandum and Articles of Association to provide instruction in chiropractic and to co-operate with other bodies in the provision of instruction.

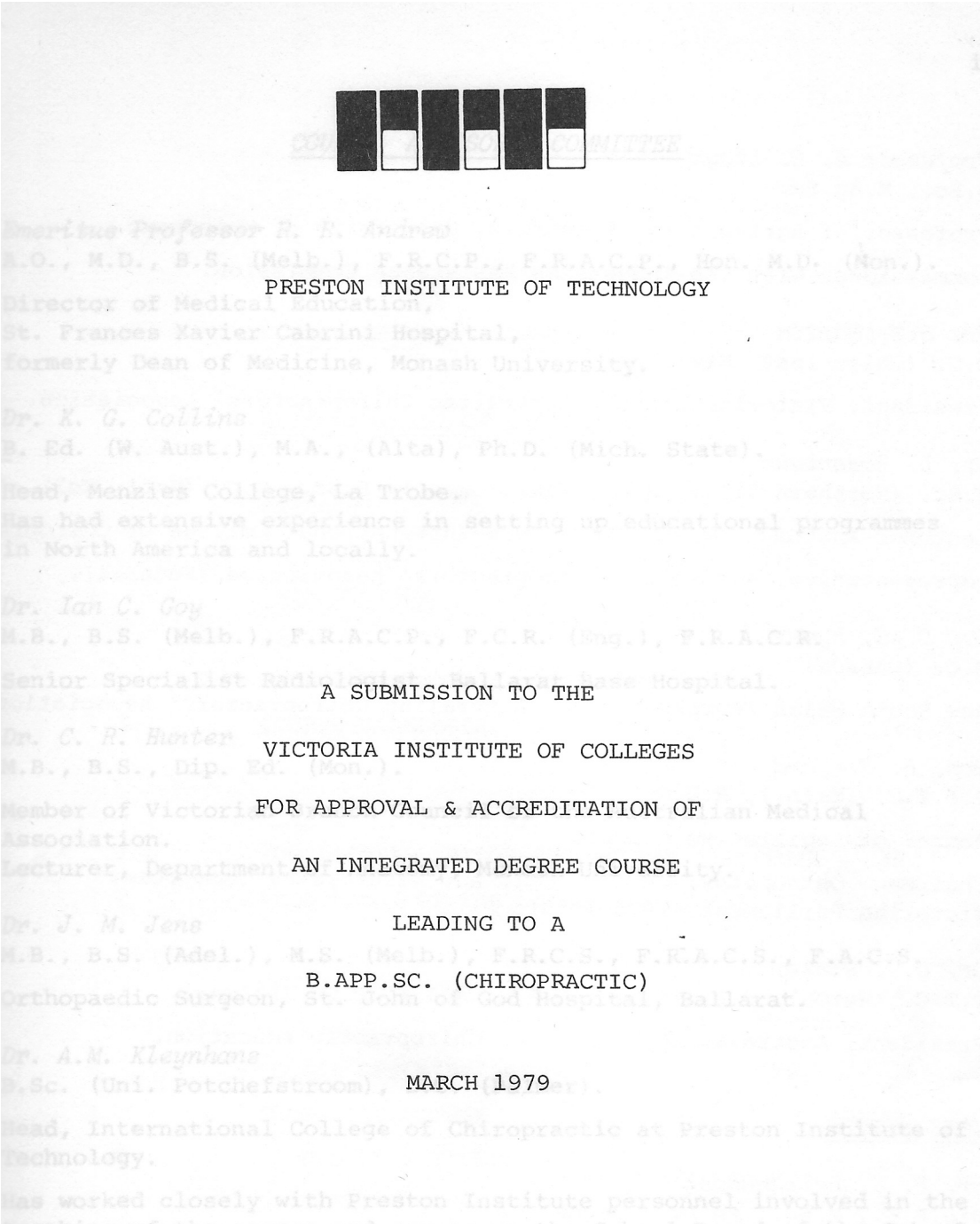
C. The Institute is desirous of providing academic instruction in respect of post-secondary awards relating to the profession of chiropractic and the College is desirous of providing clinical facilities in relation thereto.

D. The parties have agreed to co-operate in the provision of such instruction on the terms and conditions hereinafter contained.

NOT CHARGEABLE WITH STAMP DUTY 19 OCT 1981 Commissioner of Stamps

PIT (Preston) then progressed to submit to the *Victorian Institute of Colleges* requesting approval to introduce and accredit an 'integrated degree course leading to a *B.App.Sc.(Chiropractic)'*. The cover of this submission as held in my collection is given as Figure 5.

Fig 5: Submission from PIT to the Victorian Association of Colleges to establish Australia's first degree program in chiropractic



PRESTON INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

A SUBMISSION TO THE

VICTORIA INSTITUTE OF COLLEGES

FOR APPROVAL & ACCREDITATION OF

AN INTEGRATED DEGREE COURSE

LEADING TO A

B.APP.SC. (CHIROPRACTIC)

MARCH 1979

There is value in noting the stated philosophy of the Bachelor program as the contemporary programmatic standards no longer require a program to identify as a program of 'chiropractic' education. I address this matter in a forthcoming paper.

I give as Figures 6 and 7 two extracts from the submission which describe the philosophy of the program Kleynhans was implementing. As an observation I must say I have been unable to find the word 'subluxation' in the submission, nor any words other than those describing Gonstead technique (Figure 8) that would specifically address the role of the spine in health and well-being.

Fig 6: Extract from submission by PIT giving the Specific Philosophical Objectives of the proposed chiropractic program

2.2.3 Specific Philosophical Objectives

1. Since the profession of chiropractic occupies a position both by tradition and status as one of the main portals of entry for patients into the health care delivery system, the person studying chiropractic must come to a comprehensive understanding of the human organism, the processes that may beset it, and the differential role and services that he must be qualified to render.

2. The education of a person undertaking to become a chiropractor must be broad and liberal so that as a practitioner of chiropratic he not only seeks to become a master of his healing art, but be cognizant of his limitations.

3. It is also recognized that proper health care delivery must be a team effort, objectively utilizing the best of all methods without interprofessional bias.

4. In order to stress this point of view, subjects on management (especially interpersonal relationships, organization and administration) and on the social and preventive aspects of chiropractic health care are not only presented as separate courses, but are discussed throughout the course where their application to a particular area is deemed appropriate, so that the student is presented with a wholistic view of health care and a chiropractor's responsibility to other members of the health team and to the community.

5. The clinical and paraclinical teaching is augmented by a study of the health problems in communities, the health services designed to control such problems and epidemiology.

Fig 7: Extract from submission by PIT giving the general Philosophical Objective of the proposed chiropractic program

Upon completion of a basic chiropractic education each student should be able to demonstrate the following :**

Understanding and relating fundamental scientific information to the patho-physiology of the spine and related anatomical structures :

(a) Developing a spirit of inquiry and investigation along lines of structure-function relationships which will cultivate a lifetime desire for study.

Understanding how normal and abnormal spinal mechanics relate to the rest of the body.

Willingness to accept responsibility for the patient's welfare :

(a) Accepting responsibility for the chiropractic care of the patient.

Fig 8: Extract from submission by PIT giving the general Philosophical Objective of the Gonstead component

(a) KC421 GONSTEAD TECHNIQUE

Hours: 40 practical

Objectives:

To develop proficiency in the application of specific spinal adjustments according to indications derived from the Gonstead biomechanical analysis.

(b) KC422 OCCIPITAL/CERVICAL/THORACIC TECHNIQUE

Hours: 10 lecture, 50 practical

Objectives:

To introduce, and provide opportunity for the development of proficiency in general and specific spinal and pelvic adjustments and manipulations classically utilized in chiropractic, including toggle recoil.

(c) KC423 LUMBAR/PELVIC TECHNIQUE

Hours: 10 lecture, 80 practical

Objectives:

To augment and increase proficiency in the techniques studied in Gonstead and Occipital/Cervical/Thoracic Technique; addition of various spinal and pelvic techniques; further development of toggle recoil technique.

## The 'feeder' program

I have reported above that the ICC commenced and grew to become embedded within PIT and the chiropractic students studying in various manners in Adelaide moved to Melbourne then those programs were closed. However the level of interest remained high in Adelaide and it was determined by local chiropractors in discussion with Kleynhans to establish a program in Adelaide to deliver the early years of the Melbourne program.

This was not a fluid exercise. In 1986 Kleynhans wrote (76) '*the persons who negotiated the arrangements and with whom I worked very closely included Dr Graham Morris, then President of the ACA SA Branch), Dr Andre Menash, Chairman of COCSA* [*Chiropractic College of South Australia*, which closed and morphed into the *Salisbury* program] *with whom a long lasting close relationship in educational and professional matters were to develop and the then Chairman of the South Australia Committee of the UCAA* [*United Chiropractors Association of Australasia*, a second stream body] *Dr Derek Lomas. The first students enrolled in the feeder program in 1978.*' (76 p. 8)

The program was based at the *Salisbury College of Advanced Education* (SCAE) which could not come to meet the standards demanded by the PIT Council. (76 p. 8) Kleynhans reported that PIT invested considerable funds into the teaching of chiropractic courses with lecturers of the standing of Eric Pierotti, George Belle (a 1979 graduate of PIT), John Longbottom, and Kana Nathan. It is shown that the weakness of the program was in the low quality of basic science courses.

*Salisbury's* organisation of enrolments is not precisely recorded and it seems to have stretched into 1979. This would explain Philip Donato who was among the first students and who transferred,

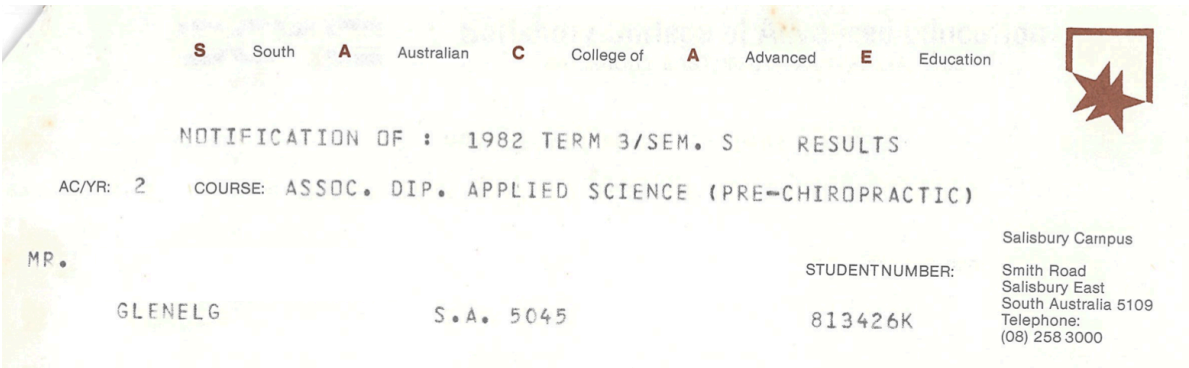
76. Kleynhans AM. Historical Review. In: Bryce MA, Ed. Pictorial history of the School of Chiropractic now at Phillip Institute of Technology. Chiropractic Alumni Association, Phillip Institute of Technology. Bundoora. 1981.

with others, to PIT to graduate in 1984, a 5y program ('79-'83). Donato went on to play a role in the profession's regulation and its accreditation of programs, first of which was the PIT program. Others who commenced in 1980 were told in a phone hook-up held in the clinic of Menash with Kleynhans in Melbourne in December 1980 to move to Melbourne and enrol at PIT within 6 weeks to be sure of continuing their education. (77) That cohort split themselves with some moving to the SCC.

A final cohort at *Salisbury* commenced in 1981 in an attempt to resurrect the program and they too were transferred into the PIT program halfway through their second year, and the *Salisbury* program closed. Among the final students to leave the *Salisbury* program was now Dr Andrew Vincent who reported (78) that the students literally drove away from the institute with chiropractic tables strapped to the roof of their cars along with other equipment that was no longer wanted. These students mostly entered Year 3 of the PIT program in 1982 and 1983 and included Vincent, Caldecott, Budich, Ruggerio, Pantelis, Harnett, Bond, and Davis.

Figure 8 gives a 1982 transcript of results for a student, name redacted, from the *Salisbury College*. Notice the educational program was an *Associate Diploma of Applied Science (Pre-chiropractic)*.

Fig 8: Transcript from the *Salisbury* pre-chiropractic program, 1982


S South A Australian C College of A Advanced E Education

NOTIFICATION OF : 1982 TERM 3/SEM. S RESULTS

AC/YR: 2 COURSE: ASSOC. DIP. APPLIED SCIENCE (PRE-CHIROPRACTIC)

MR.

STUDENT NUMBER:

GLENELG S.A. 5045 813426K

Salisbury Campus
Smith Road
Salisbury East
South Australia 5109
Telephone:
(08) 258 3000

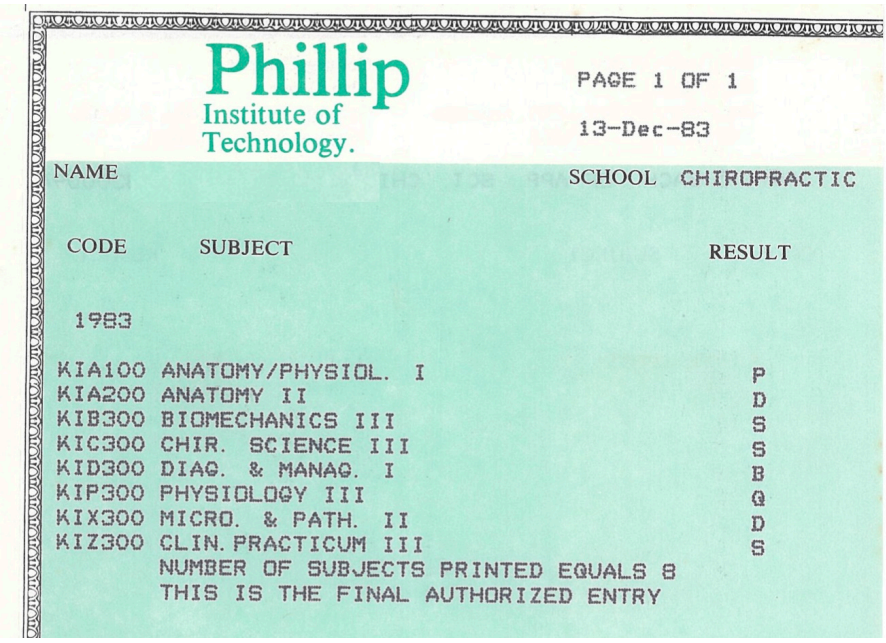
Figure 9 is the transcript of the same student, name redacted, after their transfer to PIT and the completion of one term. Although the course name is not given on this transcript, other parts give it as a *Bachelor of Applied Science (Chiropractic)*.

Kleynhans was recognised in Australia's Honours system by being granted the Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM) in recognition of his *'outstanding service or exceptional achievement'* in the field of chiropractic education. He has also been awarded as FICC and FACC.

77. Oral history: David Minns. By several emails with the author. Melbourne. September 2022.

78. Oral history: Andrew Vincent. By several emails with the author. Melbourne. September 2022.

Fig 9: Transcript from the PIT chiropractic program 1983, for a student transferred from Salisbury



Phillip Institute of Technology.

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13-Dec-83

NAME

SCHOOL CHIROPRACTIC

| CODE | SUBJECT | RESULT |
|---|---|---|
| 1983 | | |
| KIA100 | ANATOMY/PHYSIOL. I | P |
| KIA200 | ANATOMY II | D |
| KIB300 | BIOMECHANICS III | S |
| KIC300 | CHIR. SCIENCE III | S |
| KID300 | DIAG. & MANAG. I | B |
| KIP300 | PHYSIOLOGY III | Q |
| KIX300 | MICRO. & PATH. II | D |
| KIZ300 | CLIN. PRACTICUM III | S |

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS PRINTED EQUALS 8

THIS IS THE FINAL AUTHORIZED ENTRY

## Conclusion

There is little doubt that the establishment of the ICC was a significant advancement in the professional identity of chiropractic in Australia. The pragmatic view is that the ICC represented the first instance of chiropractic training by qualified chiropractors in Australasia. This stance will likely be contested by representatives of the second-stream of locally trained and self-proclaimed chiropractors who did not differentiate between osteopathy and chiropractic, and in many cases naturopathy, in their institution's teachings in Sydney and Melbourne. However the absence of evidence that these institutions employed chiropractors trained as chiropractors in a chiropractic college simply makes my point.

It is not possible to ascribe the establishment of ICC to any one individual, even though I have offered some names in this narrative. The gathered artefacts point to quite a number of people with one thing in common, they were members of the ACA, the state-based national association of mainstream chiropractors. I consider the engagement to have been such that nearly all of this group acted as advocates and on reflection, I think that is a good perspective to hold for the many, names given or not, who supported the initiative in so many ways. On its own the fundraising was significant, and for a new college to have a viable commencing cohort and to maintain it year to year implies a widely broadcast conviction that studying chiropractic taught by graduate chiropractors in Australia was a good thing. The longitudinal evidence holds this to be a true observation.

My final observation is one of knowledge gained in the absence of primary evidence. I consider it sufficiently strong to report here, and it is a phrase attributed to the Premier of Victoria at the time, Rupert Hamer, to the effect '*chiropractors will not get legislation until you have education*'. The phrase was expressed to me personally by senior members of ACAV in 1985 as I participated as a student to lobby with them for chiropractic inclusion in the state's Workers Compensation scheme. Then the phrase took the form in its telling 'give us education and accreditation and we'll give you legislation'.

One thing is certain, that education and politics are inexorably intertwined.

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## Companion papers

Ebrall PS. Finding the professional identity of chiropractic in Australasia: A pragmatic narrative of the Formative Period to 1960. Chiropr Hist. 2020;40(2):42-65. [Circulation restricted to members only]

Ebrall P. Finding the professional identity of chiropractic in Australasia that shaped education: A pragmatic narrative of the Inquiry Period from 1960 to 1979. Asia-Pac Chiropr J. 2022;3.1. URL apcj.net/papers-issue-3-1/#InquiryPeriod

Ebrall PS, Molyneux TP. Thirty years of chiropractic education at RMIT University: The establishment period 1975 - 1978. Chiropr J Aust 2005; 35:29-38.

Ebrall PS, Molyneux TP. Thirty years of chiropractic education at RMIT University: The consolidation period 1979 - 1999. Chiropr J Aust. 2005; 35:71-84.