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Early Canadian Chiropractic Colleges

Herbert J. Vear, D.C.

631 Stonebridge Lane, Pickering, Ontario L1W 3A6 CANADA
(905) 831-9221; HVear@idirect.com

Herbert K. Lee, D.C., *Professor*

Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College

1900 Bayview Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M4G 3E6 CANADA
(416) 482-2340

Joseph C. Keating, Jr., Ph.D., *Professor*

Los Angeles College of Chiropractic

16200 E. Amber Valley Drive, P.O. Box 1166, Whittier CA 90609 USA
(310) 947-8755, ext 633; E-mail: JCKeating@aol.com

filename: Early Canad Schls 8/11/96
word count: 6,340

Acknowledgments

Preparation of this paper was supported by the Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College, the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic and the National Institute of Chiropractic Research. The authors are solely responsible for its content.

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Abstract

Introduction

Although there were no chiropractic colleges in Canada before 1909, graduates of United States Colleges practiced in several provinces, principally Ontario, as early as 1902 (Larsen, 1968). At this writing the names of the first practitioners are not known. Biggs (1989) notes that osteopaths were also practicing in Ontario as early as 1900. The quality of chiropractic education was an early concern for lawmakers, the courts and the medical profession, such that the Premier of Ontario, Sir James Whitney appointed a commission in June, 1913 to “inquire into and report upon all or any matters relating to education for the practice of medicine or affecting the Province of Ontario” (Report, 1918). However, World War 1 delayed these proceedings for some time.

Table 1: Canadian chiropractic colleges prior to 1945 (Ferguson & Wiese, 1988)

No Province Listed	Ontario
Imperial College of Chiropractic [19??]-<1923	Canadian Chiropractic College, Hamilton and Toronto [1914-1923]
National College of Therapeutics	DuVal School of Toronto [1925]
	Ontario Chiropractic College [1925]
	Robbins Chiropractic Institute, Sault Ste. Marie [1909-1913]
Manitoba	Toronto Chiropractic College, Toronto [1920-1926]
Manitoba School of Chiropractic, Winnipeg	

Ferguson and Wiese (1988) identify nine Canadian schools of chiropractic in existence prior to 1945 (see Table 1). There is no historical record for the Manitoba School of Chiropractic, nor for the Ontario Chiropractic College, Toronto. The only person listed as a graduate of the Ontario College was Herbert Biggar of Niagara Falls, but he has been confirmed as a 1921 graduate of the Canadian Chiropractic College (CCC). However, one reference to the Ontario College has been noted in the March 22, 1926 Registration Application of E.R. DuVal (Form, 1926). He identifies himself as an “Instructor of technic at Canadian, Ontario & Toronto Chiropractic College.” It is quite likely that a fresh search of the 1926 Applications would uncover graduates of that school. The Duval School has been misnamed and was the CCC after

it moved to Toronto from Hamilton in 1919. The remaining three colleges, the CCC (1913-1923), the Robbins Chiropractic Institute (1909-1914) and the Toronto Chiropractic College (1920-1926) do have sufficient historical data to record the development of early chiropractic education in Canada.

Chiropractic education in Canada appears to have started in 1909 with the Robbins Chiropractic Institute; this was 15 years after the first formal courses were taught at the Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC) in Davenport, Iowa. The population of Canada at that time was nearly seven million. There were only eight medical schools in the nation, with none west of Winnipeg. Abraham Flexner's landmark report for the Carnegie Foundation ([Flexner, 1910](#)) was particularly harsh on United States medical schools and only slightly less critical of the Canadian schools. Only two Canadian medical schools were applauded for high standards: those of McGill and Toronto universities. Flexner suggested that "The legal standard in the Dominion has not thus far been high; but it has practically been elevated a year by the general movement to prolong the course to five years"; he continued: "our trouble in the United States has been at bottom not less one of low ideals than of low standards."

And so it was into this milieu that chiropractors made their debut as a health care profession. Unfortunately, the profession's multiple problems would lead to the demise of its early schools and a 20 year hiatus (1925-1945) without any educational institution based in the country. These problems included the philosophical and political divisions within the Canadian branch of chiropractic and inadequate educational institutions. The schools suffered for their low matriculation standards, inadequate facilities and minimal investment in education. As a consequence, new and unfavorable provincial practice acts emerged, and brought a halt to the training of chiropractors in Canada.

From 1925 to 1945 maintenance of the practitioner pool for Canada rested in the United States and with those seeking a chiropractic career. However, many of the pioneer graduates of the early colleges in Canada and the USA became the nucleus for development of a new, professionally owned college in Canada. Their inspiration to participate would derive partly from the enrollment of veterans at the end of World War 2 ([Lee, 1981a](#)).

Robbins Chiropractic Institute - Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, 1909-1913

Many of the details concerning the Robbins Chiropractic Institute (RCI) were provided in 1974 by the late Samuel West, D.C. of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in a recorded interview with David West, D.C. of Grimsby, Ontario. Samuel West's father, Archibald West, was a 1910 graduate of RCI (West, 1971; West, 1974). In 1908, Archibald West was an employee of the Algoma Steel Mill in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, where he injured his low back as a result of an industrial injury. A friend visiting from California told him about a new treatment for back pain known as chiropractic and strongly recommended that he locate a practitioner. Other friends knew of a chiropractor, W.J. Robbins, M.D., in Plainwell, Michigan, who had been a student at the PSC. Biggs (1991) suggests that medical physicians who became chiropractors may have used this new therapy as "one way to improve a practitioners market position." Archibald West received several treatments from Dr. Robbins and was so enthusiastic for chiropractic that he persuaded Robbins to move to Sault Ste. Marie to practice and open a chiropractic school.

In 1909, Robbins arrived with a medical colleague, A.E. Lemon, B.A., M.D. The pair established the Robbins Chiropractic Institute, probably the first chiropractic college in Canada. The faculty and administration consisted of W.J. Robbins, D.C., M.D., President, A.E. Lemon, B.A., M.D., I.L. Bundage, D.C. and G.S. Robbins, D.C. The school was incorporated as a limited company but obtained a provincial charter. The first class (see Figure 1) graduated in 1910 with 14 graduates of whom seven were women. Samuel West claimed that this was the first school in Canada, and that it survived until 1913. He also noted that the school was **isolated from education** and that Sault Ste. Marie was not a college community and not heavily populated. The first class was privileged to have B. J. Palmer as the graduation speaker, an experience that the then 10-year-old Samuel West remembered very well.



Figure 1: First graduating class of the Robbins Chiropractic Institute, 1910 (courtesy of CMCC)

The second class graduated in 1911 and the third in 1912. Class sizes are unknown, and there are no known class photographs. However, three graduates, who became early leaders in education and legislative action, have been identified. Significantly they were active in the formation of the Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College (CMCC) in 1945. The first, in 1911, is John A. Henderson (see [Figure ??](#)) of Hamilton, Ontario, who later purchased the charter of the Robbins School when it closed. He was destined to

play a major role in the formation of the Canadian Chiropractic College (CCC) in 1914, and later in the development of CMCC ([Biggs, 1989](#), p. 216).



Figure ??: J.A. Henderson, D.C., from brochure of the Canadian Chiropractic College, 1914

Another Robbins graduate, in 1912, was Albert Leonard Price (see [Figure ??](#)) of Hamilton, Ontario, who subsequently taught at the CCC and was a supporter of the CMCC. His son, James A. Price, would become Chairman of the CMCC Board and President in 1954-56. Yet another Robbins graduate, in 1912, was Samuel F. Sommecal, who was born in Islington, Ontario. He was one of the founders of the CMCC and was active with the Ontario licensing board for several years ([West, 1971](#)).

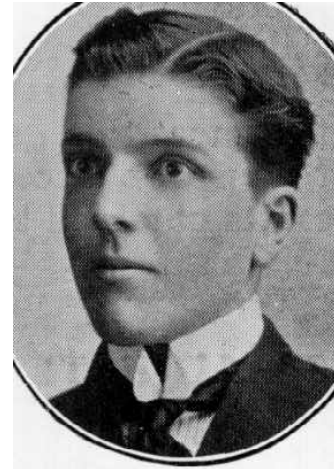


Figure ??: A.L. Price, D.C., from brochure of the Canadian Chiropractic College, 1914

There is no record of the 1913 RCI graduation class. It is quite likely the competition from U.S. colleges attracted students from Canada, owing to the better facilities and larger faculties of the American schools. Samuel West has also noted that Sault Ste. Marie was isolated from mainstream education and located in a very rural area.

Matriculation and Graduation Standards

The only information available on educational standards for the RCI comes from Samuel West ([West, 1974](#)), the Report of the Royal Commission ([1917](#), p. 127) and J.A. Henderson's 1926 Application for Registration ([Form, 1926b](#)). West stated that the only criteria to enter was to be of good moral character and to be able to read and write. Course length is not recorded either, but was probably 3-6 months in duration. Since Robbins was an early graduate of the PSC, it is likely that he followed his alma mater's pattern, which by 1910 offered a curriculum of barely nine months. The following quotation from the Royal Commission Report adds substance to West's statement.

A very clear illustration of the sort of instruction which may be picked up at a so-called chiropractic colleges found in the testimony of one Pickles, taken at an inquest in St. Thomas, Ontario, in April, 1917, extracts from which are transmitted with this report. He was a farm hand, and took a correspondence course extending over three months, in which he wrote about twelve or thirteen letters, and received about the same number. He then went to the college in Sault Ste. Marie, carried on in three rooms, under Dr. Robbins and spent three months there - heard lectures on anatomy, physiology and dietetics and attended clinics, that is, saw treatment of patients, saw charts showing nerves, but did no dissection. This was the whole medical education, and on its conclusion, in 1912, he got a diploma as "Doctor", put out his sign, advertised and began practicing.

Henderson's application confirms this observation; he writes: "Length of course 9 months.

Eight hours per day, six days per week, attending lectures and studies and writing full examinations of the course as prescribed by the R.C.I. which was similar to Palmer School.” In response to the question, “Was the course Resident or Correspondence?,” Henderson writes: “Six months correspondence (home study), 3 months Resident.” Graduation was not mentioned by West or Henderson, but payment of fees was probably a major criterion for a diploma. Samuel West affirmed that most of the 1910 and 1911 graduates were “educated” people with professional backgrounds. A majority of these early students attended with their spouses.

Robbins “Chiropractic Philosophy”

There is no official record of the scope of practice that W.J. Robbins brought to the school. However, he was a graduate of the PSC, which emphasized a “straight philosophy.” The “straight - mixer” feud within the profession was already a major issue in 1909 chiropractic but perhaps not yet in Canada. In any case, the official policy of the RCI is not known to us. The Royal Commission ([Report, 1917](#), p. 127) quotes from a booklet, “Chiropractic,” alleged to be written by Robbins, in which the following statement is extracted; the passage suggests that the fundamental theories of Palmer, Langworthy and other early DCs was present at the RCI.

Every individual has an innate (born with) and an uneducated intelligence. The innate intelligence is that inherent force or energy which controls and cares for the body from birth till death and is usually called nature, instinct, etc. It is this energy which controls every action and function, including the circulation, respiration, secretory, excretory, and assimilation.

It must be acknowledged that the tools of the “mixer” were in their infancy and the majority not invented or discovered. The apparent clinical success of spinal manipulation for a wide variety of human complaints was without competition at that time and lent itself to primitive theoretical/scientific explanations.

Prominent Graduates of Robbins Chiropractic Institute

There can be little doubt that the tenacity and dedication of Drs. Archibald West, J.A. Henderson, A.L. Price and S. Sommacal were important ingredients for the eventual success of chiropractic in Canada and the formation of CMCC in 1945. Brief biographical sketches of these pioneers are provided here.

Archibald West, D.C.

Archie, as he was known, was a true pioneer of Canadian chiropractic. He was born in Thunder Bay, Ontario on April 27, 1873, one of 12 children. In 1916, he became one of the first chiropractors to install an X-ray machine in Canada and only the second machine in Sault Ste. Marie. There were no safety features and little understanding of the dangers inherent with radiation. Archie was exposed to most X-rays he took. The use of a lead apron was recommended, but he ignored this safety measure. He complained that his chest was especially troubled. He died of cancer on July 18, 1936.

His decision to study chiropractic was the beginning of a chiropractic family dynasty that continues to this day. His brother Samson West graduated from the CCC as did his son, Samuel. Samuel West's son Stephen E. West, a graduate of the CMCC became prominent in Ontario chiropractic licensure and legislation. Samson West is the grandfather of David West, also a graduate of CMCC and a Chairman of the CMCC Board of Governors. Another grandson, Neil West, is also a CMCC graduate. David West's daughter, Megan, is a student at CMCC and a fourth generation chiropractor ([West, 1971](#), [West, 1974](#)).

John A. Henderson, D.C.

He was born in London, Ontario on May 14, 1883 and died in Hamilton, Ontario on January 3, 1956. A 1911 graduate of the RCI, he was closely associated with the organization of the Canadian Chiropractic College in 1914, and later the CMCC. He was part of the team that worked to introduce legislation to regulate chiropractors in 1925: the Drugless Practitioners Act. In 1945 he left private practice to become the first Registrar of the CMCC. In 1950, he returned to Hamilton to practice, where he died in 1956 ([Lee, 1981b](#)).

Samuel F. Sommacal, D.C.

He was born in Stirling, Ontario in September 1889, and died in Toronto in November, 1967. A 1911 graduate of the RCI, he became active in Ontario chiropractic association work. He served on the organizing committee for CMCC, 1943-46 and became the 3rd. Chairman/President of the Board of Governors from 1947 to 1951 ([Lee, 1981c](#)).

Albert L. Price, D.C.

He was born in Hamilton, Ontario on February 9, 1894, and died in Guelph, Ontario on January 6, 1949. A 1912 graduate of the RCI, he returned to Hamilton to practice and later became a faculty member of the CCC circa 1914 where he taught anatomy and physiology. Later he moved his practice to Guelph. His son James graduated from the National College of Chiropractic in 1944 and his granddaughter, Sharon, from the CMCC.

Canadian Chiropractic College - Hamilton and Toronto

The formation of the Canadian Chiropractic College in Hamilton, Ontario was influenced by the determination of John A. Henderson, a 1911 Robbins graduate, who opened his office in 1911 and became the first chiropractor in Hamilton. Speculation suggests that Albert L. Price, also from Hamilton, was also involved in CCC's founding. Henderson was responsible for bringing Ernst DuVal, D.C.



Figure ??: "Home of the C.C.C." at 267 King Street West, Hamilton, Ontario; from brochure of the Canadian Chiropractic College, 1914 (courtesy of WSCC)

back to Canada to establish the college, which opened its doors in 1914 (see [Figures ?? & ??](#)). It should be noted that World War 1 began in 1914 and must have had a negative effect on enrollment until 1919 when demobilization was complete. ([Biggs, 1989, p. 216](#); [Keating, 1994](#); [Rehm, 1980, p. 285](#)) The chiropractic philosophy was straight and patterned after the PSC ap-



Figure ??: "Opening Class of the C.C.C." from brochure of the Canadian Chiropractic College,

proach for which Ernst DuVal would have had some responsibility ([Prospectus, 1914](#)). After graduation from the PSC, about 1911, he accepted the Chair of Chiropractic Philosophy, probably to replace Joy M. Loban, D.C., who left the PSC in 1910 to form Universal Chiropractic College (UCC) in Davenport. In 1912 DuVal accepted the same Chair at the UCC in 1912. He

1914

resigned from this position in 1913

to accept J.A. Henderson's invitation to start the CCC in his own country (Dean, 1922). Much of what is known about Ernst DuVal is recorded in the two known CCC prospectus's, 1914 and 1922 (see also Biggs, 1989, p. 217). We assume that DuVal was born in Canada, but he might have been an immigrant. His son, E. Robert Duval, was born in Canada in 1886.



Figure ??: Graduating class of the Canadian Chiropractic College, 1918 (courtesy of CMCC)

The CCC commenced operations in 1914 at 267 King St. West in Hamilton, Ontario and moved to the former Hamilton Library building about 1917 and occupied half the ground floor. The college moved to Toronto in 1919 and was located at 757-759 Dovercourt Road. The DuVal family dominated the administration and teaching at the school. Ernst DuVal had two sons, Ernest Robert Duval (1886-1964) and A. Reginald Duval, both of whom were chiropractors. E.R. Duval was a 1914 graduate of UCC and A.R. DuVal a 1920 graduate of the CCC. Ernst DuVal's wife, Becky,



Figure ??: Canadian Chiropractic College (probably in Toronto); from Biggs (1985)

Ernst DuVal had two sons, Ernest Robert Duval (1886-1964) and A. Reginald Duval, both of whom were chiropractors. E.R. Duval was a 1914 graduate of UCC and A.R. DuVal a 1920 graduate of the CCC. Ernst DuVal's wife, Becky,

was a chiropractor, and may be an early graduate of CCC. She served as his Assistant for several years. Ernst and Becky had two daughters: Hortense, who married T.E. Patterson, D.C., and Rebecca S. Duval, who graduated from CCC in 1918 (see [Figure ??](#)). The Duval family was active in teaching and administration, such that the college was looked upon as a family affair.

Matriculation Standards

The 1914 Prospectus has a policy on REQUIREMENTS OF ENTRANCE which states:

Any adult possessing a good moral character, an average intelligence and an ordinary education may enter the C.C.C. on furnishing good references.

The faculty reserves the right to expel any student for incompetency, immorality or intemperance.

No diploma will be granted to any one until all examinations have been satisfactorily passed and the Faculty deem such student competent.

The 1914 Prospectus also includes a Matriculation Blank which lists all that was necessary to enroll at the CCC. The following is the statement from that form:

Believing that I am mentally and physically capable of performing my duty as a Chiropractic Practitioner, I hereby apply for admittance as (a) student to The Canadian Chiropractic College, and do agree to abide by all rules and regulations of the College. Enclosed..... Dollars, with the understanding that same shall be returned to me provide I am not accepted by the College.

The remainder of the Matriculation Blank has space for name, address, education, age, sex, reference, name of chiropractor who recommended, and other health education. The 1922 Prospectus is a 40 page document and includes similar requirements for matriculation. These included:

to read and write is all that is needed... one must have brains (intelligence), but this is naturally taken for granted... one must be possessed with mechanical ingenuity (ability to do things by hand)... and one must be of good moral character.

Curriculum

The 1914 Prospectus does not specify the number or content of courses of study except in ambiguous terms. The Report of the Royal Commission ([Report, 1917](#), p. 124) indicates that “Three and a half hours in the morning are devoted to lectures, recitations and quiz work, and one and a half hours to clinical instruction on patients who pay \$1 per month.” Three departments of instruction were identified:

1. Department of the Philosophy of Chiropractic, Pathology and Symptomatology

The description of this department suggests that Chiropractic Philosophy will be taught in “All its phases including: the relation of Anatomy and Physiology to Chiropractic; the relation of Natural Laws to the Science of Chiropractic; the relation of Chiropractic to all forms of disease and health; and...explaining how and why Chiropractic can reach every ill that mankind is heir to and why other methods have failed.”

2. Department of Orthopedy, Palpation, Adjusting and Nerve Tracing

The description does not give specifics for the courses of study, but emphasizes the qualifications of the instructor, including a spurious degree, "Bachelor of the Science of Chiropractic," which at first glance could be confused with the legitimate B.Sc degree given in Canadian universities.

3. Department of Anatomy and Physiology

The description does not give specifics for the course, but emphasizes the "infatuation" the instructor has for these subjects.

Clinical Training

The clinic is not identified as a Department only as The Clinic. There is a short Question and Answer format to present the clinic to the reader. Two answers are of importance: 1) to the depth of clinical education and 2) the scope of practice.

1. Each student at the C.C.C. is given six months of actual practice in adjusting before he is graduated. It can thus be seen that our graduates are qualified for their work as they are under the most expert instruction.
2. No matter what your disease, its cause lies in your spine, and the chiropractor finds and adjusts that cause. In other words, we can help you no matter what your disease is, regardless of its name.

The 1922 Prospectus

The Prospectus focuses on the qualifications of faculty to teach the curriculum components in which philosophy, art and spinology of chiropractic, and anatomy are defined. The quality of instruction is amplified throughout the Prospectus, which suggests that academic excellence was becoming an issue especially after the poor showing of chiropractic education in the Hodgins Report (1917).

The 1922 Prospectus listed of subjects taught with a short description of each. These are: Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Spinology, Art of Chiropractic, Chiropractic Philosophy and the Polemics of Chiropractic. Polemics was an unique approach at that time to present logical arguments in defense of chiropractic. Although chiropractic is equated with science, there is no evidence in the Prospectus that the meaning of science was understood. Neither was any scientific evidence presented to support the various claims made.

Clinical Training

The Prospectus gives a reasonable description of clinical education. As in most modern colleges, the first clinical experience for students was practice on students. This citation explains: "all classes has within its numbers the usual quota of sick, infirm and so-called incurables." The clinical experience extended over a six month period, with no evidence that

classroom work continued at the same time. The clinic made a small charge for chiropractic care, which appears to have been different then in some U.S. schools. The CCC's policy on clinical training was summarized:

A good clinic is one of the most important features in chiropractic education, which, according to our experience, as students and teachers in various schools, is sadly neglected and sometimes woefully lacking; so we have taken every precaution in this institution to make it a most fitting termination of our student's course.

Graduation

The CCC maintained the same standard for graduation throughout its ten years of operation. There is no confirmation that these standards were rigorously upheld for all students. The following short paragraph from the 1922 Prospectus explains:

Our requirements of graduation are much more exigent, as we consider these of far greater importance, and no one will obtain our diploma unless he is qualified, which means: all examinations must be passed with at least 75%; anything less must be retaken. These examinations are written, oral and demonstrative as the exigencies demand. Though these are apparently stringent, all can pass them successfully under our careful and painstaking instructions.

Ernst DuVal, B.J. Palmer and the Hodgins Commission

Ernst DuVal was one of 10 chiropractic representatives to appear before the Royal Commission. Although not listed as a witness before the Commission, the Hodgins Report ([Report, 1917](#), p. 126) indicates that B.J. Palmer "was present at one of the sessions of the Commission." Ernst DuVal's and Palmer's testimony has been ably reported in ([Report, 1917](#); [Biggs, 1989](#); [Sutherland, 1985](#)). Their testimony tarnished the image of chiropractic as a discipline of the scientific healing arts. They denied that bacteriology, diagnosis, and pathology had any value to the practice of chiropractic. Evidence given by Palmer in a 1910 court case in the U.S. found its way into the Report, and provided as a serious indictment against the profession. Hodgins writes in reference to this testimony:

Their repudiation of all modern scientific knowledge and methods is such that it would be impossible to recommend any way in which they could be allowed to practice by which the public would be safeguarded ([Report, 1917](#)).

Impact of the Hodgins Report on C.C.C.

The outcome of the Hodgins Report on chiropractic has been detailed in other papers ([Biggs, 1989, 1991](#); [Sutherland, 1985](#)). DuVal's reaction was a vigorous newspaper letter-writing campaign against the Commission and the medical establishment in the province. There was a distinct impact on the CCC, which appears to have closed its doors in 1923, even though the

college then enjoyed its highest enrollment since opening in 1914. Speculation suggests that amendments to the medical Act in 1923 placed such severe restrictions on the practice of chiropractic that new students would not entertain a career in the profession. There are at least two other reasons. First is the opening of the Toronto Chiropractic College (TCC) in 1920, which appears to have been an immediate success. Biggs (1989) suggests that there may have been a philosophical split among the “straight” chiropractors who favored the TCC. There is no evidence available to support this reason, although more research may uncover a connection. The second reason has not been mentioned anywhere, but seems credible. Ernst DuVal was aging, and although his birth and death dates are not known at this time, he would have been about 65 in 1923 and may have been in failing health. His sons, E. Robert and A. Reginald DuVal, had private practices and were not full time at the school. We speculate further that Ernst DuVal, a passionate straight chiropractic pioneer, may have been unwilling to give in to competition and legislative threats. As late as 1921 he was Chairman of the Chiropractors’ Legislative Association, which described itself as “waiting as a deputation upon the Provincial Government to lay plainly before them the exact status of chiropractic in the controversy” (Reference?).

Ernst DuVal’s public life seems to have ended with the closing of the CCC. His presence on the Ontario scene has been clouded by the Hodgins Commission Hearings and the recorded testimony he provided on behalf of the CCC. He was not alone in appearing before the Commission, as the record shows. The presidents of the Canadian (George W. Doxsee), Ontario (David Galbraith) and the Dominion (D’Arcy McLean) Chiropractic Associations also testified. In addition, W.J. Ellison, E.J. Chattoe, A.H. Backus and B.J. Palmer appeared. The record shows that all were accompanied by legal counsel, S.H. Bradford, K.C.

DuVal’s contribution to Canadian chiropractic is largely forgotten. He was one of 11 college presidents who formed “An Association of Schools and Colleges” known as the International Association of Chiropractic Schools and Colleges in September 1917, during the PSC lyceum (Association, 1917). Although lasting only a decade, the CCC and several of its graduates became important figures in the development of CMCC. An extended examination of Ernst DuVal’s life is warranted in view of his contributions to early Canadian chiropractic.

Prominent Graduates of the C.C.C.

Although Drs. J.A. Henderson and A.L. Price were not graduates of the CCC, they played an integral role in establishing the college in Hamilton about 1913. Henderson was instrumental in bringing Ernst DuVal to Hamilton. In the 1914 Prospectus he is listed as the Secretary-Treasurer for 1913-14 and as a member of faculty. Price is listed in the 1914 Prospectus as Assistant Treasurer and a member of faculty; he taught anatomy and physiology.

John (Israel) S. Clubine was a 1919 graduate of CCC. He was born in Stouffville, Ontario on October 23, 1884. With Dr. J.A. Cudmore, he formed the Toronto Chiropractic College (TCC) in 1922 at St. Charles and Yonge Streets in Toronto, and served as president until 1926. The college closed in 1928. Biggs (1991) suggests that he was a leading straight activist during the 1920s and 1930s. However, new evidence suggests that he looked upon himself as more than that. On his application for licensure in Ontario (Form, 1926c) he requests registration as a: chiropractor, drugless therapist, electro-therapist and hydro-therapist. In a letter to Dr. T.W.G. McKay, Secretary-Treasurer of the Board of Regents, Oshawa, Ontario, dated April 29, 1926, Clubine (1926) questioned the Board's decision to deny him a Drugless Practitioners registration:

Since February, 1922 when I secured a Branston combination electrical equipment I have been studying and using electro-therapeutic methods, and since that time I have used various types of these instruments with sufficient success to warrant their use as a definite part of my practice...

His letter continues with more confirmation that he was using more than "straight" chiropractic in his practice. His final statement is interesting:

...I am at the present time and have been for the past four years, using Drugless Therapy and consider it a necessary part in my successful practice.

In 1943 Clubine participated in the initial planning for the CMCC. In 1945, he was appointed the first dean (1945-47) of CMCC and at the same time chairman of the Board and president of the College for one year.

There were other graduates who not only contributed to the legislative and political aspirations of chiropractic, but whose children and grandchildren followed in their footsteps. Notable among these were: Anna and William Ellison of Toronto (1915), Edgley and Arthur Kennedy of Unionville (1918), Samson and Samuel West of Sault St. Marie (1918), and Harriet and Charles Orr of Niagara Falls (1923). No doubt there are others who deserve mention.

Toronto Chiropractic College

Although the TCC grew rapidly and soon graduated more graduates than the CCC, very little is known of its academic program including clinical education. The TCC was founded in 1920 by CCC graduates John S. Clubine and J.A. Cudmore, both of Toronto. The 1920 graduation class photograph (see [Figure ??](#)) identifies only six graduates, whereas the 1921



Figure ??: Graduation photo, TCC, 1920 (courtesy of CMCC)

class photograph had 66 graduates. Biggs (1989) notes that “The school had 76 graduates in 1922--apparently the largest number of graduates in its history; in 1923 the TCC graduated 54 chiropractors, but by 1925-26, this number had declined to 44 graduates.” There is no record of graduates after 1925-26, suggesting that the school was in either in recess or had closed. Biggs (1989) suggests that the “uncertain legal position of chiropractic” was instrumental in the closure of TCC in 1928.

During 1922-1925 legislation was formulated to regulate the practice of chiropractic, osteopathy and drugless practitioners. The Drugless Practitioners Act (DPA) was passed in 1925 and became law on January 1, 1926. The law prescribed new matriculation and educational standards which TCC was unable to meet. It will be noted later that the TCC was a “straight” college while the new Board of Regents for the DPA was comprised predominately of “mixer” chiropractors.

Matriculation and Educational Standards

The authors do not have access to a Catalog or Prospectus for the TCC to accurately provide the official position of the college in 1920-1926. However, since Clubine and Cudmore were graduates of the CCC, a straight institution, it seems safe to assume that the new TCC was

similarly straight and shared the same matriculation and educational requirements. Competition was keen when CCC and TCC were vying for the same students.

The only TCC publication available to us is a faculty-student periodical called *The Buzzer* (1925). The president of TCC, John S. Clubine, offered an editorial style article, “What is Chiropractic”, which presents the traditional Palmer version of chiropractic. Additionally, there is another editorial from the *Buzzer* editor, probably Clubine, which is a political attack against the new Board of Regents for the DPA. He ends the editorial with an old West setting, “Trusting to see you with both guns drawn and in the thick of the fight.” This is in stark contrast to what John Clubine wrote (see above) to the same Board of Regents on April 29, 1926 in protest to his denial of a Drugless Practitioner’s classification.

It is unlikely that the TCC could meet the rigorous standards of the DPA Regulations without substantial financial support from the profession in Canada, a dream that would take another 20 years to materialize. John S. Clubine would become one of the prime movers in the establishment of the CMCC in 1945 as a professionally owned, non-profit college.

Prominent Graduates of the Toronto College of Chiropractic

Unfortunately an accurate list of TCC graduates is not known. However, from the list (**WHAT LIST?**) of nearly 100 there are many who worked for the profession for many years. Drs. H.Hill and J.A. Hetherington served on the CMCC Board of Governors; Harry Yates, D.C. was a leader in the Dominion Council of Chiropractors and its offspring, the Canadian Chiropractic Association. Drs. A.B. Bennett, Thomas McRae, and H.O. Langford had children follow them into chiropractic, and Fred F. Lewis, D.C. served on CMCC’s faculty for several years.

Discussion

Biggs (1989) writes that “The three chiropractic schools in operation from 1910 to 1927 trained a very small proportion of practicing chiropractors. By far the majority practicing in Ontario were trained in the United States.” Contrary to this notion, we note that approximately 350 chiropractors were graduated from the three colleges discussed in this paper. How many of these graduates continued in practice is not known to us, but many who survived became the

nucleus for not only continuing legislative change, but also the formation of the CMCC. In particular, the names of Henderson, Clubine, Cudmore, Sommacal, Yates and Ellison are etched in the history of the Canadian Chiropractic Association, the Ontario Chiropractic Association, and the CMCC. Many chiropractic families were begun by graduates of the three pioneer schools, notably, West, Price, Ellison, Kennedy, Langford, McRae, Clubine, Orr and Bennett. More importantly, these families have continued the tradition of commitment to chiropractic education and political action to this date.

The authors do not believe that the “straight-mixer” conflict is a problem in Canada at this time. The decision to unite under one professional association for Canada and one for each province has allowed the debate to continue, privately, and without the acrimonious internecine warfare so prevalent in the United States. Similarly we believe the origins for the current approach to resolving internal problems began during the Hodgins Commission hearings in 1915, when so much of chiropractic’s then anti-scientific and pseudo-scientific belief systems and factional feuds were aired in a public forum. The profession was forced to close ranks and act with a public maturity. Finally, it should be noted that the CCC and the TCC benefited from an influx of World War 1 veterans, much like what happened to CMCC in 1945-47. Veterans tend to bring with them a maturity and qualities of leadership nurtured by the exigencies of war.

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