

**'1000 BABIES CAN'T BE WRONG':
LISTENING OUT FOR ARTHUR DEERY, AN ALIEN
DOCTOR IN VICTORIA¹**

Fallon Mody

In January 1961, fifty mothers marched through the Victorian town of Healesville demanding their doctor, who had been abruptly dismissed, be reinstated to the local hospital. The Sun reported they marched in "blistering, near-century heat" carrying placards that declared, "1000 Babies Can't Be Wrong" and "Doc Deery forever". The mainstream newsworthiness of this moment was who these white, middle-class mothers mobilised in support of: Doc Deery was a Hungarian Jewish "alien doctor" with "communistic ideas". Arthur Deery was among hundreds of refugee doctors who arrived in Australia in the 1930s. Historians have paid little attention to this group beyond representations of their marginalisation, as social and professional outsiders. In this paper, Fallon Mody will re-present Arthur Deery's migrant medical life, which spanned 40 years, and three country towns. In doing so, this research highlights how such biographical explorations enables what Greg Dening called "history's empowering force" to give us a deeper, more human understanding of being an "alien doctor" in Australia.

The following is the written version of the paper presented by Dr Fallon Mody at the annual Greg Dening Memorial Lecture held at the Forum Lecture Theatre, University of Melbourne, 15 October 2019.

Dr Arthur Deery arrived in Australia in February 1940 onboard the *HMS Niagara* with his wife Perla and daughter Nora.² Almost twenty-one years later, on a blistering hot day in January 1961, a group of white, middle-class mothers and mothers-to-be marched one mile through Healesville's high

¹ The type of research I do would not be possible without the support, collaboration and trust of the families and friends of the doctors whose lives I research. I would like to acknowledge and thank the three generations of Dr Arthur Deery's family who have collaborated with me on this research, and who were in the audience, and who will also listen to this recorded lecture. I would like to thank Dr Julie Fedor, Prof Joy Damousi and the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies for inviting me to present at the 2019 Greg Dening Memorial Lecture, together with my co-presenters Nathaniel Cutter and Henry Reese. I would also like to acknowledge my supervisors Dr James Bradley, A/Prof Sara Wills and Prof Fiona Fidler, as well as my partner Raian Isaac, who continue to support my research efforts.

² National Archives of Australia (NAA): A6119, 5461 DEERY, Arthur Dr Volume 1.

street protesting his sudden dismissal as an honorary medical practitioner at the local Healesville and District Hospital.³ One placard invoked the living proof of Dr Deery's professional standing in the community, insisting that, '1000 babies can't be wrong'.⁴ A few days later a group of about one hundred pensioners also marched in protest of his dismissal. In a matter of weeks, one thousand three hundred Healesville residents signed a petition which eventually resulted into a formal public inquiry into the governance of the hospital.⁵ Dismissal as an honorary from a country hospital without a formal charge of professional misconduct was unusual, and could be devastating for the reputation and livelihood of the doctor in question.⁶ Dr Deery was quoted as saying, 'I'm glad they marched. It warms my heart to know I've got so many friends'.⁷

The campaign triggered by Dr Deery's dismissal was extraordinary. By August 1961, the number of financial contributors with a right to vote on hospital matters rose from 200 to 2500 people as Dr Deery's supporters and opponents ran furious campaigns to garner support.⁸ Of course, as a suspected Communist and a former 'alien' now 'New Australian'⁹ – Dr Deery's dismissal surfaced many tensions: his supporters and their actions were deemed to stem from Communist sympathies at the peak of anti-Communist hysteria in Australia, and were therefore labelled, 'un-Australian'.¹⁰

Declassified government surveillance files reveal that in the year Dr Deery was dismissed, a fellow doctor told an informant that Deery's practice was in trouble because he had been, 'very foolish in allowing his Party membership to become known in such a small town'.¹¹ For his own part, Dr Deery was

³ 'Fifty Mothers March on Hospital', *The Sun*, 28 January 1961, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Board of Inquiry on the Administration and Management of Healesville and District Hospital and its Affairs & Addison, Donald McGaw 1962, *Report and Recommendations*, Caulfield, Victoria.

⁶ In country towns in particular, every medical practitioner in the district was entitled to serve as an honorary at the local hospital.

⁷ 'Fifty Mothers March on Hospital', *The Sun*, 28 January 1961, 5.

⁸ Public Records Office of Victoria (PROV): VPRS 240, P0000 unit 8 Board of Inquiry – Healesville and District Hospital, 1962-. NB: It was common for local district hospitals to offset the costs of running a local hospital through a subscription model, with paid subscribers having a vote to elect the hospital committee.

⁹ The term was coined by Australia's first Minister for Immigration Arthur Calwell in December 1947 to describe recent non-British immigrants to Australia.

¹⁰ PROV: Board of Inquiry – Healesville Hospital. For a broader discussion of post-war anti-Communism in Australia, see: Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds: the Communist Party of Australia from Origins to Illegality* (Allen & Unwin, 1999).

¹¹ NAA: Deery.

clearly aware of his divisive position in the community. In a written statement that he read at a packed and highly-charged townhall meeting a few months after his dismissal, Dr Deery began by apologising for his English, declaring, 'I am just a bloody foreigner'.¹² Balancing this, however, Dr Deery reminded his dissenters that it was *his work* that underpinned the groundswell of support to have him reinstated. In the twelve years he had practised in Healesville, his supporters believed that he'd lifted the state of medical service there.¹³

Dr Arthur Deery was one of hundreds of so-called 'alien doctors' who arrived in Australia between 1930-45,¹⁴ and one of the almost nine thousand Jewish refugees who resettled in Australia during this time.¹⁵ This group of doctors have been the subjects of very specific scholarly interest: historians of migration have documented their challenging resettlement experiences in Australian communities.¹⁶ Historians of medicine have documented what is now recognised as a typical gatekeeper response by the local medical profession who sought to prevent the registration of an 'influx of continental practitioners' who they argued were ill-suited to practising medicine in Australia.¹⁷ The latter also served as justification for not liberalising state medical acts to recognise their European medical degrees. Instead, many of these men and women were forced to retrain at a local Australian university, often at great emotional and financial cost.¹⁸ What this existing historiography creates is a dominant narrative of their marginalisation.

One result of these tightly-drawn historical perspectives is that the *work* of these practitioners has been obscured or more accurately neglected, unless they went on to achieve exceptional renown or notoriety.¹⁹ Instead many of

¹² PROV: Board of Inquiry – Healesville Hospital.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ The term 'alien' was commonly used in Australia to describe or imply foreign nationality i.e. settlers who were not British subjects. Similarly, "alien doctor" was used to describe medical practitioners whose degrees were not recognised, precluding them from registering as a licensed practitioner.

¹⁵ Andrew Markus, 'Jewish Migration to Australia 1938–49', *Journal of Australian Studies* 7, no.13 (1983): 18–31;

¹⁶ For example, see: Suzanne Rutland, *The Jews in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁷ For further discussion, see: John Weaver, 'A Glut on the Market': Medical Practice Laws and Treatment of Refugee Doctors in Australia and New Zealand, 1933-1942', *ANZ Law & History E-Journal* (2009): 32-38.

¹⁸ Suzanne Rutland 'An Example of 'Intellectual Barbarism': The Story of 'Alien' Jewish Medical Practitioners in Australia, 1933-1956', *Yad Vashem Studies* 18 (1987): 233–57.

¹⁹ For eminent or high achievements, this memorialisation is typically in the form of biographical entries in large memory projects, including the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. It is worth noting that sociologists studying the experiences of post-war migrants in

these histories conclude with an arc familiar in explorations of marginalised groups: they are portrayed as prevailing against the odds, as many of these ‘alien doctors’ went on resurrect medical careers in Australia.²⁰ This success is implied, however, not described. There are very few studies that have systematically examined the professional lives or work of this group of doctors in Australia.²¹ Therefore, the focus of this paper is to explore the professional life of one alien doctor, Arthur Deery. I’ll conclude by arguing for the value in systematically recovering work histories such as Arthur Deery’s, first because it complicates this narrative of marginalisation, but also because it signals the collective work patterns of these so-called alien doctors in Australian country towns.²² Simply put, Dr Deery’s forty-year Australian career from Toora to Healesville is illustrative of the hidden but vital work medical migrants undertook in interwar and post-war Australia. In doing so, this paper (as well as my broader research) helps redress what has been called the ‘conspicuous silence’ of medical migrants in national histories.²³

This paper draws on the research I undertook for my PhD project which examined the collective biographies of almost three hundred European medical migrants who were registered in Victoria between 1930-60. For this project, I constructed a prosopography – or systematic collective biography – to document the professional pathways and careers of these medical migrants which drew on biographical data from state medical registers, national

Australia found that some unlicensed doctors took advantage of their appeal in their migrant communities, and provided them with poor or exploitative medical care. See for example, Jean Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*. Research Report for the National Population Inquiry, Studies in Society: 2. (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1978).

²⁰ A. James Hammerton, and Catharine Coleborne, ‘Ten-pound Poms Revisited: Battlers’ Tales and British Migration to Australia, 1947-1971’, *Journal of Australian Studies* 25, no. 68 (2001): 86–96; Louella McCarthy, ‘Filtered Images: Visions of Pioneering Women Doctors in Twentieth-Century Australia’, *Health & History* 1 (2006): 91-110.

²¹ Some examples include, Peter Winterton, ‘Alien Doctors: The Western Australian Medical Fraternity’s Reaction to European Events 1930-50’, *Health and History* 7, no. 1 (2005): 67–85. And for post-war Displaced Persons, see: Egon Kunz, *The Intruders: Refugee Doctors in Australia* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1975). Finally, my PhD research was a prosopography of the work of medical migrants in Victoria, see: Fallon Mody, ‘Doctors Down Under: European Medical Migrants in Victoria (Australia), 1930-1960’ (PhD thesis, The University of Melbourne, 2019).

²² The term medical migrant is used throughout this paper as a catch-all category to describe the heterogeneous groups of predominantly overseas-born medical graduates registered in Victoria as a medical practitioner on the basis of their foreign medical qualification(s). The term ‘medical migrant’ is used over ‘migrant doctor’ because the latter term suggests individuals who are actively practising medicine, and does not accurately capture the (changing) work status of some groups of overseas-born medical graduates in interwar and post-war Australia.

²³ Laurence Monnais and David Wright, eds. *Doctors Beyond Borders: The Transnational Migration of Physicians In The Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016).

medical directories, dozens of archival sources held in the National Archives of Australia and the Public Records Office of Victoria, as well as published biographies, obituaries, newspaper sources, and interviews with surviving family members.²⁴ For this paper, I would also like to particularly acknowledge the collaboration and contribution of the extended Deery family in Melbourne.

FORGING A MEDICAL CAREER – FROM HUNGARY TO HEALESVILLE

Arthur Deery was born Arturo Deutsch in Eger, Hungary on 15 July 1906 to working class Hungarian Jewish parents. Deutsch originally wanted to become a journalist but chose medicine for its potential to raise his economic and social status.²⁵ As Jews in Hungary, there were quotas for university places afforded Jewish citizens, and so Deutsch – like many Hungarian students at the time – left for Italy in 1924, aged eighteen to pursue a medical degree.²⁶ Deutsch graduated from Padua medical school in 1933. To fund his studies, he worked a string of casual jobs, from working in his sister's coffee shop in Italy, to being a travelling salesman.

After graduating, which included diplomas in dermatology and venereal disease, Deutsch set up a private practice in Milan, and in 1934 married Perla Oxman – a Russian Orthodox Jew who was a qualified pharmacist. Fascist Italy's somewhat ironic status as a haven for Jewish students and professionals came to an end in 1938 when sweeping anti-Semitic laws were introduced. As historian Ágnes Keleman observes, a curious artefact of the interwar Italian-Hungarian connection was that:

Jewish students could escape Hungarian academic antisemitism in a fascist country. They left one right-wing authoritarian political establishment for another. Due to the horrors of the subsequent history of fascism, retrospectively it is hard to disassociate antisemitism and fascism. However, up until 1938 fascist Italy was a hospitable environment for foreign (including Hungarian) Jews and their expulsion in 1938 was a shocking, unexpected calamity.²⁷

Arthur and Pola Deutsch, together with their young daughter Nora converted to Roman Catholicism (a common reaction to the growing anti-Semitism in

²⁴ For a full list of primary sources and a more detailed discussion of my method, see: Mody, 'Doctors Down Under', Appendices 1-4.

²⁵ Interview, Roland Deery with author, October 2019.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Ágnes Katalin Keleman, 'Leaving an Antisemitic Regime for a Fascist Country: The Hungarian Numerus Clausus Refugees in Italy' (PhD Thesis, Central European University, 2014).

continental Europe), and fled to Cuba in 1938. It is worth noting here that Cuba was not as exotic a destination as it might seem – Shanghai and Cuba were two common destinations for fleeing Jews because entry into both jurisdictions did not require visas or passports.²⁸

Cuba was a difficult time for the Deutsches. They were running out of money, and unsuccessfully applied for migration to the United States of America, where like many other countries, a strict quota for Jewish refugee intakes was operational.²⁹ It was then that Australia became an option. Arthur Deutsch had been in correspondence with a Hungarian friend, and fellow Italian medical graduate, Joseph Adorjan who had resettled in Australia in May 1939. Adorjan would have known that Italian medical degrees were recognised in Australian states owing to an existing reciprocal arrangement with Britain, and offered to help Deutsch find a suitable practice in Victoria should they migrate there.³⁰ While much of the finer details surrounding their journey from Cuba to Australia has been lost, we know that the Deutsches secured landing permits for Australia and were issued affidavits in lieu of passports in Havana. According to surviving family members, an American-based Jewish society paid for their passage to America and helped smuggle them across the border into Canada, from where they boarded the *RMS Niagara* from Vancouver to Sydney.³¹ On 11 February 1940 the Deutsches arrived in Sydney where they stayed for about three weeks. And where they changed their name by deed poll, to Deery.³²

Dr Deery's colleague – who had also Anglicised his name to Joseph Adrian – helped him find a practice in Quambatook (Victoria), a rural township on the Avoca river, with a reported population of between four hundred and twenty five to five hundred people in the 1940s.³³ The Deerys hated it, and lasted four weeks there.³⁴ On 11 January 1941, they moved from Quambatook to Toora

²⁸ John Weaver discusses the role of Shanghai as a midway refuge for other Jewish practitioners. See: John Weaver, 'Pathways of Perseverance: Medical Refugee Flights to Australia and New Zealand, 1933-1945', in *Doctors Beyond Borders*, ed. Monnais and Wright (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016), 42-72.

²⁹ This was typical of many Jewish settlers to Australia, the latter was often not their first choice. For a discussion, see: Markus, 'Jewish Migration to Australia 1938-49'; and Rutland, *The Jews in Australia*.

³⁰ Moira Salter, 'Prejudice in the Professions', in *Racism: The Australian Experience*, ed. Frank S. Stevens (Melbourne: Hobgin Poole, 1971), 67-75.

³¹ Interview with Roland Deery.

³² NAA: Deery.

³³ Victorian Places, "Quambatook" – last accessed 03 December 2019, <https://www.victorianplaces.com.au/quambatook>.

³⁴ NAA: Deery.

where Arthur Deery was to take over the practice of an Australian-born Dr Nathan who was called up for military service in the Australian Imperial Force. Toora was to be a longer stay. The Deerys lived there for the duration of the war, and it was there that their youngest two children, Roland and Yvonne, were born. However, the Deerys' marriage was a strained, unhappy one and perhaps contributed to Arthur Deery's dedication to his practice.

Like many country-based doctors and nurses in Australia, Arthur Deery worked long hours in Toora. He was reported to typically 'keep late hours but very seldom is he away from his surgery other than for medical reasons'.³⁵ The scope of his practice included the neighbouring hamlets of Corner Inlet, Foster, Port Franklin and Welshpool. Apart from maintaining set surgery hours for most of these locations, he did house calls for which he was allowed an amount of petrol, attended the Port Welshpool military base, and was an honorary at the local Toora Bush Nursing Hospital. Yet, the challenge of establishing himself as a trusted community member while officially an 'enemy alien' is evident in the surviving records.³⁶ During his five years in Toora, Dr Deery was repeatedly reported as a spy.³⁷ In the process of establishing that should Deery even wish to be a spy, there was, 'no scope for such action in Toora', his surveillance files also help build a picture of his reception and work as Toora's medical practitioner.³⁸

For example, a report filed in 1941 concluded that 'DEUTSCH ... as a medical man is definitely against drinking, smoking and hard living, which action has gained for him many bad friends'.³⁹ Almost three years later, a police report filed following an incident involving his wife Perla Deery and the local Bush Nursing hospital reveals that Dr Deery was still a divisive town figure. The report noted that:

Deery [is] the centre of a hotbed of small town gossip ... [involving] the religious question, professional etiquette and medical ability, coupled with a certain amount of suspicion, which at these times is directed towards all foreigners.⁴⁰

The investigating officer noted that some town members admitted that they, 'knew nothing to the detriment of Dr Deery, [but] one should treat all foreigners

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ All axis-allied nationals were considered enemy aliens during the war.

³⁷ NAA: Deery.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

with suspicion'.⁴¹ While others found that it was perfectly reasonable for Dr Deery to treat the Italian prisoners of war at the nearby internment camp since it, 'would be very difficult for them to explain their troubles to a non-Italian speaking Doctor'.

Perhaps a more telling summary of Dr Deery's work in Toora was the retrospective one provided during the Healesville Hospital inquiry in 1962. Toora's then headmaster James Cheetham – who was one of the few longstanding friends the Deerys made in Toora – was to reflect that:

...invariably having the welfare of the hospital, his staff and its patients at heart, he [Dr Deery] was the means of gradually building up the largest bed average [at the Toora Bush Hospital] known up to that time, patients came to him from over 17 to 20 miles. All recognised his skill and regretted his departure.⁴²

It was also noted that following his departure from Toora, the daily average of patients at the hospital gradually dropped – particularly in regard to the number of minor surgeries and hospital treatment. This change would be of concern to the local hospital committee since the Bush Nursing Hospitals were sustained through local subscriptions so communities could access a self-managed and 'efficient Hospital Nursing Service near their own homes'.⁴³ Therefore a relevant Bush Nursing Hospital would be one that could prevent locals from travelling long distances to the nearest district hospital for all but major incidents.

This pattern of work displayed by Dr Deery in Toora, including the commitment to growing his practice, and the development of adequate services for the community, is also a feature of his time in Healesville. As the Healesville inquiry unfolded, testimonies repeatedly showed that between 1948-62, Dr Deery had built up a successful practice which included the majority share of public and private patients at the local hospital. The sentiment if not the detail is summed up by the reaction to a local resident's statement during the recorded Healesville townhall meeting of 1961. Mr Beveridge declaration was transcribed as follows:

We all know Arthur Deery is a doctor competent and skilful and dedicated to his profession. HEAR HEAR. (applause) ... As a

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² PROV: Healesville Hospital Inquiry.

⁴³ James Barrett, *Outline History of the Victorian Bush Nursing Association* (The Association, 1932), 22.

community we are indeed a fortunate people ... For 14 years he has carried on a 24 hours a day service for those in need of his skill.⁴⁴

Incidentally, the outcome of the Healesville inquiry was neutral for Dr Deery – while the Board of Inquiry did not explicitly reinstate him, he was no longer banned from practising at the hospital. However, he was not forced out. Dr Deery left Healesville in 1968 for Mooroolbark where he practised in partnership with his son Roland Deery for another fifteen years. Roland recalls that during this time, residents from Healesville and even Toora drove to Mooroolbark to continue to be patients of Arthur Deery.⁴⁵

ARTHUR DEERY'S MEDICAL CAREER IN BROADER CONTEXT

It is tempting to view Arthur Deery's Australian career as extraordinary (and certainly some aspects were). However, his almost 40-year career in country practice also helps illustrate a particular historical episode within the collective biography of alien doctors who arrived in Australia in the 1930s and '40s that has to date been poorly understood. Arthur Deery was one of forty-eight 'alien doctors' who gained registration in Victoria between 1930-45 who were the subjects of my PhD research (a further thirty-nine gained registration after 1945).⁴⁶ In total, it is estimated that a few hundred of the Jewish refugees who arrived in Australia held medical qualifications, and some never regained a medical license.⁴⁷ In the pre-war period, and particularly during World War II when enlistments by locally-trained doctors exacerbated existing country shortages, resident alien doctors worked or in some cases were compelled to practice in the bush.⁴⁸ Table 1 documents the eighteen practitioners in Victoria who are known to have worked in one or more country towns in this period. When considered as a collective, what Table 1 highlights is that in the process of re-establishing themselves as medical practitioners, many of these doctors occupied a particular gap in the Victorian medical system – that of doctoring in country areas.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ PROV: Healesville Hospital Inquiry.

⁴⁵ Interview with Roland Deery.

⁴⁶ NB. Each state had individual medical registration laws, and all practitioners were required to register themselves in each state they wished to practise in. For the period 1930-60, the Victorian medical registers show 456 British and Irish-trained men, 113 British and Irish-trained women, 87 continental European men and women, and 87 other foreign medical degrees were registered. Mody, 'Doctors Down Under', see Table 1, 9.

⁴⁷ Rutland 'An Example of 'Intellectual Barbarism''; Weaver, 'A Glut on the Market'.

⁴⁸ Weaver, 'A Glut on the Market'; Mody, 'Doctors Down Under'.

⁴⁹ NB. Of these forty-eight doctors, four never appear to have practised in Victoria despite being registered there. In the post-war period, British and Irish-trained doctors who arrived in far larger numbers also appear to have disproportionately occupied country practices. For a

At the time, the British Medical Association (BMA) in most Australian states including in Victoria argued that there was no real shortage of medical service in country towns, and that alien doctors were ill-suited to country practice because such practitioners were often required to be competent, autonomous all-rounders.⁵⁰ These attitudes are reflected in the official statements of senior BMA representatives in Victoria. In July 1939, the incumbent Victorian branch president of the BMA, Dr Davies, declared that:

No benefit to the country would be secured by admitting refugee doctors unless there was a shortage. But there is no shortage, in spite of what has been said about the need for more doctors in the country. If there is a living to be made any where, an Australian doctor would go there. There are many Australian doctors wanting practices. It would not relieve the position of country districts to admit refugee doctors, because the people there have no money to pay for medical services, and doctors cannot be expected to work for nothing.⁵¹

A few months later the Victorian BMA secretary, Dr Dickson, stated:

Of the 25 alien doctors [registered in Victoria], only four were known to be in practice in the country, the remainder having settled in Melbourne or the suburbs. Many of them admitted that their training in Europe, unlike that of students here, had not fitted them to cope with the responsibilities of medical practice in country districts remote from the assistance of specialists.⁵²

Indeed Australian country practitioners and even their urban counterparts continued to perform at a scope – particularly in surgery, gynaecology and anaesthesia – that in many other nations were considered wholly out of the domain of the general practitioner.⁵³ However, as many historians have argued, in the case of alien doctors in pre-war and wartime Australia, these arguments constituted posturing by the BMA in order to justify a blanket restrictive measure on liberalising state medical degrees to recognise foreign medical degrees.⁵⁴

discussion, see: Fallon Mody, ‘“Revisiting Post-war British Medical Migration: A Case Study of Bristol Medical Graduates in Australia’, *Social History of Medicine* 31, no. 3, (2018): 485-509.

⁵⁰ Bryan Gandevia, ‘A History of General Practice in Australia’, *Canadian Family Physician* 17, no. 10 (October 1971): 51–61. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2370185/>.

⁵¹ *Riverine Herald*, 18 July 1939, 3.

⁵² *The Age*, 25 August, 1939, 8.

⁵³ For a full discussion, see: Mody, ‘Doctors Down Under’.

⁵⁴ Rutland, ‘An Example of Intellectual Barbarism’; Winterton, ‘Alien Doctors’; Kunz, *The Intruders*.

Name	Country town (GP unless otherwise states)		Year*	Population*		
				1933	1947	1954
Italian medical graduates						
1. Adrian, Joseph (engilised from Adorjan)	Murrayville		1939, 1940	603	NA	452
2. Curzon, Maurice (Izrael Czerchowski)	Bendigo Base Hospital (RMO) Yallourn Hospital (RMO)		1939 1940	NA 2520	26,739	39,928 (greater Bendigo)
3. Fox, Eric (Erich Fuchs)	Murrayville Broadford		1939 Ca. 1944-54	603 1153	4119	5580 452 1598
4. Deery, Arthur (Deutsch)	Quambatook Toora Healesville Mooroolbark		1940 1941-48 1948-ca. 1970 1970-retirement	503 463 2035 403	698 NA NA	534 764 3566 NA
5. Kiel, Robert (Mojzen Zelman Kokiell)	Manangatang		1939	509	406	498
6. Marshall, Samuel (Marszalkowicz)	Mildura Base Hospital (RMO) Sale Hospital (RMO)		1938-9 1939-40	6617 4262	9527 5119	NA 6537
7. Martin, Martin (Mergilius)	Beulah Garfield		1939-44 1944-52	474 397	389 530	471 652
8. Snow, Moses & Gisella (Schneebaum)	Natimuk Horsham Stawell		1939-41 1941-ca. 43 ca. 1943-45	793 5273 4747	NA 6388 4840	665 7767 5463
9. Van der Hope, Iszo Hertmayer	Beech Forest		Ca. 1930-32	419	NA	NA
10. Walker, Charles (Chaim Wachis)	Mitiamo		1939	333	NA	NA
11. Wintroppe, Leopold (Weintraub)	Tongala Murrayville		1941-2 1939	NA 603	848 NA	NA 452
12. Wise, Daniel (Wacjberg)	Warrambood Base Hospital (RMO) Nyah West Stawell		1939 1939 '1945-	8906 NA 4747	9993 829 4840	10,860 NA 5463
13. Szajja Baumatz**	Ararat (State mental health hospital)		1947			
Wartime licensees						
14. Landaeur, Friedrich	Murrayville		1942-45	603	NA	452
15. Rechemann, Georg	Moe Lakes Entrance		1942-45 1946-69	898 862	2811 NA	NA 1252
16. Schatzki, Paul	Bellarat Base Hospital Warragul & West Gippsland Hospital		1942-45	35,638 5609	36,140 6727	39,945 8605
17. Stuss, Manfred	Tongala Ormeo		1942-45 1944-ca. 1946	NA 439	846 NA	NA 45
18. Zieher, Roman	Walwa Werrimull		ca. 1946 1942-44	NA 590	208 294	NA 227

Table 1 Summary of ‘Alien Doctors’ in pre-war and wartime Victoria. Source: Mody, PhD thesis, Figure 11. Reproduced with permission.

Eventually, it was the realities of wartime medical shortages that prompted the Federal government to enact a temporary alien doctors registration scheme to override state medical acts in 1942. The *National Security (Alien Doctors Registration) Act* created the first mechanism by which foreign medical graduates could be assessed on a case-by-case basis to determine equivalence with Australian medical training and commensurate experience. As historian John Weaver found, almost half of all the alien doctors who applied for this license were recognised by a panel of eminent Australian practitioners, suggesting a much higher level of equivalence to Australian standards than the profession's gatekeepers had allowed to be the case.⁵⁵

The competence of these 'alien doctors' to adapt to the demands of Victorian country practice – which had been the subject of considerable pre-war debate – as well as in providing quality medical care is reflected in a number of ways. As highlighted by the brief exploration of Arthur Deery's Australian career, these doctors were subject to intense scrutiny, particularly by committee members of the BMA,⁵⁶ as well as the more xenophobic sections of the local communities they lived in. Any form of personal or professional (mis)conduct, or suggestion of it, was noticed, reported, and sometimes even newsworthy.⁵⁷ Therefore, the silence on this score – coupled with evidence from multiple sources, including the formal annual assessment of the temporary licensees during the war – indicates that 'alien doctors' were no more or less competent than their Australian counterparts. Increasingly, many saw their work as constituting a form of national service.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Weaver, 'A Glut on the Market'.

⁵⁶ For example, PROV: Board Minutes: 1934 - 1945 Medical Board of Victoria, VPRS 16389/ P1 unit 5; PROV: Board Minutes: 1945 - 1949 Medical Board of Victoria, VPRS 16389/ P1 unit 6.

⁵⁷ See, for example: W. McRae Russell, 'Refugee Doctors', *The Age*, 17 August, 1939, 2; 'Doctors' Basic Wage – Aliens No Help', *The Argus*, 25 August, 1939, 2; W. Maxwell, 'The Refugee Doctors' *Medical Journal of Australia*, 1939, 919; 'REFUGEE DOCTORS PRAISED', *The Argus*, 30 December, 1942, 6.

⁵⁸ See for example: NAA: Deery. NAA: A1928, 652/17/4 SECTION 2 Medical Practitioners. Registration in Australia of Persons who have qualified elsewhere. National Security (Alien Doctors) Regns. 1942, Licences under. Applications and Correspondences Victoria. Section 2. NAA: A1928, 652/17/4 SECTION 3 Medical Practitioners. Registration in Australia of Persons who have qualified elsewhere. National Security (Alien Doctors) Regns. 1942, Licences under. Applications and Correspondence, Victoria. Section 3. NAA: A1928, 652/17/4 SECTION 4 Medical Practitioners. (Registration in Australia of Persons who have qualified Elsewhere). National Security (Alien Doctors) Regs., 1942, Licences under. Applications and Correspondence. Victoria Section 4.

CONCLUSION (OR PERHAPS A POST-LUDE⁵⁹)

In *Performances*, Greg Dening argued that ‘histories ... are empowering – their most empowering force is the discovery they help us make of our humanity in both the past and the present’.⁶⁰ Dening’s words resonate strongly for me when considering the ways in which histories of ‘alien doctors’ and indeed medical migrants generally have been constructed in Australia. To return to the beginning of this paper, the mothers marching through Healesville did not know the outcome their march would have, or if it would be successful in helping Arthur Deery. They marched because ‘Doc Deery’ was their doctor and his injustice was theirs too – he could not treat them as they wanted. Arthur Deery’s medical career does not neatly fit any of the popular narratives historians have constructed for understanding the social and professional reception of ‘aliens’ and ‘alien doctors’ in Australia – he did not remain marginalised, he did not achieve anything exceptional as a medical practitioner. And yet his story helps us understand much – both of Australia’s migrant and medical systems in historical perspective, as well as the present.

First, it highlights an intuitive and increasingly accepted position that migrant identities and identity formation is a dynamic, unceasing process. Many, more talented historians of migration have explored how we might understand migrant identity, and it is out of scope for the purpose of this paper.⁶¹ The second phenomenon that Arthur Deery’s story highlights is the question of who and how medical practitioners are remembered in historical perspective. It is this point that I wish to discuss a bit further.

The average practitioner in the middle of the twentieth century is today what we would recognise as a general practitioner, and country practitioners were particularly low-prestige in medical career terms. They worked in sparsely populated, often isolated towns. These rural settings were a world away from the large Melbourne-based teaching hospitals that served as the focal point of medical power and prestige in Victoria (and Australia generally).⁶² Typically medical practice outside of hospitals was a private, solo endeavour well into the 1960s.⁶³ Thus, the work of private practitioners is very hard to

⁵⁹ In acknowledging Greg Dening and his enormous contribution to history in Australia.

⁶⁰ Greg Dening, *Performances* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 205.

⁶¹ See for example, Alistair Thomson, ‘Moving Stories: Oral History and Migration Studies’, *Oral History*, vol. 27, no. 1 (1999), 24–37.

⁶² Tony Pensabene, *The Rise of the Medical Practitioner in Victoria* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1980).

⁶³ Australian Medical Association, *General Practice and Its Future in Australia. The Scope and Method of Practice of the Future General Practitioner. Report No. 1 of the A.M.A. Study Group on Medical Planning* (Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company for the Australian

trace using traditional archival methods, unlike hospital-based specialists and medical researchers whose employment and work is preserved in the archives of hospitals, universities and other public institutions. As a result, the most accessible records of medical achievement – of hospital innovation, of work in medical associations, and of breakthrough research – are the ones we see reflected in the historiography.⁶⁴ Unsurprisingly, women and migrants are underrepresented in the ranks of the medical elite remembered in this way.

I would never have found Arthur Deery unless I had been intent on systematically recovering the professional pathways and careers of ‘alien doctors’ in Victoria. Hopefully this paper has convinced you that such histories deserve a place in our local medical and migration history not because of exceptional individual achievement, but because the patterns of service they provided within national systems of healthcare delivery and access highlights the role migrant doctors played, and continue to play, in our societies.⁶⁵ What Arthur Deery’s pathway reflects back to us is the structure and practise of medicine in the middle of twentieth century. For example, how in Victoria, rural residents valued their access to a local practitioner, and in many communities residents paid subscriptions to the local hospital and regularly fundraised to provide an income guarantee to support a practitioner.⁶⁶ Therefore, to understand, in part, the Healesville mothers’ one mile march in support of Arthur Deery is to understand this value.

Medical Association, 1972).

⁶⁴ For a discussion, see: Mody, ‘Doctors Down Under’.

⁶⁵ Historians in Canada and the UK have recently undertaken similar studies. See for example, David Wright, Sasha Mullally, and Mary Colleen Cordukes, ‘Worse than Being Married’: The Exodus of British Doctors from the National Health Service to Canada, c. 1955-75’, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 65, no. 4 (2010): 546–75; Julian Simpson, *Migrant Architects of the NHS: South Asian Doctors and the Reinvention of British General Practice (1940s-1980s)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

⁶⁶ Mody, ‘Doctors Down Under’.