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To "Evaluate the Mental Powers of the Indian Children": Race and Intelligence Testing in Canada's Indian Residential School System

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ABSTRACT
Scholars have examined how theories of race-based intelligence as they relate to IQ testing have impacted Canadian society in the realms of educational policy, immigration, and public health, yet little research has focused on the role of IQ and other intelligence testing in the Indian residential school system. When administrators observed students' poor grade progression, they sought not to reform a system that forced the children to work for at least half the day, but rather to blame students' home environments and supposedly hereditary racial traits. This paper examines the social scientific context of intelligence testing in residential schools in the early to mid-1900s and argues that testing results—a biased and inaccurate measure of mental ability—played a role in justifying the schools' emphasis on a limited academic curriculum. It argues that the data gathered on Indigenous mental deficiency came to form part of the "official information" guiding the Department of Indian Affairs' administration of the residential school system. Ultimately, discourses of race-based mental inferiority impacted the type and quality of education provided to Indigenous children with reverberations down to the present day.

RÉSUMÉ
Les chercheurs ont analysé de quelle façon les théories de l'intelligence basées sur la race, lorsque mises en relation avec les tests de quotient intellectuel (QI), ont eu une incidence dans les domaines de la politique de l'éducation, de l'immigration et de la santé publique de la société canadienne. Peu de recherches se sont cependant concentrées sur le rôle des tests de QI et d'autres tests d'intelligence dans le système canadien des pensionnats indiens. Lorsque les administrateurs ont constaté la mauvaise progression scolaire des élèves, ils n'ont pas cherché à réformer un système qui obligeait les enfants à travailler pour la moitié de la journée au moins, mais ils ont plutôt blâmé l'environnement familial des élèves et leurs traits supposément héréditaires liés à la race. Dans cet article, l'auteur analyse le contexte scientifique et social des tests d'intelligence dans le système des pensionnats du début au milieu des années 1900 et soutient l'idée que les résultats des tests d'intelligence—instruments de mesure biaisés et inexacts de la capacité mentale—ont permis de justifier l'accent mis par ces écoles sur l'implantation d'un

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programme scolaire limité. L'auteur défend également l'idée que les données recueillies sur la déficience mentale des Autochtones ont constitué « l'information officielle » orientant l'administration du système des pensionnats indiens par le ministère des Affaires indiennes. En fin de compte, les propos sur l'infériorité mentale basée sur la race ont eu des conséquences sur le type et la qualité de l'éducation dispensée aux enfants autochtones, avec des répercussions qui se ressentent encore de nos jours.

For decades, families and communities whose children were attending Indian residential schools sounded the alarm that their children were not being properly educated and were instead being worked. They also expressed concerns that the poor education their children received led to faulty assumptions about Indigenous Peoples. As an example, a representative of the "Sarnia Indians" wrote to the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) in 1898 concerning the quality of the education provided to the reserve's children. In addition to the fact that their current teacher was uncertified, having failed her departmental exams more than once, the Indigenous students were found to be grades behind their peers. Calling attention to the obvious failings of the education provided to their children, the writer suggested that this unequal instruction encouraged negative perceptions of Indigenous people: "Is it any wonder that the Indians are called ignorant and dumb when such injustice is done to their education?"[1] Similarly, a residential school survivor now in his eighties was unequivocal in condemning the consequences of — and, perhaps, motivations behind — the limited education that he received at Pelican Lake Residential School in northern Ontario: "As long as we were [kept] stupid, we were manageable."[2] As this paper will argue, labelling Indigenous Peoples "simple" served ideological and administrative purposes in the DIA's educational policies.[3]

The residential school system was one of the primary institutions that animated and upheld the Canadian settler-colonial project that rested on eliminating its "Indian problem." It was a major lever of social control and re-education that the Canadian state, in tandem with the major church denominations, deployed. The residential school system, however, was beset with a particularly vexing type of "Indian problem": "the problem of the education of Indian children."[4] The task of teaching Indigenous children was said to require not only professional training, a missionary spirit, and compassion, but also "an investigative and experimental turn of mind… in order that special study and special tests be made."[5] Only a bespoke skill set could tackle the instruction of this group, said to exceed the difficulties of educating immigrant children, and new forms of measurement and subsequent classification were called for.

I argue that IQ and other intelligence tests comprised part of the web of bureaucratic knowledge, or "official information" — to incorporate Plant's usage of this Weberian concept[6] — collected about Indigenous Peoples that was deployed in the service of furthering government interests by functionally limiting residential school students' educational and occupational outcomes. I draw on Plant's usage of the Weberian concept of "official information" to refer to "bureaucratically acquired forms of specialized knowledge used to extend state domination."[7] Using the

lens of intelligence testing, this research is intended to illuminate how discourses of race-based mental inferiority impacted the type and quality of education provided to Indigenous children at Canada's residential schools. It adds to a growing body of scholarship that sheds light on the consequences of intelligence testing for racialized students across North America in the early to mid-1900s: how the "science" of IQ testing came to justify school segregation and legitimize "special" curricula.[8] I argue that as was the case in the mainstream schools of the time—through "objective" tools such as student intelligence testing—within the residential school system "a confluence of Power and Science was formed that turned children into measurable and classifiable beings for the sake of an efficiently organised social system."[9] What's more, Indigenous students' poor performance on IQ and other intelligence, or mental, tests were a contributing factor to the appallingly poor education that they received, most notably through the persistence of the "half-day system." Barman, in her analysis of the unequal education that Indigenous children experienced in British Columbia and beyond, argues that outcome, not intention, is the most important factor: "Indigenous children were effectively, if not always deliberately, schooled for inequality."[10]

This was doubly true for residential school students who were perceived to be culturally, socially, and intellectually backward. Part of my argument, therefore, is not that *no* Indigenous children needed "special" education, but rather, that intelligence testing was a tool that confirmed what was already taken to be true: that most residential school students were incapable of completing a regular school course. When they proved unable to keep pace with their non-Indigenous peers, it therefore seemed justified to continue educating them along non-academic lines. This was something of a convenient outcome given that their labour was needed to sustain the institutions, viz., a 1949 assessment of the Old Sun residential school plainly stated that classes operating for only half of the day were largely responsible for below average testing scores, since this system "does not allow sufficient time for instruction."[11]

The landmark scholarly works on the Canadian residential schooling system devote little to no analysis to IQ or other mental testing, or indeed experimentation on residential school pupils. Miller states that a "surprising" number of officials apparently held the view that Indigenous children were intellectually inferior, even though this belief "apparently did not have to be established by any scientific means"[12]—a contention that this paper, in part, refutes by documenting how DIA officials engaged with the "scientific" research on race and mental ability. According to Milloy, a consensus on the intellectual capabilities and potential of Indigenous students was never reached.[13] Mosby's investigation into nutritional tests conducted on residential school students in the 1940s and early 1950s solidifies how Indigenous children were considered appropriate subjects for experimentation. Residential schools were ideal "laboratories" for zealous social scientists to observe, intervene in, and collect data from, under the guise of "improving" Indigenous populations, ultimately to lessen their supposed burden on the Canadian government and Canadians at large. Notably, Mosby argues that such research exemplified the government's "technocratic and paternalistic ethos" in its approach to dealing with the "Indian problem."[14]

My analysis begins chronologically in the 1910s and ends in the mid-1950s, when residential school students were increasingly integrated into provincial schools.[15] The 1949 Special Joint Committee recommended the cessation of what had amounted to a segregated schooling system for Indigenous children, and this integration policy was codified in the 1951 amendments to the *Indian Act*. A concurrent policy change to slowly close the residential school system — bloated, expensive, unpopular, and inefficient as it was — resulted in the number of Indigenous children attending day schools nearly doubling from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s.[16]

Some notes on periodization as it relates to psychology, educational trends, and the DIA's policies are important. At the beginning of this period, psychologists, mental hygienists, and other experts in the growing bureaucratization of education largely believed that intelligence was inherited and fixed.[17] Until the 1920s, Ellis explains, these practitioners had considerable overlap with proponents of eugenics in settler-colonial Canadian society. During this early period, students who were tested and deemed abnormal in intelligence were classified as, for instance, "mentally defective" or "subnormal," depending on how far they deviated from the norms established by experts in the IQ testing field.[18] Beginning in the 1930s and continuing well into the following decade, educators and experts began to reconsider whether intelligence was truly immutable. It emerged that what seemed to be unchangeable deficiencies in IQ might instead be confined to a discrete area; some children previously diagnosed as having low innate intelligence could be educable with the right approach to remedial education.[19]

Using mainly correspondence records, I explain how DIA officials and their local-level church contemporaries came to understand Indigenous Peoples — and the youth they were charged with educating — through a racial hierarchy of intelligence.[20] I address how administrators of residential schools[21] incorporated the results of intelligence testing into the "official information" about Indigenous Peoples that helped to legitimate the limited curricula provided. I evaluate the impacts of the Ontario Department of Education's (ODE) involvement in the Indian residential school system, beginning in the early 1940s. Throughout, I endeavour to place the case of intelligence testing in residential schools in the wider educational sphere's evolving auxiliary ("special") education, that ranged from the forest schools of the 1910s to the industrial classes of the 1920s to the "direct" learning and "opportunity classes" of the 1930s and 1940s.

My analysis draws primarily on Library and Archives Canada's holdings pertaining to the residential school system, mainly the Record Group (RG) 10 School Files Series. While this series is extensive — comprising thousands of individual documents that have been microfilmed and partially digitized — it is notoriously difficult to navigate. Its numeric filing system has been revamped several times and some sections are inexplicably missing. Many documents have been lost or destroyed. Suffice it to say, this research has been impacted by these archival limitations. Wherever possible, I have endeavoured to supplement scant government records with resources collected from other repositories, such as the United Church of Canada's residential school files, and the perspectives of survivors and their families.

IQ and other intelligence tests were critical to classification strategies that addressed perceived inefficiencies in school management during this era — perhaps part of their appeal to officials within the residential school system, whose approach had long included gathering "official information" on the people under their charge. The administrators of the Canadian Indian residential school system relied on, first, the construction of Indigenous Peoples as a problem. They then used the tools of a burgeoning bureaucracy — an "instrumental rationality" — to classify, objectify, and ultimately dictate the shape Indigenous lives took according to anthropological, psychological, and other "scientific" research-gathering. Here I rely on Kulchyski's conceptualization of how the DIA used Diamond Jenness's mid-century anthropological surveys of Indigenous Peoples to legitimate its ongoing paternalistic interventions into Indigenous lives and communities. Kulchyski explains that, even before Jenness, "the Canadian State had established an array of structures that served to define, confine, and ultimately remove what it had constructed as its 'Native problem.'"[22] The state's *raison d'être* hinged on solving a problem that they themselves had created.

The mainstream and residential school systems both partook in this occupational stratification by education. Pre-determined occupational classification was essential to the smooth functioning of modern, capitalist Canada, as Milewski reminds us.[23] The creation of differentiated educational opportunities for students of different perceived abilities (for example, "streaming" into vocational schools) enabled social efficiency in what was "an increasingly complex industrial economy and society" in Ontario in the early to mid-1900s.[24] The key difference was that while a proportion of the students attending mainstream schools were "streamed" into auxiliary education — with an outsized segment comprising working-class and immigrant children — this path was the *default* for many Indigenous children. It must be remembered that, as Gleason explains, intelligence testing often served to limit children rather than to illuminate their weaknesses and strengths.[25] A teacher, administrator, or school inspector's interest in intelligence testing should not be mistaken for an enduring, system-level commitment to providing quality educational opportunities for students of all abilities.

Race and Intelligence: The Canadian Educational Context

The linking of race and intelligence was, as Ellis quips, hardly "junk science" during this era.[26] In North America during the early 1900s the desirability of maintaining an Anglo-Saxon society was an unexceptional belief. Likewise, Waldram reminds us that for several hundred years it had been generally accepted that Indigenous North Americans were less intelligent than Europeans.[27] Scores of studies in the early twentieth century seemed to confirm the "mental deficiency" of non-white groups, especially Black Americans and Indigenous Peoples. Pearce Bailey, a physician, famously concluded in 1922 that people of African and Native American ancestry were categorically less intelligent than Europeans.[28]

Intelligence testing was one expression of a presumed racial hierarchy that justified pre-existing beliefs about the racialized distribution of mental abilities. In the eyes of

intelligence testers, intergroup differences in IQ were real and highly consequential, and widely publicized studies popularized the idea for the North American public that "everyone's intelligence was innate and inherited."[29] Dr. Peter Sandiford, professor of education at the University of Toronto, was a fierce advocate of the "mental hygiene" movement. Important to the study at hand, Sandiford supervised Mohawk graduate student Elmer Jamieson's thesis research in which he tested the intelligence of the children of the Six Nations reserve who attended residential and day schools.[30] Jamieson's subsequent publication was reprinted in the DIA School Files Series records, having previously appeared in the *Journal of Educational Psychology* in 1928.[31]

Scientific approaches to education in the early 1900s, buoyed by the tool of IQ testing, gained a "massive authority to classify children."[32] By the 1920s, testing for intelligence was part of the standard curriculum at the Ontario College of Education. This was the context for intelligence testing in mainstream Canadian schools and in the residential school system. Testing conducted systematically was thought to prevent the widespread social ills that "defective" persons wrought and contribute to a smoothly functioning industrial society. In short, mass testing was "smart social and economic policy."[33]

"A Complete Mental Survey": The DIA and "Indian" Intelligence

Ambivalence about Indigenous Peoples' "potential" was made evident in the curricula of the DIA's educational institutions, which were disproportionately focused on vocational teaching. For example, in 1897 Interior Minister Clifford Sifton expressed skepticism about the value of more advanced manual training like trades instruction, cautioning against "[educating] children above the possibilities of their station."[34] By 1910, the DIA exhibited a markedly decreasing interest in students' economic or social mobility.[35] The lack of emphasis on elevating students through education aligns with the scientific-bureaucratic discourse of the time that sought to slot students into distinct socio-economic strata dependent on their predetermined, inherent level of intelligence. Residential school graduates were to be integrated into the new industrialized, modern economy at the lowest level: serving in menial roles supposedly appropriate for their station.[36] Indigenous pupils' destiny in the non-professional classes was implicit in a 1947 draft brief on integrated education prepared by the DIA: "the Indian child should… engage in all school activities along with the white boys and girls who will later become the merchants, doctors, nurses, etc., of the community in which the Indian child will live."[37]

Puzzlement over the poor grade progression of children in residential schools was a relatively common topic of discussion for school administrators, interested church bodies, and educational specialists, as evidenced by the DIA's files. From 1890–1950, a period covering most of the existence of the Indian residential school system, an average of 60 per cent of children in residential and day schools had not advanced beyond grade 3. At times, this proportion rose to 80 per cent.[38] Out of more than 9,000 residential school students in 1945, slightly more than 100 were attending grades beyond grade 8 and *none* were enrolled beyond grade 9.[39] To put these stark numbers

in context, bear in mind that children attending residential schools usually did not have a working knowledge of English before enrolling in school, and they were often older when first enrolled than students in the mainstream system were. Harsh physical labour often awaited students at what were supposed to be educational institutions. Furthermore, teachers were consistently poorly trained. A 1948 DIA study indicated that 40 per cent of its teachers had no professional training.[40] Assessing teacher qualifications Canada-wide is fraught with difficulty because of, for instance, divergent provincial systems, sharp differences between urban and rural settings,[41] and great shifts in teacher training and professionalization over the course of the decades covered by the present study. Suffice it to say that by mid-century teaching was becoming increasingly professionalized[42] and, although the residential school system's teachers were supposed to have provincial certificates and follow the provincial curricula, inspectors and other administrators regularly fielded reports pertaining to the inadequacy of instruction.[43] A group of Alberta provincial school superintendents wrote in 1946 that the instruction provided in schools for Indigenous children does "not begin to approach the standards that we set for our public schools."[44] Despite these shortcomings, the pupils themselves were deemed to be inferior.

It has long been established that the residential school system was cruel and dehumanizing, and archival records provide something of a glimpse into its ideological scaffolding, which was clearly based, at least in part, on spurious understandings of "racial traits." The authors of *Indian Education in Manitoba,* an unsigned report found in the United Church of Canada's archives, referred to Indigenous People as "a distinct sub-species of the human race."[45] In an expansive report about the state of "Indian education" that the church penned in 1935, the authors note that, notwithstanding the "superior intelligence" of Indigenous people in areas such as manual dexterity, they concluded that Indigenous children had an average IQ between seventy and eighty.[46] The Workers Among the Methodist Indians of Manitoba were also clearly influenced by what Stephen calls a "racial template of intelligence."[47] In 1922, it passed a resolution requesting that a "mental survey" of students at the Brandon Residential School and the Norway House Residential School be conducted, "in hope that this will lead to a complete mental survey of all Indian children of school age."[48] When they had not received a response by the following year and inquired about testing arrangements,[49] the superintendent of the DIA wrote to indicate that he agreed in principle with their request, but hesitated to commit firmly to the testing because of the potential cost involved in Parliament allocating funding for "institutions for mental deficients."[50] Implicit in this response is that intelligence testing would result in uncovering enough "deficient" students that specialized facilities would be required. Here we see echoes of the common mentality of the time period regarding the scientific ordering of students based on ability, as explained by Omori: "attention should be dedicated to 'normal' children, and… the feebleminded should be excluded from public schools and placed under permanent custodial care."[51]

In a 1910 article, Reverend Arthur Barner, principal of the Red Deer Industrial Institute, pronounced that Indigenous children did not have the capacity for reason because they lacked "intellectual heredity," again mirroring the discourses of scientific

racism widespread in this early period.[52] DIA secretary T. R. L. MacInnes publicly claimed in the 1940s that the department did not believe that Indigenous People were mentally less endowed than other races.[53] Internal correspondence, on the other hand, shows that some administrators were not as magnanimous. DIA officials wrote of "Indian" traits like "lack of frugality" in 1947[54] and speculated where Indigenous Peoples might fall on a racialized hierarchy from "primitive" to "advanced."[55]

As an indication of the penetration of models of race-based intelligence into the Canadian educational sphere, a school inspector, G. W. Bartlett, referenced the Otis Intelligence Test that had been completed with Indigenous students at the Haskell Institute in Kansas (see Figure 1). It showed a positive correlation between "Pure Indian" stock and low intelligence,[56] echoing the well-known results of Lewis Terman (1916) and Thomas R. Garth (1922, 1923, 1925, 1927) that connected intelligence to white ancestry.[57] His results confirmed that this correlation was replicated in Canadian schools educating Indigenous children.

Beginning in 1927, Bartlett conducted intelligence testing (including the Stanford-Binet Test, the Otis Group Test, and others) in Manitoba and Saskatchewan residential schools at the behest of DIA Superintendent Russell T. Ferrier, who noted that these tests were the second series to have been conducted.[58] Bartlett aimed to "survey and evaluate the mental powers of the Indian children, as compared with white children," hypothesizing that Indigenous pupils would likely demonstrate superior skills in areas that did not depend on English-language knowledge.[59] In what was apparently his first report to headquarters after conducting tests on the Fairford and Lake St. Martin reserves and the industrial schools at Brandon and Elkhorn, he reminded his superiors that every modern school system employed these testing instruments.[60] Though he eschewed common labels such as "feeble minded, intellectual quotient, defective," out of concern that these categorizations would be premature, Bartlett felt confident enough in his preliminary results to state that they could be relied upon pedagogically.[61] In his initial studies, he believed that Indigenous children achieved the same "mental powers" as white children, albeit at a slower pace, and some could potentially surpass their white peers. He also advised that testing results should be viewed cautiously, as social and language factors could explain residential school students' lower scores.[62] However, after evaluating the students at Birtle Indian Residential School in 1929, he declared that while their progress was generally satisfactory, "as usual in Indian schools there are a number so low mentally as to be able to do only the most rote tasks. These should be given… useful handiworks. Such pupils enjoy monotonous 'repeat' tasks, making little intellectual demands."[63]

Results from the growing field of scientific investigation into the purported relationship between race and intelligence appear in the DIA's archives and officials sought out information from other educational contexts to inform the instruction provided to Indigenous children. For example, a 1931 exchange reveals that the DIA library had a copy of the article "The Education of Backward Races."[65] Presumably consulted by those managing the educational mission within the department, this work contained a section on contending with "our Indian problem."[66] Although the works of educational-scientific experts could not always be definitively linked to

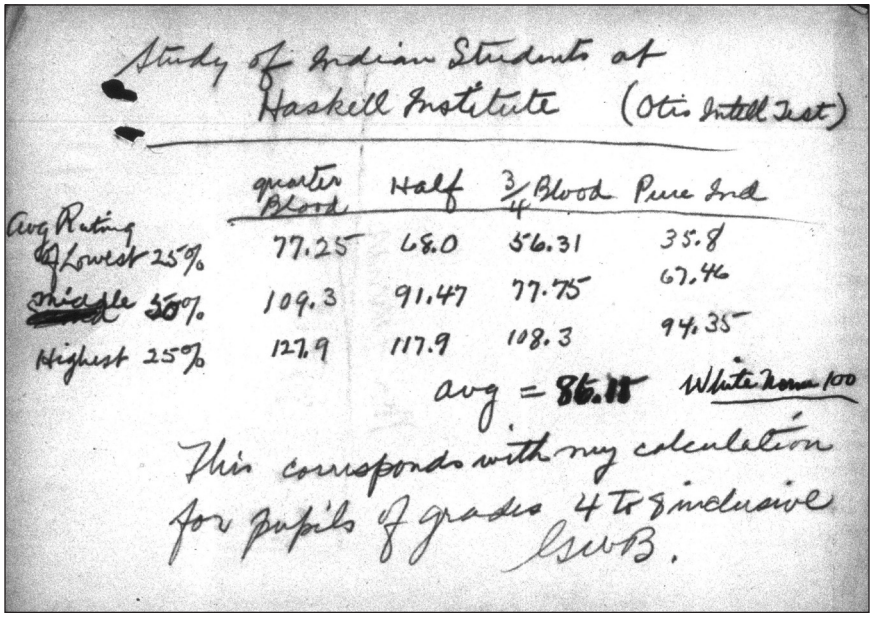

Figure 1: *Manitoba Department of Indian Affairs' school inspector G. W. Bartlett referenced the Otis Intelligence Test that had been completed with Indigenous students at the Haskell Institute in Kansas.*[64] *It showed a positive correlation between "Pure Indian" stock and low intelligence, as demonstrated by the highest intelligence scores from "quarter blood," referring to students who purportedly have ¼ Indigenous ancestry. Bartlett undertook intelligence and other mental testing at day schools of the Fairford and Lake St. Martin reserves and the industrial schools at Brandon and Elkhorn, hence his assertion that the Haskell data shown here "corresponds with my calculation for pupils of grades 4 to 8 inclusive. GWB"* GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION, 1923-1959 © Government of Canada. Reproduced with the permission of Library and Archives Canada (2022). Library and Archives Canada/Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds/Vol.8807, file 1/25-17, pt. 1

policy shifts at the DIA, according to Shewell, social sciences research can be thought of as forming a frame of reference "around which the branch conducted its deliberations and business."[67]

Residential school administrators made causal links between student behaviour problems and limited intelligence that reflected the period's beliefs about unchecked "mental deficiency." While psychologists and educational professionals considered IQ tests to provide an objective assessment of intelligence—and, often, emotional adjustment—in reality they measured "a child's conformity to a certain social ideal," Gleason argues. Ethnicity, or race, was a confounding factor that could tip the scale towards abnormality.[68] As Ellis explains, in the eyes of educational experts, "feeble-mindedness" was to blame for an array of social ills.[69] For example, low IQ seemed to be the reason for the behaviour of a "troublesome" girl in the senior class at the Mohawk Institute in 1926, who was revealed to have "the mentality of a child of five."[70]

Low IQ scores were blamed for various behavioural issues across the system for the decades in question, such as pupils running away from the Mohawk Institute in

1926[71] and a pupil attempting suicide at the File Hills Residential School in the late 1930s. In the latter case, the archives reveal that the student — who was of apparent "low mentality" according to the principal[72] — was actually deaf.[73] What's more, he was being abused by school staff. Subsequently, doctors found him mentally "normal" and determined that he should be transferred to another school.[74]

The correspondence in the DIA archives surrounding this case is telling and indicative of the overall condescending attitude towards the system's students and their intellectual capabilities. The Saskatchewan inspector of Indian agencies believed that the agency was "squandering money" by keeping students around fifteen years of age in school.[75] In response, the DIA's superintendent of welfare and training, who explained that he had previously overseen an institute for "subnormal" children, opined in general agreement that "a great deal of time is wasted in all educational institutions seeking to educate boys and girls with a low IQ. On the other hand, we have learned from experience that it is an exceedingly dangerous thing to turn boys and girls with a low IQ rating loose on the reserves."[76] Though the exact form of this danger is not specified, Superintendent Hoey's remarks echo psychologists' anxieties that feeble-mindedness was a "social evil" that fostered delinquency, prostitution, poverty, and crime.[77] Hoey's follow-up comments also align with the educational-scientific-bureaucratic cadre's recommendations that the feeble-minded, though incurable, could be turned into a useful labour force — echoing experts' determination that borderline "deficients" would make "efficient workers," if nothing else.[78] Hoey likewise suggested vocational work such as sewing, dishwashing, and basket-weaving, confident that such efforts would be as successful as they had been for the "subnormal" pupils he formerly oversaw.[79] In this example, it is made evident how the different types of curricula (collegiate, vocational, etc.) came to be justified by "scientifically" observed individual differences: "a natural distribution of ability and talent" that just happened to be stratified along social and racial lines.[80]

Most damningly, "scientific" understandings of race-based intelligence shaped the type and quality of education provided to Indigenous children. The recommendation of vocational or handicraft work (here meaning Indigenous "arts and crafts" such as beadwork) as Superintendent Hoey did in the late 1930s was one of the most common responses to evidence that seemed to confirm Indigenous students' limited abilities. The authors of *Indian Education in Manitoba*, after pointing out that Indigenous people were "sub-normal" in mental, moral, and physical capacities, asserted that their education should be limited to basic literacy and added that "more than this is unnecessary and perhaps harmful."[81] Likewise, low IQs and slower "intellectual development" meant that educational possibilities for Indigenous children must be carefully considered, with increased attention given to vocational training in the residential school curriculum, according to a 1935 church report.[82] A 1940 inspection of Portage la Prairie Residential School led the inspector to conclude that Indian residential schools should not be held to the same standard as provincial schools because "the home environment and inherited racial characteristics produce an attitude in the children not found elsewhere." He believed that the students he observed were intellectually lacking and their "mental capacity" needed to be accommodated.[83] In

1944, the Inspector of Public Schools in Strathroy, ON, believed that priority in Indian residential schools should be given to non-academic subjects: art and music, agriculture, manual training, home economics, and arts and crafts.[84]

"Intentionally Maintained as an Inferior Race"?

Keeping institutions' doors open by using student labour was both a cause of, and justification for, the limited curriculum. Compared to the time that children in the provincial school systems spent in the classroom, education for Indigenous children fell dramatically short: only two to four hours a day, compared to a minimum of five hours that non-Indigenous children could expect.[85] An assessment of the residential school system up to 1950 concluded that it had *minimal instructional or educational value* and was indeed characterized by repetitive and monotonous chores.[86] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) conclusions speak volumes: "the vocational training program too often degenerated into a student labour program."[87]

The boys and girls of the Old Sun Residential School were each in class for less than three hours a day, according to a report made by the DIA's school inspector in 1918.[88] An inspection at the school in 1923 resulted in the following conclusions:

> As one looks into the faces of children in Indian schools he feels there is a larger percentage of sub-normals than in the White schools.… If children are subnormal and cannot possibly get much out of class room work they should be taken from the class and given more hand work. Relieved of the defectives the teacher could… do more satisfactory work.[89]

Here Inspector J. F. Boyce either consciously or unconsciously echoed the 1918 proclamation of physician and eugenicist Helen MacMurchy in her Ontario handbook for school inspectors: "Nature has put the mental defective in a class by himself, we had better take the hint."[90] Terman, who wrote the Stanford-Binet test, had himself emphasized the importance of segregation based on intellectual ability in a 1918 report, explaining that feeble-minded children who remained in the mainstream school system hindered the other, "normal" children from receiving proper instruction.[91] The aforementioned Inspector Bartlett wrote in 1928 of the importance of separating students by intelligence at Birtle Residential School, placing those who were "mentally deficient" in their own class.[92]

Inspectors blamed the students for academic deficiencies that were caused by poorly trained teachers and the labour requirements that took them out of class for many hours a day. After explaining that the senior pupils in school on the Blackfoot Reserve only attended classes for half a day, a school inspector noted that since no student had made it past grade 4, "class room instruction… should occupy a second place." It is worth examining this logic in more detail. The inspector has noted that students only attend classes half-time, but has used their minimal academic achievement to justify further reductions in academic instruction. Such circular reasoning

was underwritten by a presumed racial distribution of intelligence, confirmed "scientifically," that suggested Indigenous students would not benefit from a full academic course. His observations and recommendations — and the many others that echo them — form "an imperial, all-knowing gaze… [that] consolidates itself with every explanation it offers."[93] The DIA would further legitimize — consolidate — its authority through the "official information" that it collected.

The misplaced emphasis on student labour never escaped the notice of their parents and home communities. By the end of the 1920s, when the DIA was "more insistent than ever" that the residential schools must focus on vocational, practical training, parents had reached a breaking point.[94] They wrote to the principal of the Elkhorn Residential School that "they did not send their children to school to be taught how to hunt or trap or fish."[95] A 1938 document shows that parents at the Waywayseecappo and Elphinstone reserves in Manitoba contacted a lawyer to petition the DIA about the unsatisfactory education their children were receiving at Birtle Residential School.[96] In response, Provincial School Inspector Sigvaldson conceded that there was little systematic instruction in "vocations" such as carpentry and dressmaking. Much of the training that students received was, in his words, "incidental."[97] Seven years later, the Indian Association of Alberta lambasted the providers of the poor education their children received and suggested that training children for menial occupations invited negative associations between "Indianness" and intelligence. Their concerns and demands are worth reproducing here.

> There is a greater need of academic education unless Indians are to be intentionally maintained as an inferior race, capable of only manual and casual labour.… [Half-day] work is educationally unsound and psychologically wrong, for it defeats the very purpose of class room instruction.… *The time has come when Indian schools should educate.*[98]

The Indian Association of Alberta, and its peer organizations, would have been disheartened to read a departmental memo published in 1941 which set out, in no uncertain terms, that employment options for their children could be listed on one hand: "There are but three careers available to the Priarie [*sic*] Indian: Farming, cattle raising, Hunting and Fishing. It is true that some may find their way to some profession but these will be the exception."[99] Gleason explains a similar phenomenon at play regarding immigrant children in postwar Canada; they were streamed away from advanced education in a discriminatory process that characterized them as "workers" instead of students.[100]

The Ontario Department of Education and Auxiliary Education

One of the most consequential moments in the history of IQ and intelligence testing in the residential school system was the apparent partnership between the ODE and the DIA that began in 1941 regarding "auxiliary" education. It should be noted here that "auxiliary" education is roughly equivalent to the "special education" of today.

A three-page report in 1941 from the inspector of auxiliary classes for the ODE, C. E. Stothers, conveyed the results of a preliminary study of residential schools made by Miss Helen L. Delaporte, his assistant inspector of auxiliary classes. The main points and initial conclusions are as follows: Indigenous students are currently given a full academic course. Instead, they should be given curricula for children of lower intellectual capabilities. Only "special cases of apparent brilliancy" warranted a full academic curriculum and reported inaccuracies of IQ testing with this group, due to language barriers, were overblown. Delaporte pointed out that Mr. Jamieson's studies showed an IQ between eighty and eighty-five for his nation. These results, which Jamieson had intended to be interpreted cautiously, meant in Delaporte's view that "over half of the pupils have little chance of getting their entrance to high school." Teachers in the residential school system should receive training to provide students with "the studies given to dull-normal and retarded children."[101] It is worth remembering here that, far from neutral tools, tests that purport to measure intelligence were, and are, "efficient sorting mechanisms that reinforce dominant values and contribute to social stability by justifying inequality of outcome as a natural and objective process."[102]

In 1947, the DIA received confirmation that the results of the Tiegs-Clark psychological test given to representative students at the Catholic residential schools in Spanish, Ontario, were being forwarded. Unfortunately, the results themselves were not retained, though this case suggests that intelligence testing took on a more central role in the residential school system after ODE involvement.[103] The following year, the deputy minister of Mines and Resources (the department administering the Indian Affairs Branch at this time) identified "psychology and auxiliary education" as one of its three priority areas for future policy and programming.[104]

In a 1948 circular for residential schoolteachers produced by DIA headquarters, the author notes that the DIA implemented "many" of Helen Delaporte's professional recommendations and was planning to continue along these lines. Recall that these recommendations arose from the base assumption that Indigenous children should be given curricula adapted to their lower-than-average intelligence. The rest of this article focuses on "direct learners," who the reader is meant to infer means students of lower intellectual capacity via comparison charts explaining that direct learners are, for instance, slower to understand new ideas than "indirect learners." In fact, the ODE had introduced the term "direct learner" to replace "subnormal" in 1933.[105] The official advice provided to teachers from the DIA presupposed lower intellectual ability that, by this point, had become part of the "official information" guiding the education of Indigenous children.

Those advising some of the residential school institutions deemed training in "auxiliary" teaching an urgent matter in the late 1940s (again, note that "auxiliary" classes are an analogue to today's "special education"). According to correspondence pertaining to the Mohawk Institute in 1948 and 1949, the changing student body warranted major curriculum alterations. The Bishop of Huron stated that he had consulted with the Mohawk Institute's principal, the city of London's assistant school superintendent, a local school principal, and a member of the province's Royal Commission on

Education (known as the Hope Commission). This bishop, C. A. Seager, noted that as the Mohawk Institute increasingly came to serve a child-welfare purpose, the quality of student plummeted, due to emotional problems, delayed mental abilities, and, perhaps, "definite mental defectiveness."[106] He determined that a survey of mental ability should be conducted and, if needed, "special opportunity" classes established (the term "special opportunity" classes had replaced "auxiliary classes" in Ontario in 1937).[107] Seager also suggested that the handful of students found to be of high intelligence should be trained to assist school staff.[108] In response, the representative of the DIA, probably Colonel Neary, concurred that, soon, "a great many of the pupils… will be backward and in the low intelligence classes." He asked the ODE to conduct intelligence assessments of the Mohawk Institute's students.[109] A 1949 letter confirms that only 1 in 25 students were found to be of normal intelligence and 40 out of the total 155 students should be placed in "auxiliary" classes.[110] As Kulchyski explains, such data collection helped to define Indigenous Peoples as "other" in reference to "the dominant mode of rationality," in this case the DIA and the Canadian state, "that realizes itself by practising its techniques on them."[111]

Another revealing exchange concerns the situation of "non-academic" pupils in the residential school system the following decade. By the 1950s, the term "non-academic" had replaced "dull-normal," and the overrepresentation of students from some ethnic and class backgrounds in auxiliary classrooms throughout the province persisted.[112] The letter writer, Miss Irene Reesors, who was affiliated with the Mount Elgin Indian Day School in an unspecified capacity, further identified herself as the secretary of the Indian Education section of the Ontario Education Association. Their group discussed what could be done for "non-academic" pupils in the Indian residential school system. They suggested that more training in shop work could be initiated "for boys who are not capable of remaining in schools (even Technical Schools) for their training."[113] Reesor also states that students' inability to stay in school could be contributing to delinquency, a line of reasoning that would have been familiar to the letter's recipients, given the period's taken-for-granted associations between abnormal mentality and abnormal behaviour. Though the terminology changed from the early 1900s to the 1950s, often for propriety's sake,[114] whether Indigenous students were considered "subnormal," "direct learners," or "non-academic," their educational opportunities were routinely circumscribed.

Conclusion

Intelligence and IQ testing, underpinned by the ideology of biological determinants of intelligence, were crucial components of the disciplinary project of the Indian residential school system. In the early to mid-1900s, educational experts, psychologists, school boards, and others marshalled the new "science" of intelligence testing in schools, a seemingly neutral tool that "authoritatively justified separate curricula for allegedly backward groups."[115] Such classification is seductive, because it appears to be meritocratic. In fact, streaming Indigenous children into the lower rungs of society through IQ and other mental testing "served the interests of state-building,"[116]

as the resulting data was then folded into the "official information" that provided an ideological buttress for government paternalism (as did, for example, the collection of health data that justified the nutritional experiments that Mosby described).[117] Perhaps Joe Ironquill's remarks to the superintendent of education in 1950, advocating for equal education for his reserve's children, were received as a threat to the existing socio-racial order: "Give us the same education as a white man, [and] we will stand along side the white man."[118]

Therein lies arguably the most pernicious outcome of such intelligence testing in "Indian" schools for the period under examination: that the students' low scores called for a less rigorous curriculum and served to rationalize the emphasis on manual training, handicrafts, and other "auxiliary" activities. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada unequivocally states that government after government characterized Indigenous Peoples as inferior.[119] Miller agrees, stating that "the teachers' 'lack of confidence that the pupils have the ability to finish the Public School course' helped limit achievement and no doubt reinforced the negative stereotyping of the children."[120] One 1956 study showed that only 136 students, or 0.5 per cent of the total enrollment in DIA schools, had managed to reach grade 12.[121]

When Indigenous students' intelligence scores were evaluated in the context of the time period's "racial template of intelligence,"[122] school inspectors, educational psychologists, church administrators, and DIA officials concluded that the students themselves, not the dysfunctional and degrading institutions they were forced to attend, were the cause of insufficient levels of achievement. From the early 1900s to the mid-1950s, these forces determined that Indigenous students had minimal "mental powers." This sorting and classification of students served as a way of controlling Indigenous Peoples by functionally sentencing much of the school-age population to minimal educational attainment and, upon leaving school, low-wage labour, effectively schooling them for inequality.[123] The perceived inferiority of Indigenous students came to justify a primarily non-academic curriculum that in turn limited students' future potential—with consequences that reverberate to the present.

Notes

1 Mrs. William Wells to Hayter Reed, the deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs, January 11, 1985, RG 10, c-7908, vol. 6170, file 436-1, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.

2 Personal communication with Kelly Bull, a residential school survivor, August 17, 2021.

3 Kulchyski makes this point about Diamond Jenness's authoritative book(s) about Indigenous Peoples across Canada. He argues that Jenness's framing of Indigenous Peoples as child-like and simple helped to legitimize the Canadian government's policies. Peter Kulchyski, "Anthropology in the Service of the State: Diamond Jenness and Canadian Indian Policy," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, no. 2 (1993): 21–50.

4 J. F. Boyce, *Inspector's Report on the Old Sun Indian School*, December 4, 1923, RG 10, c-13801, vol. 8452, file 772/23-5-002, Library and Archives Canada.

5 Boyce, *Inspector's Report*.

6 Byron King Plant, "'A Relationship and Interchange of Experience': H. B. Hawthorn, Indian Affairs, and the 1955 BC Indian Research Project," *BC Studies* 163 (2009): 5–31. Plant employs this framing in his analysis of the two Hawthorn Reports that famously used social science research methods for policy review and development at the Department of Indian Affairs in the mid-1900s.
7 Byron King Plant, "'A Relationship and Interchange of Experience,'" 7.
8 Carlos Kevin Blanton, "From Intellectual Deficiency to Cultural Deficiency: Mexican Americans, Testing, and Public School Policy in the American Southwest, 1920–1940," *Pacific Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (2003): 39–62.
9 Antonio Fco. Canales and Simonetta Polenghi, "Classifying Children: A Historical Perspective on Testing and Measurement," *Paedagogica Historica* 55, no. 3 (2019): 344.
10 Jean Barman, "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Indigenous Children," in *On the Cusp of Contact: Gender, Space and Race in the Colonization of British Columbia*, ed. Margery Fee (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour, 2020).
11 [?] Larsen, *Inspector's Report: Old Sun Indian School*, May 30, 1949, RG 10, c-13801, vol. 8452, file 772/23-5-002, Library and Archives Canada.
12 J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 179.
13 J. S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017 [1999]), 153.
14 Ian Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 46, no. 91 (2013): 171.
15 From the mid-1950s on, there is evidence that DIA officials became cognizant of some of the biases present in intelligence testing, even advising their subordinates to cease such evaluations because of the tests' unfairness towards Indigenous pupils. For example, see R.F. Davey, Chief, Education Division, to Regional Supervisor, Saskatchewan (Attention: Mr R.M. Connelly), Mental Testing, April 6, 1959, RG 10, vol. 8807, c-9721, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada. This change seems to have been driven by a 1954 re-constitution of the DIA's Advisory Panel on Indian Research to the Committee on Scientific Problems of Indian Affairs. Its new terms of reference included an expansion of social scientific research into the problems of personality, culture, and adjustment to Euro-Canadian culture. For an elaboration of the types of testing, measurement, and quantification (mental ability, aptitude, etc.) that the DIA pursued with its university partners during these years, see RG 10, vol. 8807, c-9721, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada. Shewell provides an excellent overview of the DIA's postwar objectives, which he argues shifted from a prewar focus on compliance and docility to a new era of policies that could "further [Indigenous Peoples'] adaptation and thus reduce their dependent condition" (H. Shewell, "'What Makes the Indian Tick?' The Influence of Social Sciences on Canada's Indian Policy, 1947–1964," *Histoire sociale/Social history* 34, no. 67 (2001): 140).
16 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 68. See also Milloy, *A National Crime*.
17 Jason Ellis, *A Class by Themselves? The Origins of Special Education in Toronto and Beyond* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), and Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
18 Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?*, 79.
19 Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?*

20 This hierarchy also comprised other aspects thought to be lacking in Indigenous Peoples, such as morality, and — later — culture and personality, though mental ability is the focus here.
21 Broadly conceived and taken to include federal government officials, the churches directly administering the schools "on the ground," and the attendant bureaucratic cadre who directly intervened in the running of schools, such as school inspectors, Indian agents, and the like.
22 Kulchyski, "Anthropology in the Service of the State," 24.
23 Patrice Milewski, "The Scientisation of Schooling in Ontario, 1910–1934," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 3 (2010): 341–55.
24 Milewski, "The Scientisation of Schooling," 347.
25 Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal,* 128.
26 Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?,* 17.
27 James Waldram, *Revenge of the Windigo: The Construction of the Mind and Mental Health of North American Aboriginal Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 90.
28 Quoted by Waldram, *Revenge of the Windigo*, 90–91.
29 Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?,* 56.
30 E. Jamieson, "Indian Education in Canada" (MA thesis, McMaster University, 1922).
31 Elmer Jamieson and Peter Sandiford, "The Mental Capacity of Southern Ontario Indians," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 19 (May 1928): 536–51.
32 Mariko Omori, "The Discovery of Feeblemindedness Among Immigrant Children Through Intelligence Tests in California in the 1910s," *Paedagogica Historica* 54, nos. 1–2 (2018): 222.
33 Jennifer Anne Stephen, *Pick One Intelligent Girl: Employability, Domesticity, and the Gendering of Canada's Welfare State, 1939–1947* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 67.
34 Quoted in Milloy, *A National Crime*, 158.
35 Milloy, *A National Crime*, 158.
36 Mary Jane McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History, 1940–1980* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013).
37 Welfare and Training Service of the Indian Affairs Branch Brief: Training Section, 1947, RG 10, vol. 6811, file 470-3-6, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
38 Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision,* 157.
39 Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 171.
40 Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 176.
41 R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900–1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).
42 Barman, "Schooled for Inequality."
43 Milloy, *A National Crime,* 176; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, Volume 1 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015). Another pertinent variable that impacted the DIA's educational institutions was the division between residential schools and day schools. The latter, according to correspondence from 1949, fell directly into the DIA's remit, while in the residential school system, the church denomination running the specific institution selected the teachers. According to the federal superintendent of education in 1949, church denominations faced increasing challenges hiring "certificated" teachers. Letter from Bernard F. Neary, superintendent of education, to Harold P. Johns, Esq., MA, director, Summer School of Education, Department of Education, Victoria, British Columbia, May 16, 1949, RG 10, c-9722, vol. 8810, file 1/25-20, Library and Archives Canada.

44 Quoted in Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000,* 119.
45 *Indian Education in Manitoba*, ca. 1920, United Church of Canada's Archives, Winnipeg.
46 Board of Home Missions and Women's Missionary Society, *Report of Commission Appointed to Survey Indian Education,* 1935, United Church of Canada, 4.
47 Stephen, *Pick One Intelligent Girl*, 68.
48 A. F. Mackenzie, for the assistant deputy and secretary, to Rev. T. Ferrier, principal, Indian Industrial School, Brandon, Manitoba, July 8, 1922, RG 10, vol. 8807, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
49 Rev. F. G. Stevens, Fisher River Indian Mission, to Department of Indian Affairs, June 26, 1923, RG 10, vol. 8807, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
50 Russell T. Ferrier, superintendent of Indian education, to Reverend F. G. Stevens, Koostatak, MB, July 10, 1923, RG 10, vol. 8807, c-9721, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
51 Omori, "The Discovery of Feeblemindedness," 232.
52 Quoted in Jason Markusoff, "Finding David Lightning: The Decades-Long Quest to Locate an Unmarked Grave," *Maclean's*, September 27, 2021.
53 A. G. Bailey, "Reviewed Work: The North American Indian Today by C. T. Loram, T. F. McIlwraith," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science/Revue Canadienne d'economique et de science politique* 10, no. 1 (1944): 110–12.
54 H. Shewell, "'What Makes the Indian Tick?'," 148.
55 Jacqueline Briggs, "Exemplary Punishment: T.R.L. MacInnes, the Department of Indian Affairs, and Indigenous Executions, 1936–52," *Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (2019): 398–438.
56 G. W. Bartlett, notes, handwritten and signed by Bartlett, recording the results of the Otis Intelligence Test at the Haskell Institute, 1927[?], RG 10, c-9721, vol. 8807, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
57 Cited in Waldram, *Revenge of the Windigo*, 91.
58 The first set of tests was administered by Elmer Jamieson, as referred to in the text; Russell T. Ferrier, superintendent of Indian education, to Principal Rhodes, File Hills Indian Residential School, RG 10, c-9721, vol. 8807, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
59 G. W. Bartlett, letter to headquarters summarizing the results of a "survey of the intelligence of Indian pupils in the Schools of the Fairford reserves, and the industrial Schools at Brandon and Elkhorn," May 25, 1927, RG 10, c-9721, vol. 8807, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
60 Bartlett, letter to headquarters.
61 Bartlett, letter to headquarters.
62 G. W. Bartlett, letter to headquarters re: intelligence tests of the pupils of Birtle Indian Boarding School, April 28, 1928, RG 10, c-9721, vol. 8807, file 1/25-17, Library and Archives Canada.
63 G. W. Bartlett, *Inspector's Report on the Birtle Residential Indian School*, September 12, 1929, RG 10, c-13800, vol. 8449, file 511/23-5-014, Library and Archives Canada.
64 W. S. Hunter and E. Sommermier, "The Relation of Degree in Indian Blood to Score on the Otis Intelligence Test." *Journal of Comparative Psychology* 2, no. 3 (1922): 257-277
65 Duncan Campbell Scott to Francis H. Cisborne, chancellor of the Diocese of Ottawa, January 24, 1931, RG 10, c-8134, vol. 6001, file 1-1-1, pt. 3, Library and Archives Canada.
66 Ernest W. Coffin, "On the Education of Backward Races: A Preliminary Study," *Pedagogical Seminary* 15, no. 1 (1908): 1–62.
67 Shewell, "'What Makes the Indian Tick?'," 138.

68 Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 139.
69 Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?,* 18–19.
70 S. Rogers, "Report on Activities and Progress of this Institute," (quarter ending March 31st, 1926), RG 10, vol. 6200, c-7933, file 466-1, pt. 2, Library and Archives Canada.
71 S. Rogers, "Report on Activities and Progress of this Institute," January 5, 1926, RG 10, vol. 6200, c-7933, file 466-1, pt. 2, Library and Archives Canada.
72 F. Rhodes, letter re: no. 179 Kenneth Stonechild, to G. A. Dodds, Esq., Indian agent, File Hills Agency, October 31, 1939, RG 10, c-8683, vol. 6307, file 653-1, pt. 2, Library and Archives Canada. Elwood P. Cubberley, whose textbook on educational testing for schoolchildren became widely referenced, and who also edited the series in which Terman's *The Measurement of Intelligence* was published, instructed prospective teachers to remember the importance of identifying those students of "low mentality," since he thought that they were liable to become criminals (boys) or prostitutes (girls). See Theresa Richardson and Erwin Johanningmeier, *Educational Research, the National Agenda, and Educational Reform: A History* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2008), 205.
73 Dr. O. E. Rothwell to Dr. A. B. Simes, Fort Qu'Appelle, SK, RG 10, vol. 6307, c-8683, file 653-1, pt. 2, Library and Archives Canada.
74 Rothwell to Simes. When another student attempted suicide later that year, the principal suggested that the boys' actions did not express legitimate distress but rather that they had been "put up to this by some-one outside" in attempts to discredit the institution. F. Rhodes, letter re: no.167. Reginald Keewatin, to Dr. Thos Robertson, inspector for Saskatchewan, Indian Affairs Branch, Regina, SK, November 27, 1939, RG 10, vol. 6307, c-8683, File 653-1, pt. 2, Library and Archives Canada.
75 Thos. Robertson to the secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, November 17, 1939, RG 10, c-8683, vol. 6307, file 653-1, pt. 2, Library and Archives Canada.
76 R. A. Hoey, letter re: Kenneth Stonechild, to Dr. Thomas Robertson, inspector of Indian Agencies, Regina, SK, November 24, 1939, RG 10, c-8683, vol. 6307, file 653-1, pt. 2, Library and Archives Canada.
77 Omori, "The Discovery of Feeblemindedness," 224–26.
78 Omori, "The Discovery of Feeblemindedness"; Lewis M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence: An Explanation of and a Complete Guide for the Use of the Stanford Revision and Extension of the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), not paginated.
79 Hoey, letter re: Kenneth Stonechild.
80 Richardson and Johanningmeier, "Chapter 5: Intelligence Testing," 707. Occasionally, dissenting observers raised the question of race and intelligence directly, arguing that the substandard teaching endemic to the system was surely to blame for students' poor progress, not any "racial" trait (School Inspector H. McArthur, quoted in Milloy, *A National Crime*, 180).
81 *Indian Education in Manitoba.*
82 Board of Home Missions and Women's Missionary Society, *Report of Commission.*
83 B. Warkentin, *Inspector's Report, Indian Residential School, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba,* January 25, 1940, RG 10, c-13800, vol. 8449, file 511/23-5-17, Library and Archives Canada.
84 Gordon Young, Inspector of Public Schools, Strathroy, ON, *Report re: Survey of Indian Education on Reserves in Western Ontario,* February 18, 1944.
85 Barman, "Schooled for Inequality," 403.
86 R. F. Davey, quoted in Milloy, *A National Crime*, 170.
87 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, Volume 1 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 331.

88 J. Markle, *Inspection of Old Sun's School,* Alberta Inspectorate, Red Deer, February 19, 1918, RG 10, c-13801, vol. 8452, file 772/23-5-002, Library and Archives Canada.
89 Boyce, *Inspector's Report.*
90 Quoted in Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?,* 3.
91 Quoted in Omori 2018, "The Discovery of Feeblemindedness," 233.
92 G. W. Bartlett, *Inspector's Report on the Birtle (Boarding) Indian School*, 1928, RG 10, c-13800, vol. 8449, file 511/23-5-014, Library and Archives Canada.
93 Kulchyski, "Anthropology in the Service of the State," 33.
94 Milloy, *A National Crime*, 158.
95 Quoted in Milloy, *A National Crime*, 158.
96 R. A. Hoey, superintendent of welfare and training, to J. P. Sigvaldson, inspector of public schools, Manitoba, November 17, 1938, RG 10, c-13800, vol. 8449, file 511/23-5-014, Library and Archives Canada.
97 John P. Sigvaldson, inspector of schools, to R. A. Hoey, superintendent of welfare and training, Indian Affairs Branch, December 22, 1938, RG 10, c-13800, vol. 8449, file 511/23-5-014, Library and Archives Canada.
98 Indian Association of Alberta, "Memorial on Indian Affairs," September 1945, RG 10, c-8534, vol. 6811, file 470-3-6, pt.1, Library and Archives Canada. Emphasis in original.
99 Doucet memorandum re: A. J. Hatcher, August 2, 1941, RG 10, c-8134, vol. 6001, file 1-1-1, pt. 4, Library and Archives Canada.
100 Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 135.
101 C. E. Stothers, memorandum for the superintendent of Indian affairs, February 6, 1941, RG 10, c-9721, vol. 8807, file 1/25-17, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
102 Richardson and Johanningmeier, "Chapter 5: Intelligence Testing," 711.
103 Wm H. Bulger, inspector, Roman Catholic Separate Schools, Division VII, to the Welfare and Training Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, RG 10, vol. 8810, file 1/25-20, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
104 H. L. Keenleyside, deputy minister, to O. E. Ault, director of personnel selection, Civil Service Commission, Ottawa, December 18, 1948, RG 10, vol. 8810, file 1/25-20, Library and Archives Canada.
105 No author, "The Teaching of Direct Learners," *Indian School Bulletin* 3, no. 2 (1948): 6–8. Issued by the Education Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources. See also Ellis, *A Class by Themselves*?, 80, 153.
106 C. A. Seager, archbishop of Huron diocese, to the minister of mines and resources, February 10, 1948, RG 10, vol. 6200, c-7933, file 466-1, pt. 5, Library and Archives Canada.
107 Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?*, 153.
108 Letter from C. A. Seager.
109 Letter to Archbishop Seager from an unknown government official, February 13, 1948, RG 10, vol. 6200, c-7933, file 466-1, pt. 5, Library and Archives Canada.
110 Bishop Luxton to Colonel F. B. Neary, February 10, 1949, RG 10, vol. 6200, c-7933, file 466-1, pt. 5, Library and Archives Canada.
111 Kulchyski, "Anthropology in the Service of the State," 34.
112 Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?*
113 Secretary of the Ontario Education Association to R. F. Davey, superintendent of education, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, ON, March 21, 1955, c-9722, RG 10, vol. 8810, file 1/25-21, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
114 Ellis, *A Class by Themselves?*
115 Blanton, "From Intellectual Deficiency," 44.

116 Patrice Milewski, Christian Ydesen, and Karen E. Andreasen, "Mental Testing and Educational Streaming in Ontario and Denmark in the Early Twentieth Century: A Comparative and Transnational Perspective," *Paedagogica Historica* 55, n. 3 (2019): 371–90.
117 Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science."
118 No author, "Extract from the Minutes of Meeting between the Honourable W. E. Harris and Indians of the Southern Part of Saskatchewan Held at Regina, on Wednesday, November 15th, 1950," RG 10, vol. 6002, c-8134, file 1-1-1-, pt. 8, Library and Archives Canada.
119 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Legacy. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,* Volume 5 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 62.
120 Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 180.
121 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000,* 111.
122 Stephen, *Pick One Intelligent Girl,* 68.
123 Barman, "Schooled for Inequality."