

“SO MANY CLEVER, INDUSTRIOUS AND FRUGAL ALIENS”:

Peter Sandiford, Intelligence Testing, and Anti-Asian Sentiment in Vancouver Schools between 1920 and 1939

GERALD THOMSON

SOCIAL RACISM AS A PRELUDE TO SCIENTIFIC RACISM

IN 1924, WITH THE FULL support of the province's teachers, British Columbia's Department of Education initiated an educational survey of the public school system. Under the direction of the first full professor of education at the University of British Columbia (UBC), George Moir Weir, and a senior Ottawa school inspector, Harold J. Putman, the study was the first American-style survey of a Canadian school system. It had been initiated at the urging of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF), which had come under the influence of American Progressive educators from the State of Washington in the early 1920s.¹ The person placed in charge of the intelligence testing component of what would become known as the Putman-Weir Survey (1925), or simply the Survey, was Professor Peter Sandiford of the University of Toronto. Intelligence testing was an integral part of the school survey process because the tests were believed to be an accurate scientific measure of pupil achievement and thus of school efficiency. The American National Education Association (NEA) created a special committee concerned with "Tests and Standards of Efficiency in Schools" as early as 1911 to promote the use of intelligence testing within American public edu-

¹ "The Expert and the Layman," *BC Teacher* 7 (1923): 190; "School Survey for British Columbia," *BC Teacher* 10 (June 1924): 228-30; Jean Barman and Neil Sutherland, "Royal Commission Retrospective," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson, 411-26 (Calgary: Detselig Press, 1995). For American School Surveys, see Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces That Have Shaped Administration of the Public Schools* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 112-20.

cation.² However, in Canada intelligence testing in the public schools was primarily advocated by one man, Peter Sandiford. This article examines Sandiford's social/racial biases in his testing of "Oriental," or Asian, schoolchildren in Vancouver during the 1920s as well as his academic training; but it also, of necessity, deals with the foundation of social racism that has been present in British Columbia since colonial times. Sandiford's racial prejudice was supposedly justified by science; the Anglo-whites of British Columbia justified their racism by pointing to their right of settlement and their supposed natural dominance at the pinnacle of a racial hierarchy.

Historian W. Peter Ward has speculated that, to a limited extent, class consciousness existed in British Columbia from colonial times until the early twentieth century. According to Ward people largely accepted their social roles and societal positions. Racial notions of hierarchical differentiation developed quite early on and "emphasized the perpetual inferiority of Asians and Indians" through the "discriminatory treatment they received at the hands of successive generations of whites."³ Racial discrimination "was a daily experience, a living reality" for minorities in the British colony and in the young Canadian province following Confederation. Class tensions among whites seldom occurred until the industrial era.⁴ White dominance was well established by 1891 when whites formed 55.1 percent of the population while First Nations declined to 35.9 percent. In 1870 whites formed only 24.9 percent of the population and First Nations 70.8 percent. Asians formed 9.1 percent of the population in 1891 and, due to immigration restrictions, would stabilize at around 7 percent until 1941.⁵ Colonial settler society considered First Nations peoples to be racially "backward" and "inferior"; the lands that they inhabited was considered vacant and unused (*terra nullius*) and was thus free for the taking. Disease and a falling population made it possible to confine First Nations people to small reserves, but the rise of "scientific racism" in the 1860s and the belief in white racial superiority within the British Empire cannot be discounted as part of this process.⁶ Anti-Orientalism, or prejudice against Asians, began in the gold rushes of 1857 (Fraser River) and 1861 (Cariboo). It remained a potent force after

² Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*, 101.

³ W. Peter Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia, 1870-1939," *BC Studies* 45 (Spring 1980): 29.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 28.

⁶ Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 46-47, 50-51. See also Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1977).

the gold fever ended in 1867 and the predominantly Chinese immigrants remained. American miners had brought their xenophobic fears of Asians from the California gold rush. Chinese labourers imported between 1881 and 1885 to build the Pacific link of the transcontinental railway further raised racial tensions with whites.⁷ The Japanese were attracted to the province between 1880 and 1920 by opportunities in the fishing industry, lumbering, mining, and agriculture.⁸ East Indians, or South Asians, came to British Columbia in the early twentieth century, reaching their immigration peak in 1907 with a total population of four thousand, most of whom were farmers from the Punjab state of British India who worked in lumber and agriculture.⁹ Irrational fears among whites drove anti-Asian sentiments. Whites feared that an influx of Asians would swamp the white population and result in the spread of diseases such as smallpox as well as moral corruption through prostitution, opium dealing, and, gambling. Historian Patricia E. Roy makes the case that, ultimately, "White Canadians generally believed that Asians were inassimilable" because they were so profoundly different from whites that no amount of time and acculturation could make them conform. According to Roy, it was not racial inferiority that was the problem but, rather, what were perceived to be profound differences in habits, morals, customs, and standards of living. While some believed that the impossibility of assimilation was race-based and others believed it was socially constructed, all agreed that it was impossible.¹⁰ Whites in British Columbia simply believed that Asians, and First Nations people for that matter, were so utterly different from them that they could never fully integrate into a society that was not only white but also decidedly British.¹¹ On 21 May 1900, the *Victoria Daily Colonist* asked its readers whether British Columbia should be saved for white British subjects "— or must it be given over entirely to the yellow and brown hordes of China and Japan?"¹² Equally blunt was journalist Ernest McGaffey, who declared that "the

⁷ Jin Tan and Patricia E. Roy, *The Chinese in Canada* (Ottawa: Canada's Ethnic Groups: Canadian Historical Association Booklet No. 9, 1985), 6–7.

⁸ W. Peter Ward, *The Japanese in Canada* (Ottawa: Canada's Ethnic Groups: CHA Booklet No. 3, 1982), 8.

⁹ W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy towards Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 79–83.

¹⁰ Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914–41* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 26.

¹¹ In 1921, 73.9 percent (387,513) of British Columbians claimed British ethnicity or birth; 13.9 percent (72,274) claimed Continental European; 7.6 percent (39,739) Asian; and 4.3 percent (22,377) First Nations. Found in Jean Barman, *The West beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), Table 5.

¹² Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 6, 56.

yellow man can never become a white man" and that Asians "cannot be assimilated into the life of the predominant race."¹³

However, as the initial waves of Asian immigrants settled in British Columbia and gradually began to send their children to public school, even if they organized their own language schools, a new and unexpected cause for alarm arose among Anglo-whites. Roy terms this new prejudice the "fear of Asian superiority," particularly "in the classroom." In 1925, as Sandiford was conducting his Survey testing program, a newly arrived Japanese boy named Nobuichi Yamaoka achieved the highest provincial score on the high school entrance examination, even though he had only recently learned English. Alarmed at how quickly the young Japanese boy had adapted to Anglo-white society, the *Vancouver Daily Sun* proclaimed on 4 July 1925 that the real "yellow peril" was not a physical invasion coming from the East but, rather, those "yellow settlers" and their children's "yellow intelligence."¹⁴ Prior to this happening, one of British Columbia's pioneering historians, Judge W.F. Howay, warned in 1914 "that the Japanese is a far more dangerous antagonist" because of "his superior education, his training, and his more plastic nature," which allows "him to compete in a far greater variety of occupations."¹⁵ By the late 1920s and early 1930s, Nisei youth, the first generation of Japanese Canadians, had attained university degrees in various professions but found their career aspirations denied because they were not allowed on the voters list.¹⁶ Intelligence tests were supposed to affirm white racial superiority by confirming that, compared to other races, whites demonstrate superior levels of achievement. When testing Asian Canadian schoolchildren in Vancouver, Peter Sandiford found otherwise, thus raising some long-standing fears among British Columbia's Anglo-whites.

¹³ Ernest McGaffey, "British Columbia and the Yellow Man," *British Columbia Magazine* 8, 3 (1912): 198; Ernest McGaffey, "Asiatics in British Columbia," *British Columbia Magazine* 9, 11 (1913): 711.

¹⁴ Roy, *Oriental Question*, 36.

¹⁵ F.W. Howay, *British Columbia: From the Earliest Times to the Present* (Vancouver: S.J. Clarke Publishing, 1914), 2: 576.

¹⁶ Only Canadian citizens on the voter's lists could be issued professional licences. The only Japanese Canadian citizens who could vote consisted of eighty soldiers who had served in the First World War. See Ward, *Japanese in Canada*, 11; Carol Baker and Naomi Uranishi, "Japanese," in *The Greater Vancouver Book*, ed. Chuck Davis (Vancouver: Linkman Press, 1997), 312. Career segregation is discussed in Ward, "Class and Race," 33-34.

THE LIFE AND SCIENTIFIC RACISM OF PETER SANDIFORD

Peter Sandiford was born on 15 January 1882 at Little Hayfield in Derbyshire, England, into a solidly middle-class family. His father, John E. Sandiford, was a professional engineer, and he ensured that his son was educated at New Mills, one of Derbyshire's finest private schools. After graduating with distinction in 1901, Peter Sandiford attended Victoria Manchester University, where he earned an honours bachelor of science in 1904 and a master of science in 1907. From 1906 to 1908 Sandiford was a science lecturer at Manchester University.¹⁷ His training was in biology, and he would have been exposed to the rediscovered theories of Gregor Mendel regarding genetic inheritance as well as to the new "germ plasm" cell genetics of August Weismann. He would have been familiar with the social application of biological hereditarianism to human beings put forward in the writings of Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, and the work of Charles Spearman on the fixed nature of general human intelligence from birth, or the "g factor."¹⁸ From 1906, Sandiford became associated with the Department of Education at Manchester University through the Fielden Demonstration School for teacher training, where he lectured. His background in biology facilitated his first published work on the pedagogy of science instruction. His first research study concerned the work/study system of education in the textile mills of the Manchester area. In the introduction to the volume containing Sandiford's work on the half-time system in the textile trades, the head of teacher training, M.E. Sadler, identified him as "a member of the staff of our department."¹⁹ However, Sandiford's career as an educational psychologist only began to emerge in 1908 when he left Manchester to work under Edward L. Thorndike at Columbia University's Teachers College in New York.

Thorndike and Sandiford shared a common background in biology. Thorndike had conducted his early research on primates and arrived at

¹⁷ "Sandiford, Peter," in *Who's Who in Canada 1923* (Toronto: Hodders and Stoughton Press, 1924), 2425.

¹⁸ For a good discussion of Mendel, Weismann, and Galton, see "The Birth of Biological Politics," in Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), 13-27. For original works, see: August Weismann, *The Germ Plasm: A Theory of Heredity* (London: Walter Scott Press, 1893); and Charles Spearman, "General Intelligence Objectively Determined and Measured," *American Journal of Psychology* 15 (1904): 201-93.

¹⁹ Peter Sandiford and F.W.D. Marshall, "Instruction in Science," in J.J. Findlay, *Fielden Demonstration School Record No. 1* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1908): 42-58; M.E. Sadler, ed., *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere: Their Place in the Education System of an Industrial and Commercial State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907), xxi, and 318-51.

stimulus-response, or S-R, theory.²⁰ When hired at Teachers College in 1899 it was assumed that anyone who “had made a study of monkeys” could just as easily study children as they were considered to be highly analogous.²¹ His interest in the biological basis of learning and the scientific measurement of intelligence had made Thorndike one of the United States’s leading educational psychologists. Before Sandiford’s arrival at Columbia, Thorndike had published his *Measurement of Twins* (1905), which drew heavily upon his conviction that heredity and sex differences were predictors of school ability.²² Sandiford rapidly completed his master of education, submitting his paper “Some Aspects of the Training of Teachers” in early 1910. By late 1910, he earned his doctorate from Teachers College when he published *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales*. Sandiford was a fellow at Columbia University in 1908-09 and became a tutor at Teachers College from 1909 to 1910. He temporarily returned to Manchester University from 1910 to 1913 as an education lecturer and acting superintendent of the Fielden Demonstration School. In late 1913, he was recommended for an appointment to the College of Education at the University of Toronto and became an associate professor of education. Shortly after taking up the position Sandiford published *The Mental and Physical Life of School Children* (1913) as a textbook for his psychology course. The book was dedicated to his mentor, Edward L. Thorndike. Sandiford’s view of schoolchildren was shaped by his belief in biological destiny as determined by genetic heredity. He made it quite clear that heredity “not only determines what traits a man shall possess, but also limits their possible developments.”²³ Sandiford illustrated this concept in a series of three diagrams of ray lines emanating from a single point. The genius (A) has a series of ray lines that extend well beyond the limits of an outer boundary of dashed lines marking normal mental growth. The normal person (B) has a series

²⁰ S-R Theory is covered by “The Law of Effect,” which holds that a strong learning bond is formed between a stimulus and a response when the consequence of such a connection is a satisfying state of affairs. The learning bond is weakened by an unsatisfying response to a stimulus. See Herbert J. Walberg and Geneva D. Haertel, “Educational Psychology’s First Century,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 84, 1 (1992): 8.

²¹ Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Vintage, 1964), 113. Taken from James Early Russell, *Founding Teachers College* (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, 1937), 53.

²² Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, 313; E.L. Thorndike, *Measurements of Twins* (New York: Science Press, 1905); E.L. Thorndike, “Heredity, Correlation, and Sex Differences in School Abilities,” in *Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1903), 2: 41-46.

²³ Peter Sandiford, *The Mental and Physical Life of School Children* (London: Longmans and Green Press, 1913), 3.

of ray lines that extend to the dashed line boundary of normal mental growth. The mental defective (C) has a single ray line that fails to meet the dashed line boundary, showing subnormal mental development. "Present day schooling," Sandiford wrote, "largely neglects the factor of nature [heredity]." Schools try in vain to "develop all [children] to an equal degree irrespective of endowment."²⁴ Sandiford believed that the "bulk of Children" were mediocre at best, while a small minority were of "exceptional superiority" and another small minority displayed a marked "inferiority."²⁵ Schools had to scientifically detect these groups of school-children and concentrate on segregating the subnormal. Sandiford was an early supporter of eugenics in education and was a prominent member of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH).²⁶ In 1920, he was appointed professor of educational psychology, and in 1931 he was made director of the Department of Educational Research at the University of Toronto. He taught widely during summer sessions at Columbia University's Teachers College in 1917, 1922, 1927, and 1928. He also taught summer sessions at the University of California and Stanford University in 1930, 1933, and 1936.²⁷ In 1923, Sandiford gave a series of courses for teachers at UBC's summer session with Herbert Coleman, who founded the university's Department of Education in 1926. Sandiford taught two short courses on educational psychology and intelligence testing.²⁸ Historian George S. Tomkins describes Sandiford as "basically a hereditarian" who believed "individual differences ... could be identified by tests." In 1914, Sandiford proclaimed that, although he wanted "no lethal chambers" to deal with those afflicted with severe mental disabilities, he did advocate sterilization as a means of preventing the addition of more "defective offspring to [the] already heavy burdens of normal society." Tomkins states that, like his fellow eugenicists in the mental hygiene movement, Sandiford's rhetoric was often "alarmist and hysterical in tone."²⁹

²⁴ Ibid., 2-3, 25.

²⁵ Ibid., 296-97.

²⁶ McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 110. Toronto medical doctors Clarence Hincks and C.K. Clarke were personal friends of Sandiford and were also CNCMH members.

²⁷ "Sandiford, Peter (Acting Professor of Psychology)," *Stanford University Bulletin*, 6th series, no. 23, 1 February 1936, "Officers," 27.

²⁸ Calendar, UBC Summer Session 1923, as cited in Eric Damer, "Teaching Teachers Revisited," *British Columbia History* 44, 1 (2010): 39.

²⁹ George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Press, 1986), 177, 180.

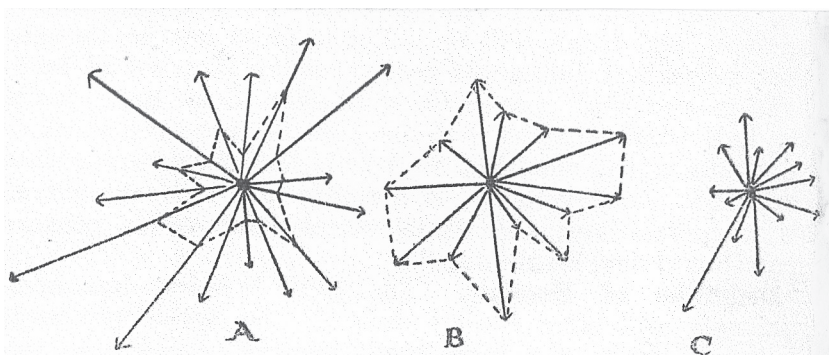


FIG. 1. The dotted "circle" at B represents a completely developed individual. Such a person, of course, is purely imaginary. The "circle" at A, for a person say of 40 years of age, is far more true to facts.

Figure 1. Peter Sandiford's ray diagrams were meant to illustrate the different levels of mental development. Person "A" surpasses normal mental development, person "B" reaches normal levels, and person "C" is subnormal or feeble-minded. *Source*: Sandiford, *Mental and Physical Life of School Children*, 2.

Central to the mental hygiene agenda was an unalterable belief that race, intelligence, and social class were linked through biological heredity. Intelligence testing in the public schools was a mechanism that would "lead to a more scientific grading of pupils in the future."³⁰ In 1918, Sandiford declared that Canada was becoming a "dumping ground for misfits and defectives."³¹ He was echoing the nativist sentiments of the times in North America, where the political will to stop all non-Anglo/non-white immigration was becoming a dominant force.³² In 1917, American psychology began to have an influential role in determining social and military selection. Henry Herbert Goddard of the Vineland Training School for Mental Defectives in New Jersey reported the results of his testing of immigrants arriving at the Ellis Island Reception Center in New York. He claimed that two out of every five arrivals were feeble-minded. Also in 1917, the American army commissioned a panel of prominent psychologists headed by Robert Yerkes of Harvard University to test recruits for their mental fitness and to use the results to promote

³⁰ Peter Sandiford, "Subnormal Intelligence as an Educational Problem," *Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene* 1 (April 1919-January 1920): 67.

³¹ Peter Sandiford, H.W. Fought, A.H. Hoope, I.L. Kandel, and W. Russell, eds., *Comparative Education: Studies of Educational Systems of Six Modern Nations* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1918), 431.

³² See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955).

the most intellectually competent. The army tests were popularized by a Canadian psychologist, Carl C. Brigham, in *A Study of American Intelligence* (1923); the test results served to foster the notion of a decline in national intelligence due to the uncontrolled influx of mentally defective immigrants.³³ More sensational but popular with the North American reading public was Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (1920) as well as Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* (1921), which openly advocated the removal of immigrants. Peter Sandiford was in the forefront of the CNCMH's efforts to promote restrictive immigration laws in Canada that would be similar to those enacted in 1924 by the American Congress.³⁴ Historian Jennifer Anne Stephens highlights Sandiford's social authority in Canada:

Throughout the interwar period, Sandiford ... drew considerable attention from the press as a leading educational psychologist and, by all accounts, as a dynamic public speaker. When the debates over Canadian immigration policy again heated up in the late 1920s, Sandiford waded in. His main theme, that intelligence and race were directly linked, found resonance in the conventional wisdom of the day ... Sandiford could bring firm, scientific proof to the claim that intelligence levels conformed to a racial hierarchy, a reflection of biological order.³⁵

Sandiford's most complete statement on racial and mental differences may be found in a 1927 lecture that he delivered to the general meeting of the Saskatchewan Education Association in Regina. Drawing heavily from the American Army Tests and his own testing of schoolchildren in Canada, Sandiford concluded: "all evidence points to the desirability of scanning more closely ... the intellectual credentials of many racial elements seeking admission to this country." He held that "the average intelligence of Americans ha[d] been seriously lowered by the reckless immigration policy" utilized by the United States over the last several decades in an attempt to increase its "population irrespective of the intellectual caliber of the immigrants." In conclusion, Sandiford admonished his audience: "[only] quality through inheritance will leave its permanent mark on our people."³⁶ Throughout his professional career, Sandiford

³³ McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 60–61.

³⁴ The Immigration Act, 1924, or the Johnson-Reed Act to limit foreign immigration into the United States. See <https://history.state.gov/milestones>. Select "1921–1936" and then select "The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)".

³⁵ 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), 68.

³⁶ Peter Sandiford, "The Inheritance of Talent among Canadians," *Queen's Quarterly* 35 (October 1928): 13, 18–19.

would continue to believe that race was linked to intelligence and that the members of the Caucasian race, in particular Anglo-white peoples, were genetically more intelligent than were members of other races. Only a year after his Regina lecture, Sandiford published an article with his graduate student, Elmer Jamieson. Jamieson was a full-blood Mohawk, and he assisted Sandiford in testing 717 Mohawk schoolchildren in Quebec and Ontario. According to Jamieson and Sandiford, "Pure blood Indian children" gave "inferior performances" on intelligence and achievement tests; however, "I.Q. seem[ed] to rise with the admixture of white blood."³⁷ Late in his academic career, Sandiford sponsored another graduate student, H.A. Tanser, to conduct research on Canadian black children in Kent County, Ontario. The children were the descendants of escaped American slaves who came to Canada on the underground railway and had, except for a brief period since 1890 been educated with their white peers in common schools. In Sandiford's opinion the blacks had failed to achieve mental equality with whites; he endorsed Tanser's conclusion that environmental advantages could not overcome genetics and, thus, that blacks were intellectually inferior to whites.³⁸

Sandiford cannot be held solely responsible for the spread of scientific racism through intelligence testing in Canada. His solid Anglo-British imperialist upbringing and his views on the superiority of Anglo-whites was hardly unique in early twentieth-century Canada, although it should be remembered that not everyone subscribed to this race-based dogma.³⁹ However, Sandiford's role as a leading advocate of educational testing in Canada, his public pronouncements to Canadian educators, and his training of graduate students constantly advanced the idea that an individual's intellect was determined by genetics and race. During his 1924 project to test Chinese and Japanese Canadian children in the schools of Vancouver Sandiford would have his views on race and intelligence fundamentally challenged.

³⁷ Elmer Jamieson and Peter Sandiford, "The Mental Capacity of Southern Ontario Indians," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 19 (May 1928): 317, 325.

³⁸ See H.A. Tanser, *The Settlement of Negroes in Kent County, Ontario: A Study of the Mental Capacity of Their Descendants* (Chatham, ON: Shepherd Press, 1939).

³⁹ Chester E. Kellogg, "Mental Tests and Their Uses," *Dalhousie Review* 2 (January 1923): 490-500.

THE TESTING PROGRAM OF DR. PETER SANDIFORD
AND RUBY KERR FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF
THE PUTMAN-WEIR SURVEY

When Sandiford came to British Columbia in 1924 and began his testing program for the Putman-Weir Survey, he did so within a long-standing racist social environment. At that time British Columbia was a society in which eugenic principles and mental hygiene measures had made important inroads. As early as 1919, Dr. J.D. Maclean, in his role as provincial secretary, had invited Dr. C.M. Hincks of the CNCMH to conduct a mental hygiene survey of various public institutions. Hincks reported that 72 percent of patients in the Public Hospital for the Insane as well as inmates in the provincial jail were mentally deranged and came from foreign-born stock. This finding was surprising given the historically high rate of First Nations people housed in these institutions. Collectively, Hincks believed, these people posed a significant threat to the province.⁴⁰ As early as 1919, Vancouver's public schools had segregated special classes for students whom individual intelligence tests had selected as subnormal or feeble-minded.⁴¹ By the mid-1920s, the special class supervisor, Josephine Dauphinee, and her school psychologist, Ruby Kerr, presided over a system of twenty special education classes containing 211 pupils taught by twenty-one teachers. An Observation Class teacher and a social worker provided clinical services to Vancouver schools' subnormal children. The use of intelligence tests to select and segregate subnormal children was an established practice.⁴² Many of the students in Dauphinee's special classes were foreign born. In 1921, Dauphinee described two of her students as "brothers from sunny Italy, lazy, degenerate, dissolute and mentally deficient." According to her, Canada was "allowing to enter our fair land this degenerate stock of foreign countries," many of whom simply became special class students and "clogg[ed] our educational system." However, she insisted that the cost of these special classes could not be "viewed in dollars and cents" as they served as "a preventative of pauperism, vagrancy and crime."⁴³

⁴⁰ McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 93.

⁴¹ Gerald Thomson, "Through No Fault of Their Own: Josephine Dauphinee and the Subnormal Pupils of the Vancouver Special Class System, 1911-1941," *Historical Studies in Education* 18, 1 (2006): 51-73; Gerald Thomson, "Remove from Our Midst These Unfortunates" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1999).

⁴² J.H. Putman (Senior Inspector Ottawa Schools) and G.M. Weir (Professor of Education, UBC), *Survey of the School System* (Victoria: Banfield Press, 1925), 391-92.

⁴³ A. Josephine Dauphinee, "Vancouver's Sub-Normal Problem: Article 1," *Western Women's Weekly*, 6 August 1921, 8; A. Josephine Dauphinee, "Vancouver's Sub-Normal Problem," *Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene* 3 (April 1921): 123.

Through the Putman-Weir Survey, Vancouver's public school students were coming under the influence of a strain of American educational progressivism that stressed scientifically reorganizing public schools for "educational efficiency," and this process involved sorting students into groups through individual intelligence tests. The Putman-Weir Survey was specifically conducted to end what historians Helen Raptis and Thomas Fleming call the "open-ended, subject focused departmental exams" that constituted the then restrictive high school entrance examinations. The Survey held that these exams were more "Prussian" than "British" in spirit. Rather than endure them, it was believed that all students should go to high school where group intelligence tests would sort them into ability streams (academic and vocational). For administrators, this system would provide "a means of ensuring that teachers followed the curriculum at all grade levels."⁴⁴ This process was occurring across North America in the 1920s wherever traditional examinations were being discarded. As historian Jason Ellis points out by referencing the work of Paul Chapman: "the rise of intelligence testing provoked large and relatively swift changes in public education, enabling school systems to sort and stream their students by ability on an unprecedented scale."⁴⁵ Ellis examines how, in the 1920s, Toronto public schools were altered by intelligence testing to bring about the rise of an auxiliary special class system.⁴⁶ In the case of Vancouver's schools, historian Gerald Thomson shows how early special classes were created through a limited system of individual intelligence testing. Later, the widespread application of group intelligence testing would grow out of the Putman-Weir Survey recommendations.⁴⁷ With the advent of mass intelligence testing during World War I a radical "transformation of educationist's ideas about the nature of children's learning difficulties" took place.⁴⁸ By 1920, the concept of multiple causes of learning difficulties fell out of favour as

⁴⁴ Helen Raptis and Thomas Fleming, "Large-Scale Assessment Outcomes in British Columbia, 1876-1999," *Canadian Journal of Education* 29, 4 (2006): 1, 197.

⁴⁵ Jason Ellis, "Inequalities of Children in Original Endowment: How Intelligence Testing Transformed Early Special Education in a North American City School System," *History of Education Quarterly* 53, 4 (2013): 401. See Paul Davis Chapman, *Schools as Sorters: Lewis M. Terman, Applied Psychology, and the Intelligence Testing Movement, 1890-1930* (New York: New York University Press, 1988).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 404-9.

⁴⁷ See Thomson, "Through No Fault of Their Own"; Gerald Thomson, "A Fondness for Charts and Children: Scientific Progressivism in Vancouver Schools, 1920-50," *Historical Studies in Education* 12, 1 and 2 (2000-01): 111-28. Gerald Thomson interviewed Lee Straight, son of Robert Straight, head of the Bureau of Measurements, about his father's career in Spring 1998. Interview located in UBC Education Library on cassette tape.

⁴⁸ Ellis, "Inequalities of Children in Original Endowment," 410.

schools “increasingly attribut[ed] learning difficulties only to heredity and innate low IQ.” Furthermore, it was held that intelligence was a fixed, inherited trait that did not change. Children were thus doomed to failure from the womb.⁴⁹

Sandiford arrived in British Columbia to conduct his testing program in the late spring of 1924. He prepared a series of preliminary group tests to administer to elementary schoolchildren based upon the tests he had developed for Ontario schools. He tested 1,100 pupils in the “six upper grades of the elementary school course” in Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster, and Chilliwack. The preliminary tests were not standardized on a sample population of schoolchildren producing norming tables and were “not to be considered scientifically accurate.” Scoring was done by an outside examiner, and random papers were checked to ensure grading uniformity. The results showed that British Columbia students from Grades 4 to 8 scored lower than Ontario students in spelling and arithmetic. The results were an indication to Putman and Weir of how useful the testing data would be in “evaluating the efficiency of the schools.”⁵⁰ In the preliminary testing there was no discussion of race differences and intelligence. In fact, the testing program was presented as a way to compare the achievement of rural pupils to urban, to reform school finance, to guide curricular choices, and generally to increase the efficiency of the public schools in the same manner as American school surveys purported to do for public school systems in the United States.⁵¹ Putman and Weir believed that those who criticized intelligence testing on moral grounds did not appreciate the usefulness of such “objective” scientific data collection; they believed that normal intelligence was related positively to an individual’s social worth.⁵² Yet Major M.J. Crehan of the Vancouver School Board made a submission to the Putman-Weir Commission during its 1924 fact-finding hearings in which he expressed his belief that all Asians should be segregated within the public schools. Citing “dope trouble” in the Chinese sections of the city, Crehan stated: “As a father I object to my little girl sitting next to a Chinese boy in school on general principle.”⁵³ When Putman-Weir described the testing data in the Survey no specific links were made between race, intelligence levels, and genetic hereditarianism. These links would be made by Sandiford

⁴⁹ Ibid., 411.

⁵⁰ Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 360–61.

⁵¹ Ibid., 357.

⁵² Ibid., 358.

⁵³ Roy, *Oriental Question*, 34. Reported in the *Vancouver Star*, 6 August 1924.

in his "Testing Appendix" to the Survey when he applied his eugenic interpretation to the testing data.

The educational historian and former BC deputy minister of education Charles Ungerleider has written "there is little doubt that eugenics provided part of the frame of reference for the interpretation of Sandiford's data."⁵⁴ In fact, Sandiford's entire testing program could be seen as an exercise in verifying certain eugenic concepts about race. The higher intelligence of northern Europeans, the intellectual superiority of professionals over manual workers, the inheritance of superior intelligence by the offspring of professionals, the mental superiority of males over females in certain areas of reasoning such as mathematics, and the genetic differences of intellectual abilities among racial groups are but a few of the eugenic notions Sandiford sought to substantiate through his testing data. The testing program examined 16,300 pupils from elementary/secondary schools up to young adults at UBC and student teachers at the Vancouver/Victoria normal schools. The sample size consisted of 10,000 elementary pupils, 5,000 high school pupils, 800 Normal School student teachers, and 500 first-year UBC students.⁵⁵ Two broad types of tests were administered: standardized intelligence tests to determine intelligence quotients (IQs) and achievement tests (standardized and non-standardized) in specific academic skills/subjects.

The first testing instruments Sandiford administered were group intelligence tests. Younger children were given the Pintner-Cunningham Primary Test and the National Intelligence Test. Older pupils and adults were given a variation of the American Army Alpha Test and the Otis Proverb Test, both of which were adapted by Sandiford to create a battery of eight subtests, which he called the BC Intelligence Test. The results encompassed a full range of pupils from high school, the Vancouver Normal School, and first-year UBC students. Sex performance differences were generally noted in the testing results, but, to Sandiford, the data from the Vancouver Normal School was the most telling. Normal School students were a highly selected population as their ages were about the same and they had to attain good results on high school matriculation examinations to be admitted to teacher training. It was the intellectual homogeneity of Normal School students which made the sex performance differences on the tests highly significant. The female Normal School students had an IQ range of 100 to 109, while the male

⁵⁴ Charles S. Ungerleider, "Testing: Fine Tuning the Politics of Inequality," in *Contemporary Educational Issues*, ed. Leonard L. Stewin and Stewart J.H. McCann (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman/Longman Press, 1987), 131.

⁵⁵ Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 438.

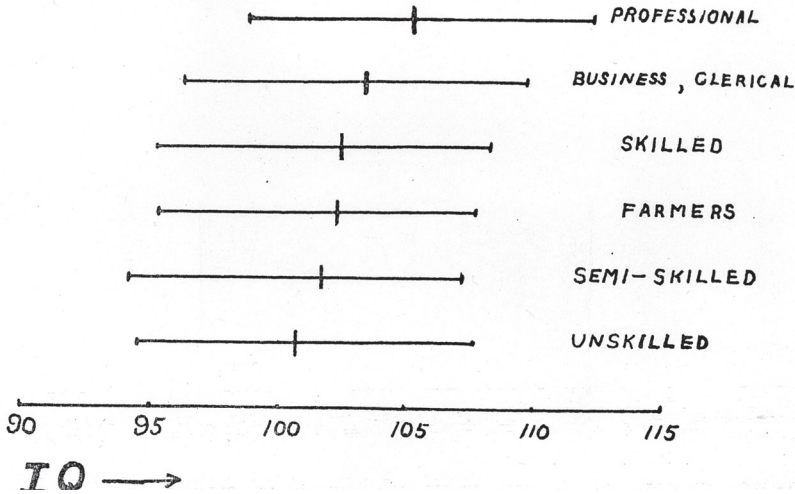


Figure 2. Diagram 5 from Sandiford's testing program shows the IQs of high school students, Normal School student teachers, and UBC undergraduates. The IQs have been distributed according to the students' parental occupations. Source: Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, app. 1, 456.

IQ range was higher at 110 to 119. Considering this group was selectively generated as opposed to being a random population sample, Sandiford concluded that "the intellectual superiority of the males over females is ... clearly shown."⁵⁶ Modern psychology has found sex performance differences on intelligence tests but has not reached the sweeping and absurd conclusions of Sandiford.⁵⁷

Another way Sandiford used his testing data was to show a link between parental occupation and social class. Sorting parents into occupational groups from unskilled labourer (e.g., miner, logger) to farmer (e.g., market gardener, rancher), semi-skilled labourer (e.g., janitor, fisher), skilled labourer (e.g., electrician, carpenter), clerical/business worker (e.g., clerk, bookkeeper), and professional (e.g., teacher, civil engineer, lawyer) he linked the subjects individual test results to their parents' social/economic grouping. Sandiford found that the results confirmed "Haggerty's findings," which were that "the intelligence of

⁵⁶ Ibid., 445-47, 449.

⁵⁷ See for higher female IQs James R. Flynn, *Are We Getting Smarter? Rising IQ in the Twentieth Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For a response to the "Flynn Effect" and higher female IQs, see Scott Barry Kaufman, "Men, Women and IQ: Setting the Record Straight," *Psychology Today*, 20 July 2012, at www.psychologytoday.com/blog/beautiful-minds/2012/07/men-women-and-iq.

children is conditioned by the occupational status of the parents.” The natural intelligence of the parents “is handed down to children,” and if the birth of children is to be socially planned, then, “eugenically” speaking, professionals should be “the group in which large families should be encouraged.”⁵⁸ Positive eugenics advocated increased breeding by superior individuals (i.e., professionals), while negative eugenics discouraged the procreation of large families by mundane individuals (i.e., unskilled and semi-skilled labourers). Negative eugenics often took the form of voluntary measures such as birth control (condoms or abstinence), but more often it advocated forced sterilization, which, between the 1920s and 1930s, was sanctioned by law in North America.⁵⁹ Sandiford’s eugenic beliefs became very evident when he linked his test results to the racial origins of the students he tested. English, Scottish, and Irish pupils showed “little difference in mentality,” while Scandinavians, particularly Norwegians, had “regrettably low scores.” Low levels of intelligence were also evident in pupils born in Continental Europe, particularly in the southern and eastern regions. Sandiford warned that the “continued immigration of inferior stock could only end in disaster.”⁶⁰ Clearly, in Sandiford’s view, Anglo-whites of British stock were the preferred candidates for entry into British Columbia. The omission of students of Asian birth or ancestry was quite noticeable on his data charts, tables, and graphs. He did not specifically state whether he had been asked not to test these students or whether he simply decided on his own not to do so. “A few Japanese and Chinese students” were included in the general study of intelligence, but the use of the English language during testing was judged not to be “fair to them.” Therefore a “special study of the mental capacity of Japanese and Chinese pupils” was included as a separate section of Sandiford’s test report.⁶¹

The other type of tests administered by Sandiford and his assistant, Ruby Kerr, were achievement tests. Elementary students wrote the BC Spelling Test, the Ayres-Burgess Silent Reading Test, the Thorndike-McCall Reading Test, the Ayres Handwriting Test, the Woody-McCall Mixed Fundamentals of Arithmetic Test, the BC Test of the Funda-

⁵⁸ Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 455–56, 458. See Haggerty and Nash, “Mental Capacity of Children and Parental Occupation,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 15 (December 1924): 559–72. For a new perspective on this, see James R. Flynn, *Does Your Family Make You Smarter?* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁵⁹ For the United States, see Daniel Kelves, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Press, 1985). For Canada, see McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*.

⁶⁰ Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 458–59, 461.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 461, 506.

1. Unskilled workers :
Miner, labourer, lumberman, teamster, logger.
2. Farmers :
Farmer, gardener, rancher, fruit-grower, etc.
3. Semi-skilled workers :
Brakeman, policeman, barber, soldier, sailor, fisherman, mail-carrier, truck-driver, chauffeur, motorman, factory-hand, janitor.
4. Skilled workers :
Mason, stone-cutter, stone-worker, printer, carpenter, cheesemaker, metal-worker, inspector, plumber, shoemaker, baker, cook, painter, machinist, cooper, tailor, mechanic, engineer, electrician, blacksmith, engraver, and unclassified skilled workers.
5. Business and clerical workers :
Mill-owner, railway-conductor, foreman, office-work, salesman, contractor, clerk, agents (express and station), retail merchant, real estate, insurance, manufacturer, civil servant, book-keeper.
6. Professional workers :
Civil engineer, architect, accountant, editor, author, publisher, druggist, broker, lawyer, teacher, banker, minister, dentist, assayer, musician, and unclassified professions.

The findings for the whole high school, normal school, and university populations are given in Table VIII. and Diagram 5.

TABLE VIII.

COMPARISON OF I.Q.'S OF STUDENTS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS, NORMAL SCHOOLS, AND UNIVERSITY, ACCORDING TO THE OCCUPATIONS OF THEIR FATHERS.

Group.	No.	Q ₁ .	Median Q ₂ .	Q ₃ .	Q.D.
1. Unskilled, Females.....	256	94.09	99.50	106.48	6.20
1. Unskilled, Males.....	200	96.10	102.50	110.50	7.20
1. Unskilled, F. and M.....	456	94.65	100.77	107.82	6.58
2. Farmers, Females.....	380	96.12	102.37	107.41	5.64
2. Farmers, Males.....	193	94.25	102.35	108.23	6.99
2. Farmers, F. and M.....	573	95.36	102.37	107.70	6.17
3. Semi-skilled, Females.....	246	93.93	101.67	107.07	6.57
3. Semi-skilled, Males.....	183	94.77	101.64	107.33	6.28
3. Semi-skilled, F. and M.....	429	94.34	101.66	107.22	6.44
4. Skilled, Females.....	826	95.23	102.58	108.09	6.43
4. Skilled, Males.....	558	95.26	102.23	108.92	6.83
4. Skilled, F. and M.....	1,384	95.24	102.46	108.42	6.59
5. Clerical, Females.....	879	96.66	103.71	109.59	6.46
5. Clerical, Males.....	672	96.00	103.02	109.95	6.97
5. Clerical, F. and M.....	1,551	96.34	103.41	109.71	6.68
6. Professional, Females.....	387	97.24	104.36	110.78	6.77
6. Professional, Males.....	272	98.62	106.29	113.40	7.39
6. Professional, F. and M.....	659	97.83	105.11	112.23	7.20

Figure 3. A complete list of occupational groups in Peter Sandiford's testing. The occupational groups (1-6) are listed in ascending order of social importance from uneducated labourers to professionals. In Table VIII, occupational groups were linked to the IQs of their offspring. To Sandiford, intelligence was an inherited trait within social classes. *Source: Putman and Weir, Survey of the School System*, app. I, 455.

mentals of Arithmetic, the BC Geography Test (Grades 6 to 8), and the BC History Test (Grade 8). High school pupils were given the BC Geography Test, the BC History Test, the BC Test in General Science, the Ruch-Popenoe General Science Test, the Holtz Algebra Test, the Henmon Latin Test, and the Henmon French Test. Males outperformed

females in science, geography, and Latin.⁶² In algebra, males and females displayed equal skills.⁶³ Females had superior skills to males in French.⁶⁴ Urban pupils did better than rural pupils on most of the achievement tests, and they scored significantly higher in history and science.⁶⁵ Rural students only managed to match their urban counterparts in algebra; however, in geography “rural districts ma[de] higher scores ... than city pupils.”⁶⁶ Sandiford’s urban bias is evident in his decision to focus on comparing Vancouver and Victoria, even though they had only half of the province’s school-age population. The other half of the school population was scattered in rural areas or in small towns. He declared “Vancouver wins in every grade” and then suggested the adoption, where feasible, of the urban junior high school model that was currently “sweeping the United States.”⁶⁷ Overall, Sandiford’s testing program was a highly subjective interpretation of the testing data, its being seriously complicated by his racial, gender, and urban biases. In his testing program the data seemed to fit the explanations and conclusions for which he was looking. However, when he belatedly decided to test the Chinese and Japanese students in Vancouver’s schools, he encountered results that confounded many of his underlying assumptions.

THE TESTING OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE CANADIAN PUPILS IN VANCOUVER’S SCHOOLS

The idea of simply removing Chinese and Japanese Canadian children from local schools may have been the motivation behind Sandiford’s belated testing program. If judged to fall into the feeble-minded mental category, Asian students could be segregated into special classes. In the period before World War I, local educational authorities did not seem to be preoccupied with the need to scientifically justify the removal of Asian students, as, for example, when New Westminster’s school board placed all thirty-five of its Chinese and Japanese students in a tent in a city park due to “school crowding.” New Westminster Board of Trade head L.B. Lushy made his views known to the local school board: he did not mind younger Asian, or “Oriental,” children who were born in Canada going to school with white children, but “older pupils fresh from

⁶² Ibid., 464, 470, 473, 475.

⁶³ Ibid., 475.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 478.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 467, 470, 473.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 464, 475.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 503-5.

the Orient” needed their own “special accommodation.”⁶⁸ This attitude continued during the interwar period as, for example, in 1921, when the Nanaimo School Board segregated its Chinese Canadian students, many of whom were the offspring of Chinese coal miners, following an earlier move by the Cumberland School Board.⁶⁹ In 1922, the Victoria School Board tried to segregate most of the Chinese Canadian students in their school system, resulting in a Chinese student strike in which local Chinese parents created an alternate school in order to ensure their children’s continued education. The strike lasted until 1923, and it not only forced the board to abandon its segregation plan but also politically empowered Chinese parents in Victoria’s and Vancouver’s Chinatowns.⁷⁰ Even school boards in communities with large resident Japanese Canadian populations, such as Vancouver’s Marpole and the Richmond fishing village of Steveston on the Fraser River, isolated their Asian students in designated schools.⁷¹ During this time, advocates of Asian school segregation came from some obvious pressure groups: the Asiatic Exclusion League, the Native Sons of British Columbia, and the British Progressive League (a Vancouver women’s group). The British Progressive League framed its argument in curricular terms, asserting that segregated schools could serve “the peculiar needs of the Asiatic children.”⁷² Lisa Rose Mar calls the separation of Asian schoolchildren from white schoolmates “practiced partial segregation,” which placed lower-grade students in their own classes, supposedly to master English. As they became older and gained proficiency in English they were gradually integrated; however, older immigrant students who could not pass grade-level English proficiency tests were still segregated. In Vancouver, this lasted until 1936; in Victoria, it lasted until after the Second World War.⁷³ Practical physical segregation, with Asian students attending schools adjacent to where they lived, occurred in

⁶⁸ “A School Question: Mr. L.B. Lushy in Board of Trade Meeting Deplores Present Overcrowding Conditions,” *Daily British Columbian*, 29 September 1911, cited in Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man’s Province: British Columbian Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858–1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989), 276.

⁶⁹ “Angry Hatred of East Asians”/ “Jishi Dong Ya Xuetong,” *Chinese Times*, 8 November 1912. As found in Timothy J. Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 103.

⁷⁰ Timothy J. Stanley, “White Supremacy, Chinese Schooling and School Segregation in Victoria: The Case of the Chinese Student’s Strike, 1922–1923,” *Historical Studies in Education* 2, 2 (1990): 287–305.

⁷¹ Mary Ashworth, *The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1979), 99–100.

⁷² Roy, *Oriental Question*, 34.

⁷³ Lisa Rose Mar, *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada’s Exclusion Era, 1885–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 72, 85.

the Chinatowns of Victoria and Vancouver; in Japantown located along Vancouver's Powell Street; and in the fishing village of Steveston in Richmond, which had a large Japanese population.

Sandiford stated that the separate testing program was undertaken because the province "should be interested in determining the mental capacities of her alien groups." In trying to gain accurate mental measurements, even he realized that most standardized intelligence tests required a fluent knowledge of English. To blindly administer such tests "would not be fair to them."⁷⁴ Sandiford chose the Pintner-Paterson Performance Tests because they "proved suitable for use with alien groups." Most of the tests involved a variety of "form boards," with precut holes into which the student was to fit different shaped blocks. It was the "speed and accuracy of the performance" that was "used to judge the intelligence of the pupil." The Pintner-Paterson tests "correlated highly" with other standardized intelligence tests, such as the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scales.⁷⁵ Sandiford first reported his test results in an abbreviated form in a specific testing appendix of the Putman-Weir Survey, but he later wrote a scholarly article on the tests for the *Journal of Educational Psychology* (September 1926). Integrating both documents provides the most accurate appraisal of his testing data. In the Putman-Weir Survey Sandiford states that his sample size was 305 pupils (155 Chinese and 150 Japanese), while in the journal article he claims to have used "500 records."⁷⁶ The sample was composed of "an unrelated group of Chinese and Japanese pupils attending the Public Elementary Schools of Vancouver." The actual testing was not done by Sandiford himself but, rather, by Ruby Kerr and her staff. Kerr was an experienced educational psychologist and had worked in the psychological clinic of the Vancouver school system since the early 1920s. She was familiar with the Pintner-Paterson Performance Test protocol and trained her staff in test administration. Strict measures were taken to "secure uniformity of procedure and technique" in order to assure standardization.⁷⁷

Given the above, in Sandiford's mind the results could not lack validity. In a later article he co-authored with Ruby Kerr, entitled "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children," Sandiford reviewed several previous testing studies that American researchers had conducted on Chinese and Japanese schoolchildren. These included W.H. Pyle's early study

⁷⁴ Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 506.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 442.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 506; Peter Sandiford and Ruby Kerr, "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 17 (September 1926): 361.

⁷⁷ Sandiford and Kerr, "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children," 361.

of how Chinese boys and girls compared to American children of the same age; K.T. Yeung's later study of 150 Chinese children ages nine to eleven in San Francisco; and M.L. Darsie's study of Japanese children in California, aged ten to fifteen years. Pyle found that Chinese boys were superior to American boys but that this was not the case with girls. Yeung found that his Chinese children had a median IQ of 97, which was equivalent to that of white children. Darsie found median IQs of between 90 to 99 using the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scales, which relied heavily on English fluency, but the Beta Army Test results, using non-language-based assessment criteria, were "indicative of [the] superiority" of Chinese to white children.⁷⁸ It was readily apparent from Sandiford's own literature review that the scores generated on the tests should at least place Asian Canadian children in the average range of intelligence.

After tabulating the testing data, the results were not quite what Sandiford expected. In "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children," Sandiford states that the "results are somewhat surprising, even startling." In the Putman-Weir Survey, Sandiford summarizes the testing data he found as follows: "the Japanese are superior to the Chinese and both are greatly superior to the average white population."⁷⁹ In "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children," Sandiford and Kerr indicate that the median IQ of Japanese males was 115.4 and that of Japanese females 112.8 for a combined IQ for Japanese pupils of 114.2, well above the average range of white IQs. The median IQ of Chinese males was 107.77 and that of Chinese females 107.0 for a combined IQ for Chinese pupils of 107.4. Five-sixths of Japanese males exceeded IQ levels that only one-half of all whites tested could reach. Fully 80 percent of the Japanese children reached or exceeded the scores of whites. Approximately 71 percent of Chinese children reached or exceeded the scores of whites.⁸⁰

Sandiford validated the results by explaining that four methods had been used to calculate the scores: year scale, median mental age, point scale, and percentiles. Pintner recommended the percentile method as being "simple and most accurate." Modern standards of test validity rely on such factors as a diverse testing sample and large geographical

⁷⁸ Ibid., 362-63; W.H. Pyle, "A Study of the Mental and Physical Characteristics of the Chinese," *School and Society* 8 (1918): 264; K.T. Yeung, "The Intelligence of Chinese Children in San Francisco and Vicinity," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 5 (1921): 267-74; M.L. Darsie, "The Mental Capacity of American Born Japanese Children," *Comparative Psychological Monographs* 3 (1920): 1-89.

⁷⁹ Sandiford and Kerr, "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese," 363; Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 508.

⁸⁰ Sandiford and Kerr, "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese," 363-64.

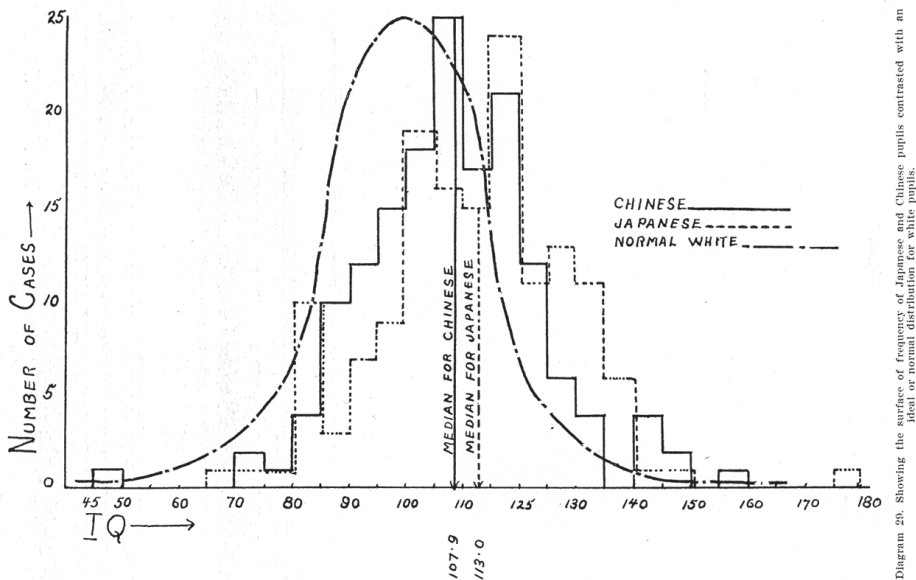


Figure 4. Diagram 29 shows the distribution of Chinese and Japanese Canadian students in Vancouver schools compared to the theoretical scores of white (Caucasian) students according to the norms of the Pintner-Paterson Performance Test. Source: Sandiford, *Survey of the School System*, app. 1, 507.

populations for test norming. An individual's test performance is usually measured through standard scores. Standard scores are determined by an individual's test performance as calculated from the mean average utilizing standard deviations.⁸¹

Sandiford noted evidence that the Pintner-Paterson test scores "tend[ed] to run higher" than those obtained on the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scales but stated that this was because the latter depended on a fluent knowledge of English. He also found evidence that the year scale method "magnifie[d] the true values" while the median mental age method tended to "greatly reduce them." The year scale method provided values that were "probably too high." The point scale method provided

⁸¹ Ibid., 364. Standard scores are the preferred means of assessing an individual's performance on a test of mental ability because "they retain the exact numerical relations of the original raw scores" when calculated by linear transformation. They express the individual's distance from the mean in terms of standard deviations. Sandiford relied upon the conventional percentile method, which compares an individual's test achievement against standardized benchmarks (Q_1 25th percentile, Q_2 50th percentile, Q_3 75th percentile) according to the tables created by the test's normative sample. The 50th percentile corresponds to the test median of average performance. Distortion can occur at the ends of the distribution curve: below Q_1 and above Q_3 . See Anne Anastasi, *Psychological Testing*, 6th ed. (New York: Macmillan Press, 1988), 82-88.

TABLE I.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE IQ'S OF JAPANESE AND CHINESE PUPILS IN VANCOUVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO RACE AND SEX

IQ	Japanese			Chinese		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
40- 49	..	..	..	..	1	1
50- 59	..	..	..	..	1	1
60- 69	..	1	1			
70- 79	1	2	3	4	2	6
80- 89	11	8	19	9	9	18
90- 99	12	21	33	24	14	38
100-109	28	26	54	37	28	65
110-119	37	29	66	33	22	55
120-129	38	24	62	13	9	22
130-139	15	13	28	5	2	7
140-149	1	6	7	5	5	10
150-159	..	1	1	1	..	1
160-169	..	1	1			
170-179	1	..	1			
Total.....	144	132	276	131	93	224
Q ₁	104.3	100.4	102.4	98.2	97.3	98.0
Q ₂	115.4	112.8	114.2	107.7	107.0	107.4
Median						
Q ₃	125.0	125.0	125.0	117.4	116.7	117.1
QD.....	10.4	12.3	11.3	9.6	9.7	9.6

Figure 5. Table I of Sandiford and Kerr's study of Chinese and Japanese Canadian students in Vancouver schools, using the Pintner-Paterson Performance Test. The Q₂ values, or average scores, of the Asian students exceed the average range scores (100-109) achieved by white (Caucasian) students in the test's norming sample. *Source:* Sandiford and Kerr, "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children," 363. Permission obtained from the American Psychological Association to reproduce material from this article.

values that fell between the year scale values and the median mental age calculations. It seems as though Sandiford was trying to find fault with the Pintner-Paterson Test itself but not with the accuracy of his test score calculations. He concluded that "the Japanese and Chinese are not so intelligent as Table I makes them out to be" (Figure 5 displays the high median IQ values for Asian pupils tested as compared to whites).⁸² Sandiford's test results have been re-evaluated by a contemporary psychologist, Philip E. Vernon, who found that the "method of arriving at I.Q.'s for this battery [i.e., Pintner-Paterson Tests] have always been somewhat dubious." Vernon determined that, when Sandiford's test

⁸² Sandiford and Kerr, "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese," 364-66.

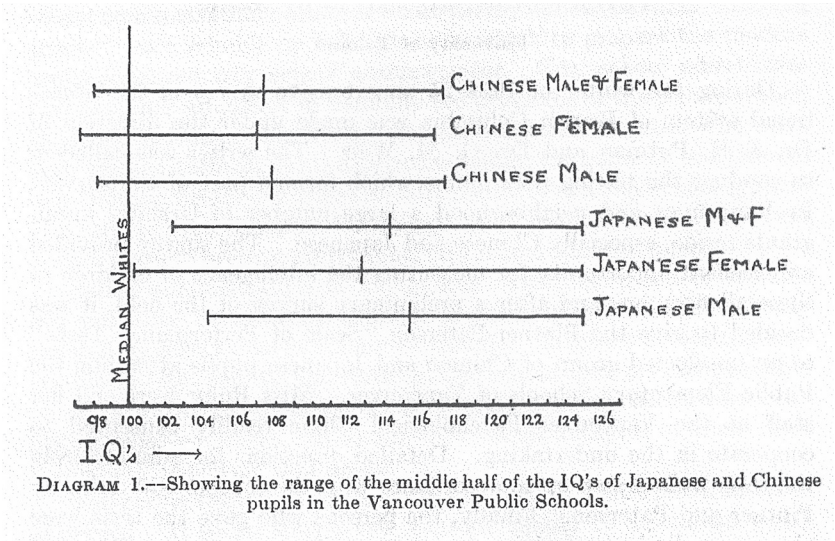


TABLE II.—MEDIAN IQ'S OF JAPANESE AND CHINESE PUPILS IN VANCOUVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARRANGED BY GRADES

Grade	Japanese		Chinese	
	Number of cases	Median IQ	Number of cases	Median IQ
I	60	111.4	54	109.0
II	40	116.1	48	110.2
III	82	114.0	47	106.4
IV	61	112.0	30	104.2
V	20	112.5	25	108.0
VI	11	113.5	15	107.5
VII	2	107.0	4	106.2
VIII	..	.....	1	114

Figure 6. Diagram 1 shows the IQ ranges (horizontal lines) of the Chinese and Japanese Canadian students compared to the median IQ (Average Ability - vertical line) of white (Caucasian) students. Table II shows the distribution by grade of IQ values for Chinese and Japanese Canadian students in the study. Source: Sandiford and Kerr, "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children," Diagram 1, 362; Table II, 364.

results were "recalculated by an alternate method," the IQ scores of the subjects "were considerably reduced."⁸³

⁸³ Philip E. Vernon, *The Abilities and Achievements of Orientals in North America* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 109.

Sandiford was desperately trying to seek an explanation for the seemingly inexplicable, that the children of Asian immigrants to British Columbia, who were decidedly not Anglo-white, possessed superior mental capacity. The very basis of his racial and social assumptions about intelligence would be shattered if he could not find a plausible explanation for this. He decided that the key factor behind his finding of superior Asian mental ability was “undoubtedly due to selection.”⁸⁴ He had approximately the same explanation in both his and Kerr’s journal article and in Putman and Weir’s *Survey of the School System*:

In the main it is the Japanese and Chinese possessing the qualities of cleverness, resourcefulness and courage who emigrate to British Columbia; the dullards and less enterprising are left behind. This superiority of an emigrant stock is no new phenomenon in world history. There are those who maintain that Great Britain owes her eminent position in the world to the fact that only the clever and sturdy could secure a footing on her shores. The American Army tests showed that those who had forced the Rocky Mountain barrier and reached the Pacific slopes were of higher intelligence than the groups they left behind. Secondly, the groups tested in the elementary schools are probably selected; the relatively more intelligent Chinese and Japanese children will be sent to school in higher proportion than obtains among the whites. Thirdly, the comparative smallness of the groups (150 and 155) should not be forgotten, although it is doubtful if ten times the number would have given radically different results.⁸⁵

Sandiford, as a eugenicist, had to rely on a rather vague argument that pulled together elements of Herbert Spencer’s human improvement through Social Darwinism and Frederick Jackson Turner’s Frontier Thesis to explain the failure of his racial science.⁸⁶ He warned in the testing appendix of Putman and Weir’s *Survey* that “the presence of an industrious, clever, and frugal alien group, capable, so far as mentality is concerned, of competing successfully with native whites ... constitutes a

⁸⁴ Sandiford and Kerr, “Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese,” 366.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 366. Line beginning “Thirdly” omitted from Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 508.

⁸⁶ Herbert Spencer (1873) believed that, through social competition, industrial societies would evolve to perfection. See J.D.Y. Peel, ed., *Herbert Spencer on Social Evolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 173–74; Frederick Jackson Turner (1903) believed that those who came to the west of the United States developed to their fullest capacity and that is why the west supposedly produced most of America’s greatest leaders. See George Roger Taylor, ed., *The Turner Thesis Concerning the Frontier in American History* (Boston: Heath Press, 1965), 32–33.

problem which calls for the highest quality of statesmanship if it is to be solved satisfactorily.”⁸⁷ The conclusion of Sandiford and Kerr’s article is similar in that it warns that the “presence of so many clever, industrious and frugal aliens constitutes a political and economic problem of the greatest importance.”⁸⁸

Vernon argues that such a conclusion concerning the Chinese who came to British Columbia is preposterous as they “were originally of poor peasant stock” while the Japanese “were better educated.” As far as he was concerned, Sandiford’s explanation was basically absurd.⁸⁹ The real problem was that the test results Sandiford generated seriously affected his social and scientific belief system. But it must be remembered that, during the interwar period, his strained explanation of the tests results would have been readily accepted by the ordinary public. A conversation between two of the characters in BC author Hilda Glynn-Ward’s 1921 racist penny-dreadful displays the attitudes held by Vancouver’s Anglo-whites:

They’re uppish now, you even see that in the yellow brats coming out of school; they’re cleverer than us and they know it and you and I know it too! Specially the Japs, you’ll see them at the top o’ the class and the white kids at the bottom every time! There’s a school in Vancouver where there’s 324 Jap and Chink children to 275 whites, a precious fat chance they got to keep their end up.⁹⁰

Japanese and Chinese Canadian schoolchildren in Vancouver were perceived by Anglo-whites as a social threat. Japanese Canadian parents eventually began to believe Sandiford and Kerr’s conclusion regarding the superior intellectual capacity of their children, particularly after a 1939 Ohio State University study supported the claim.⁹¹ In Japan, according to Janice Matsumura, Sandiford’s testing results generated disdain and

⁸⁷ Sandiford and Kerr, “Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese,” 366; Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 508.

⁸⁸ Sandiford and Kerr, “Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese,” 367.

⁸⁹ Vernon, *Abilities and Achievement of Orientals*, 109.

⁹⁰ Hilda Glynn-Ward, *The Writing on the Wall: In Three Parts – Past, Present and Future* (Vancouver: Sun Publishing, 1921), 180. Sun Publishing is now Pacific Press, publisher of the *Vancouver Sun*.

⁹¹ Hide Hyodo, “Contacts after Graduation,” *New Canadian*, 27 May 1939, 13; “Nisei I.Q. Higher States Scholar,” *New Canadian*, 15 March 1939, 13. This information is found in Harold Keith Hutchinson, “Dimensions of Ethnic Education: The Japanese in British Columbia, 1880-1940” (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1972), 98; and Janice Matsumura, “More or Less Intelligent: Nikkei IQ and Racial/Ethnic Hierarchies in British Columbia and Imperial Japan,” *BC Studies*, 192 (Winter, 2016-17): 57.

one critic even implied that it did not necessarily take a talented Japanese to outperform most of the people of Canada.⁹²

CRITICISMS OF SANDIFORD'S TESTING

However odious and racially discriminatory we find Sandiford's testing today, what is interesting is the criticism he received at the time. In 1928, a Vancouver school principal, J.E. Brown, published a stinging rebuke of Sandiford's treatment of Chinese and Japanese Canadian schoolchildren in *The BC Teacher* magazine. In reference to Sandiford's immigration selection thesis accounting for higher IQ scores among Chinese and Japanese students, Brown stated that "it would impress many as rather a sweeping conclusion to draw on the basis of the evidence." Brown had done his own study on 80 Japanese and 120 white pupils in Grades 6, 7 and 8 at his own school, Strathcona, located in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside near Japantown. He had undertaken this study even though such "comparisons are sometimes odious" because he believed that his test data would "likely rebound to the benefit of the children themselves."⁹³

With the expert assistance of Robert Straight, newly appointed head of the Vancouver School Board's Bureau of Measurements, Brown gave the two hundred pupils in the study the Stanford Achievement Test.⁹⁴ The test battery included subtests for reading, arithmetic, history, spelling, dictation, literature, language usage, and nature study. English proficiency was a requirement for some of the Stanford subtests, and Brown found that on these tests the Japanese pupils were "inferior to the white children." However, in "mechanical operations" such as arithmetic, "they [were] distinctly superior" and ranked one year, four months above their white counterparts. To Brown the conclusion was "not that the Japanese children are inferior or superior to white children in ability" but, rather, that "they [were] labouring under a distinctly greater handicap in learning the English language."⁹⁵ Brown reported that they spoke Japanese at home and attended a Japanese Language School in Japantown after public school – something that would not foster English acquisition. Brown indicated that the Japanese Canadian pupils in his school were polite, clean, studious, and athletic.⁹⁶ They were model pupils with supportive

⁹² Matsumura, "More or Less Intelligent," 53.

⁹³ J.E. Brown, "Japanese School Children," *The BC Teacher* 7 (June 1928): 8.

⁹⁴ For Robert Straight's career, see Thomson, "Fondness for Charts and Children."

⁹⁵ Brown, "Japanese School Children," 10.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

parents, and, to Brown, it was obvious that Sandiford's testing had done them an injustice.

Much the same can be said of the 1930s study of Japanese Canadian children by Charles H. Young and Helen R.Y. Reid of the University of Toronto. They described Sandiford's testing as inconclusive: "[the] project suffered from a serious limitation in that comparisons was [*sic*] not made with a group of white pupils in British Columbia." The IQ scales, or norming tables, upon which the "theoretical white group" was based were, in fact, American children from the eastern United States, where the Pintner-Paterson Test was originally standardized.⁹⁷ A.R. Lord of the Vancouver Normal School had raised similar objections to using American testing instruments on BC schoolchildren as early as 1926. He believed that, even with regard to "tool subjects," or basic skills such as reading and mathematics, "the Norms [were] quite unreliable."⁹⁸ These objections are not unusual as even contemporary achievement and psycho-educational tests suffer from a similar fault due to the fact Canadian students are not used as norming samples for standardization.⁹⁹

However, Young and Reid cite the fact that Robert Straight gave the Pintner-Paterson test to white pupils in 1933. They interviewed Straight in the summer of 1934, and he told them that the testing data revealed "no material difference in the intelligence rating of the Orientals and the Whites." Young and Reid surveyed nine elementary and six high schools in Vancouver that had Japanese Canadian pupils among their population and found a great deal of consensus regarding their abilities. With regard to English problems, they showed poor subject knowledge; with regard to mechanical skills that required controlled hand movement, such as drawing or penmanship, they showed superior ability. With regard to abstract subject knowledge such as arithmetic, and behaviours such as deportment, attendance, and punctuality, "opinions are almost unanimous that Japanese children are much superior to the whites."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Charles H. Young and Helen R.Y. Reid, *The Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938), 135.

⁹⁸ A.R. Lord, "Tests: Their Use and Abuse," *BC Teacher* 6 (November 1926): 23.

⁹⁹ For example, the most recent edition of the Woodcock-Johnson Test of Achievement IV describes in the Technical Manual's Norming Study that 7,416 people (ages two to thirty) were used in the norming sample of the US population and all came from forty-six states and the District of Columbia. See www.nelson.com/assessment/pdf/asb2.pdf. See also Simon Lisaing and Laurie Ford (UBC), "Part II: A First Look at the Woodcock-Johnson IV Tests of Achievement and Tests of Oral Language," *CASP/Canadian Association of School Psychologists Newsletter* (Spring 2015): 6. Canadian norming subjects were not used; only Canadian adaptations are available for the tests. See www.cpa.ca/CASP/newsletter.html (Select Spring 2015).

¹⁰⁰ Young and Reid, *Japanese Canadians*, 136. See note 46, which mentions the interview with Lee Straight, son of Robert Straight.

Japanese Canadian pupils suffered from a language handicap that caused many of them to fall behind their white schoolmates in subjects such as English and social studies.

Vancouver schools had seen a definite rise in their Asian school population. In 1911, Vancouver's schools had 3,559 Chinese pupils; in 1921, 6,484; and in 1931, 13,011. Similarly, in 1911 there were 2,036 Japanese pupils; in 1921, 4,246; and in 1931, 8,328.¹⁰¹ The increase was not due to immigration, which remained small and highly regulated, but from the birth of a new generation of Japanese and Chinese Canadian children within British Columbia. It was entirely probable that, at a community level in the neighbourhood schools of Vancouver, these children were increasingly seen as a permanent part of the social landscape and not as the dangerous alien element described by Sandiford. This is confirmed by historian Timothy J. Stanley, who references school officials who described Canadian-born Asian (Chinese) students as active participants in school culture (e.g., through dramatics and team sports), while immigrant students born in China were reported as indifferent to school culture.¹⁰² The Strathcona school study undertaken by Principal J.E. Brown was entirely sympathetic to Japanese Canadian students, while Young and Reid's reference to the conclusions of local school official Robert Straight concerning "no material difference" between the intelligence of Japanese Canadian students and white students was also indicative of a desire for social fairness. However, the outside world and its turmoil would soon overshadow such socially progressive views. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 would bring about the "evacuation" of Japanese Canadians from the Pacific coast and their internment in prison camps in the interior of British Columbia. Redress for this wrong would only come in the late 1980s. Chinese Canadians received little benefit from the Chinese Nationalists' being Canada's allies in the Second World War; their social and political rights would only begin to be realized in the late 1940s.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 210.

¹⁰² Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy*, 225–26.

¹⁰³ Peter O'Neil, "Internees to Share \$300 Million: Japanese Canadians Get Apologies from Mulroney," *Vancouver Sun*, 22 September 1988; Kevin Griffin, "Redress Helped Japanese Forgive," *Vancouver Sun*, 8 October 1992; Mar, *Brokering Belonging*, 111–31.

CONCLUSION: SCIENTIFIC RACISM AND CANADIAN CULTURAL DIVERSITY

In 1939, Peter Sandiford wrote in a journal article that only in North America had intelligence testing been enthusiastically embraced. He believed this was primarily due to “the presence of the immigrant” and the social challenges they posed for the ruling Anglo-white majority. The tests were an attempt to scientifically preserve the intellectual endowment of “native” North Americans, meaning Anglo-whites, against the onslaught of inferior immigrant stock.¹⁰⁴ The Chinese and Japanese Canadian students in Vancouver’s schools presented a real problem to Sandiford as they achieved higher test scores than did their white counterparts. Angus McLaren notes that, to Sandiford, “it was clearly unthinkable that they were racially superior to Anglo-Saxons.”¹⁰⁵ Sandiford promoted the use of intelligence tests in public education as a vital defence mechanism to prevent the Canadian school system from being swamped by inferior immigrant pupils. Sandiford justified educational discrimination against minority pupils as a matter of what he saw as progressive educational policy.

The social context of British Columbia from colonial times to the early twentieth century encouraged the process of turning all non-whites into “others.” Stanley believes that Sandiford’s comparison of IQ scores on the basis of where students were born or from whom they were racially descended set up preconceived racial categories of inferiority that functioned to separate minority groups from “native” students or those racialized as white. Thus, to “Sandiford, these categories were self-evident and required no explanation.”¹⁰⁶ According to Stanley, making the province’s minority Asians into “others,” or likening First Nations peoples to mere parts of the natural environment, was a deliberate act. School textbooks taught schoolchildren that Anglo-whites were at the pinnacle of a racial hierarchy, with all “others” being in distinctly lower positions. This “imperial racist ideology” permeated the province as “racism in B.C. was not an aberration”; it was a “sustained reality, part of the air that people breathed” – even groups that traditionally supported democratic rights (such as labour unions) viewed Asian workers as a threat.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 62–63; Peter Sandiford, “Research in Education,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 3 (1934): 314–19.

¹⁰⁵ McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 62.

¹⁰⁶ Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy*, 92.

¹⁰⁷ Timothy J. Stanley, “White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study,” in Barman et al., *Children, Teachers and Schools*, 50–51.

Peter Sandiford's testing of Chinese and Japanese Canadian students in 1924 was meant to confirm long-standing notions of Anglo-white superiority and Oriental inferiority. When this finding did not materialize, Sandiford's testing program was put into doubt along with his notion of racially based mental abilities. Sandiford failed to perceive the fact that minority groups were an integral part of the Canadian social landscape and that they had a strong desire to integrate into the larger community through such mechanisms as education. Vancouver's Downtown Eastside was the centre of minority education in the city's public schools. J.E. Brown's 1928 study of Japanese Canadian students was conducted in order to refute Sandiford; Brown obviously felt that Sandiford's testing had done his students a great injustice. He noted the dedication of his Japanese Canadian students and how hard they worked. This sense of an emerging minority identity among the children of Asian immigrants to British Columbia seems to be missing from official histories. Robert A.J. McDonald's historical study of Vancouver, which focuses on the east side, paints a picture of social, economic, and political divisions among the working class of the city. Only in "growth boom[s]" was there a lessening of "class tensions," which "created a shared sense that material advancement was possible."¹⁰⁸ At no point does McDonald talk about the shared school experience of minority and white schoolchildren. One wonders if this shared school experience created pro-social outcomes or whether the whites taunted their Asian schoolmates, thus reinforcing racism.

Jean Barman finds that, during the 1920s, school officials in Vancouver had an overall negative view of east side schoolchildren. A 1920 survey by school officials found that, in one east side school, 48 percent of the children slept three or more to a room, well above the average for the city, which was two children to a room. The "pupils are chiefly Orientals and foreigners ... many of them cannot speak English when they enter school," declared a Vancouver school trustee in 1924. The high Grade 1 failure rate of Strathcona-area pupils in the heart of the Downtown Eastside was caused by "foreign parentage, undernourishment, low mentality and an environment which fail[ed] to provide experiences essential to mental growth."¹⁰⁹ Barman concludes that, "for many East End children, schools were likely not very hospitable." In a 1923 survey of east

¹⁰⁸ Robert A.J. McDonald, *Making Vancouver: Class, Status and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), 236-37, see chap. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Jean Barman, "Neighbourhood and Community in Interwar Vancouver: Residential Differentiation and Civic Voting Behaviour," in *Vancouver's Past: Essays in Social History*, ed. Robert A.J. McDonald and Jean Barman, III-14, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986).



Figure 7. The 1922 high school football champions from Kitsilano High School on the west side of Vancouver. *Source:* Vancouver City Schools, Trustees Annual Report 1922, 15. Found in the historical collection, UBC Education Library.

side pupils, less than 12 percent were of “Anglo-Saxon extraction,” and such “a large foreign element” seemed to trouble school administrators.¹¹⁰ On the wealthier and Anglo-white west side of Vancouver, the principal of Kitsilano High School complained that “the presence of Oriental children in schools” made it difficult “to transmit to the next generation the social inheritance of the present and past generation.”¹¹¹ One look at the champion rugby football team of Kitsilano in 1922 makes this very clear; all are Caucasian and are wearing expensive uniforms. (Figure 7)

Clearly, Vancouver was divided by social class, with its wealthier west side and its poorer east side; it also had a highly visible racial divide. But were there any indications regarding attitudes of tolerance and acceptance? A clue is found in another football team photograph Barman includes in her study, in which the students are posed with their teachers

¹¹⁰ Jean Barman, “Knowledge Is Essential for Universal Progress But Fatal to Class Privilege: Working People and the Schools in Vancouver during the 1920s,” *Labor/Le Travail* 22 (Fall 1988): 48.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*



Figure 8. The 1916 high school rugby football city champions from Central High School. *Source:* Vancouver City Schools, Trustees Annual Report 1916, 71. Found in the historical collection, UBC Education Library.

and coaches on the steps of an east side elementary school. Most of the students are Asian males, Japanese or Chinese, and only one student is clearly white.¹¹² They appear to be enjoying a high degree of camaraderie despite their racial differences. This can also be seen in a rugby football team photograph of the 1916 city champions from Central High School, which was near Chinatown's East Pender Street and Japantown's Powell Street. The students are clearly wearing their own rugby football wear from home rather than school uniforms.

The desire of second-generation immigrant youth in the Chinese Canadian community to integrate with the larger Anglo-white society has been well documented. This desire is expressed in the sociological research that Winifred Raushenbush conducted for Robert Park of the University of Chicago in 1924. Raushenbush interviewed UBC student

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 50–51.

Foon Sien Wong, head of the Vancouver Chinese Students Alliance, who presented a portrait of the gradual social acceptance of Westernized Chinese Canadian youth by Vancouver society (something that, in fact, was largely fiction).¹¹³

Sandiford's scientific testing was meant to reinforce eugenic notions of race and intelligence. J.E. Brown called these racial comparisons of intelligence "odious" and saw them as something whose purpose was to "satisfy idle curiosity or to bolster up an argument derogatory to any person or group."¹¹⁴ Brown, as a school principal, was most concerned for his students and the community in which they lived. He had a very contemporary attitude towards cultural diversity and acceptance within the school system, and this stood in sharp contrast to the eugenic racism of Sandiford, who used intelligence testing to marginalize minority students and to foster anti-Asian sentiment. As the contemporary dialogue about historical racism in Canada assumes new importance, this instance of intelligence testing during the interwar period in British Columbia deserves closer examination and thoughtful consideration.

¹¹³ Mar, *Brokering Belonging*, 74, 82, 107.

¹¹⁴ Brown, "Japanese School Children," 8.