Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s

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Abstract
Geography textbooks introduce children to foreign lands and people. They are considered scientific and authoritative, and leave a durable legacy on our world views. This study analyzes descriptions of race and culture from typical British and North American grade school geography textbooks published between 1826 and 1955. It reprints selected texts and images, analyzes how their narratives changed over time, and discusses their impacts. Early books categorized race and culture using methods modelled after biological taxonomies, giving them a veneer of scientific objectivity. They identified various races (European [White], Asiatic [Yellow], African [Black], Malayan [Brown] and American Indian [Red]), which were categorized according to “stages of society” (savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized and enlightened). They were overtly racist (they claimed that White races are superior) and colonialist (they claimed that European imperialism was benevolent and beneficial). This allowed Whites to feel superior to other peoples and supported colonialist policies. Racist and colonialist narratives declined over time and later books promoted racial inclusivity and multiculturalism.

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Note to Readers: This document incorporates many images from old books, which creates challenges, and the results are often imperfect. Some images are copied from scanned originals posted on websites such as the University of Pennsylvania’s Online Books Page and the U.S. Library of Congress, others are scanned from my personal collection. The original books often have marks and coloring (atlas owners were encouraged to hand-color maps, a practice apparently followed in schools), some images are blurred, and their resolution declines when published as PDF files. I provide transcripts of some key texts in this report. Readers who want clearer images can look up some of the original sources, or request higher resolution images from me (litman@vti.org). Please let me know if you have questions, comments, or additions to this collection.

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**Introduction**
Old geography textbooks and world atlases are time machines that let us see how previous generations perceived foreign lands and peoples. I find them fascinating and collect them – I own several dozen published from the 1790s to the present. For this study I selected examples of typical grade school textbooks from the 1820s to the 1950s that illustrate evolving narratives concerning race, culture and colonialism.

These books played important roles in defining students’ understanding of foreign races and cultures, and therefore their lifelong attitudes toward other peoples and countries. They were considered authoritative and scientific. Imagine, for example, how a young person living in previous centuries would respond to an invitation to travel to a foreign land – Asia, Africa, Latin America or Australia – for a military, missionary, commercial or marital (e.g., women traveling to overseas fiancés) enterprise. Their knowledge of that far-off country, and therefore their decision to participate, and their attitudes and actions when they arrive, would be based largely on the short descriptions in their school geography textbooks. Similarly, imagine how children of foreign races and cultures perceived themselves and were perceived by fellow students and their teachers. Their identity and self-worth were molded, in part, by the authoritative voices of geography books.

Most readers should not be surprised to learn that many older geography books were overtly racist – they claimed that some races and cultures are superior to others – and overtly colonialist – they claimed that European imperialism was benevolent and benefitted colonized people overall – but few have seen their actual words and images. This study is novel because it reprints original text and images that described race and culture from typical geography textbooks between the 1840s and 1960s, and analyzes how this information changed over time.

During this period the discourse evolved, reflecting generational transitions among anthropologists, geographers and educators, from supporting racism and colonialism to promoting more inclusive and multicultural messages. Recent publications described in this report reflect current efforts to correct biases in geography and history education. It is worth noting that these publications were also blatantly sexist, frequently using “man” in reference to people even late in the study period. That issue deserves future study.

This is important and timely research. Many people and individuals want to understand racial and cultural biases in order to redress racial and colonialist exploitation. Many educators are reassessing how schools teach issues related to race, culture and colonialism. This study uses excerpts from old geography books to explore the supposedly scientific information they presented about these issues. As far as I can determine, this information has not be previously assembled. This analysis should be of interest to anthropologists, geographers, teachers, and anti-racism advocates, and to anybody who wants to better understand their own (mis)understanding of race, culture and colonialism.
Early Literature on Race and Colonialism

When strangers meet they often compete for social status, explicitly or implicitly claiming that, “I am smarter, more successful, prettier, or morally superior to you.” Similarly, social groups often compete for social status, claiming “We are smarter, more successful, better looking or more responsible than your group.” This dynamic has existed for a long time.

For example, the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle believed that, due to their superior reasoning skills, Greeks were superior rulers. He categorized most non-Greeks as barbarians who can only live productively as slaves, and should be civilized and governed by Greeks colonists (Robinson 2011). These ideas were subsequently reinterpreted by philosophers such as Emanuel Kant and John Stuart Mill, and used to justify imperialism and slavery.

Such ideas were often applied when Europeans explored and colonized foreign nations. For example, European religious leaders debated whether African and American natives had a soul and therefore deserved human rights, and whether colonialists had a right to conquer and enslave uncivilized nations. To portray foreign people’s as barbaric, European experts cited their human sacrifices, cannibalism, and other “crimes against nature.” To his credit, Pope Paul III declared that American Indians should not to be enslaved or deprived of their liberty or property in a 1537 papal bull Sublimis Deus. However, the Spanish King disagreed. He confiscated all copies of the document before it could reach the Americas and prevailed upon the Pope to revoke it (Admin 2011).

The 1550-1551 debate in Valladolid, Spain attempted to determine the criteria by which Native Americans could be conquered and enslaved. The philosopher and theologian, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, cited Aristotle in arguing that Indians were brutes who should be servants to civilized peoples. He stated,

“For numerous and grave reasons these barbarians are obligated to accept the rule of the Spaniards according to natural law. For them it ought to be even more advantageous than for the Spaniards, since virtue, humanity, and the true religion are more valuable than gold or silver. And if they refuse our rule, they may be compelled by force of arms to accept it. Such a war is just according to natural law.”

During subsequent centuries, Europeans explorers and scientists, including anthropologist and cultural geographers, collected information about foreign races and cultures, in part to classify them into a taxonomy of human physical and social progress. Carl von Linné’s (Linnæus) book Systema Naturae established the principles biological taxonomy – the systematic classification of plants and animals. The tenth edition published in 1758 included humans, categorized as primates, with four racial categories: blue-eyed white Europeans, kinky-haired black Africans, greedy yellow Asians, and stubborn but free red Native Americans.

Subsequent geographic publications categorized races and cultures in various ways, including their physical characteristics, their social structures, languages, religions, technologies, and “stages of society” ranked from low (“savage” and “barbarous”) to high (“civilized” and “enlightened”). These examples illustrate how academic descriptions of race and culture can affect our understanding and treatment of other people and nations, even to the present day.
Geography Textbooks and Readers
School geography textbooks are a unique and important type of literature. They are considered scientific and authoritative, and so can significantly affect people’s lifelong understanding and attitudes about peoples and countries, including their own and foreign. Their influence was much greater before electronic communication became widely available, when access to information was limited. As Spearman (2012) describes:

For most of the nineteenth century in the United States, a young learner’s first exposure to what we now call social studies came through the field of geography. Geography was—according to United States Commissioner of Education William Torrey Harris (1889–1906)—the most important subject after reading, writing, and mathematics. He lauded the way it gave students a “practical, real knowledge which will be useful later in life.” This notion of practicality, coupled with the relative availability of pedagogical resources for teaching geography, made the subject more common-place in nineteenth-century grammar schools than history was. Moreover, suggestions from the Committee of Ten’s Geography Conference in 1894 prompted educators to conceptualize the subject as a broader field than just physical geography; the report suggested that elementary geography include “astronomy, meteorology, zoology, botany, history, commerce, governments, races, religions, etc.” Called “home geography” in the primary grades, this curriculum emphasized the use of resources in the local community to teach about the social world, in order to provide a foundation for future scholastic work in history, geography, and the then fledgling field of anthropology.

Numerous geography textbooks with many authors were published during the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries, but their narratives about race, culture and colonialism were amazingly consistent, often repeating similar concepts, wording and images for decades, as illustrated later in this report. You can see for yourself; many old geography textbooks are available free on the Internet, providing access to original sources. The University of Pennsylvania’s Online Books Page – Geography Textbooks (https://bit.ly/3PC3W72) and the Library of Congress (www.loc.gov) contain dozens of such books, categorized by type and time period.

In addition to textbooks there are “readers” which contain stories about foreign lands intended for children. For example, James Johonnot’s, A Geographical Reader (1882) and Ellsworth Huntington, Asia; a Geography Reader (1912) include first-hand accounts by Western travellers of visits to foreign countries. Their descriptions are often condescending and racist. For example, Mrs. Favell Lee Mortimer’s exceptionally racist and colonialist books, Far Off; Or, Asia and Australia Described (1852) and Far Off; Or, Africa and America Described (1854), depict the savage and inferior ways of foreign natives, and celebrate Christian missionaries’ efforts to civilize them.
Examples of Typical Geography Textbooks, 1820s-1960
This section includes texts and images from old geography textbooks, presented from oldest to newest.

*Rudiments of Geography; A System of Universal Geography; Modern School Geography (Woodbridge 1826-1866)*


These are a series of geography books and atlases written by William Channing Woodbridge (1794-1845), a scholar, advocate for scientific enlightenment, and evangelical Christian. Woodbridge was prolific; his first geography textbook was published in 1824, and subsequently updated, expanded and renamed, through 1866. Many are available online through Open Library (https://openlibrary.org), Google Books (https://books.google.com) and similar sources. The David Rumsey Map Collection has images from the Atlas (https://bit.ly/3ozwPsC).

These books contained concepts, texts, images and maps which were repeated in subsequent textbooks for the next century. In particular, Woodbridge's textbooks contained sections titled “The Races of Men,” which describe and illustrate human races and “The Stages of Society,” which categorize and rank cultures from savage, barbarous, civilized to enlightened societies. These are the earliest publications with this taxonomy suggesting that Woodbridge initiated these descriptions, which were used in subsequent geography textbooks through the 1930s. The racism in Woodbridge’s books was criticized in a Library of Congress blog, “When ‘Savages’ Roamed the Earth: Maps Perpetuating Bias and Bigotry in the 19th Century” (Klein 2021).

Below are excerpts from Woodbridge’s textbooks. Because the scanned images are poor quality the key texts are transcribed (green background).
### Table 1

Rudiments of Geography, 1826

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race of Men</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>The European race, with features like ours; which includes Europeans and their descendants, with the Moors of Africa, and the people of western Asia and Persia. In cool climates they have light complexions; but in the warm climates of Asia, Africa, and the south of Europe, they are swarthy, or brown. They have straight black hair, small eyes set obliquely, and projecting cheek bones. The inhabitants of the Frigid Zone are like the Mongolians, except that they are dwarfish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>The African race, found in Malacca and some of the Asiatic Islands, of a deep brown colour, with black curled hair, and broad mouths and noses, but otherwise with regular forms and features.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic</td>
<td>The Asiatic or Mongolian race, of a deep yellow, extending over the eastern parts of Asia. They have straight black hair, small eyes set obliquely, and projecting cheek bones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>The Malay race, found in Malacca and some of the Asiatic Islands, of a deep brown colour, with black curled hair, and broad mouths and noses, but otherwise with regular forms and features.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>The American or Indian race, who are chiefly found in America, of a copper colour, with straight black hair, and high cheek bones.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*128. The scriptures inform us, that all these races are brethren of the same family; the children of the same first parents.

*127. The great difference between them has been in part produced by the difference of climate, food, dress, and modes of living; and in part by other causes which we do not fully understand.

*Questions.* How many races of men are there? What is the first race mentioned, and who belong to it? What is their complexion? What is the second race? What are the peculiar features of the Mongolian race? What are the people of the Frigid Zones? Where is the Indian race found, and what are their peculiarities? Describe the Malay race. What is the fifth race? To which race do we belong? Are these races from the same first parents? What has produced the difference?

### Civil Geography

128. Men are found in five different states of society; the savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized, and enlightened.

*129. The state of society depends on the knowledge of the people, their skill in the mechanic arts, such as building, weaving, working in iron, &c. and their manners and customs.*

130. 1st. The savage state is that in which men gain their support chiefly by hunting, fishing, or robbery; dress in skins, and generally live in the open
Woodbridge’s textbooks contained sections titled “The Races of Men” and “The Stages of Society” which categorize and rank societies from savage, barbarous, civilized to enlightened. These are the earliest publications with this taxonomy, suggesting that Woodbridge initiated these descriptions. These concepts and images were used in subsequent geography textbooks through the 1930s.
This text is transcribed below.
### Races of Men

There are five races of men on the earth, distinguished from each other by their features and colour.

1. **The European race**, with features like ours; which includes Europeans and their descendants, with the Moors of Africa, and the people of western Asia and Persia. In cool climates they have light complexions; but in the warm climates of Asia, Africa, and the south of Europe, they are swarthy, or brown.

2. **The Asiatic or Mongolian race**, of a deep yellow, extending over the eastern parts of Asia. They have straight black hair, small eyes set obliquely, and projecting cheek bones. The inhabitants of the Frigid Zone are like the Mongolians, except that they are dwarfish.

3. **The American or Indian race**, who are chiefly found in America, of a copper colour, with straight black hair, and high cheek bones.

4. **The Malay race**, found in Malacca and some of the Asiatic Islands, of a deep brown colour, with black curled hair, and broad mouths and noses, but otherwise with regular forms and features.

5. **The African, or black race**, with flat noses, woolly hair, and thick lips, who are found chiefly in Africa and Australasia.

  *The scriptures inform us, that all these races are brethren of the same family; the children of the same first parents.*

*The great difference between them has been in part produced by the difference of climate, food, dress, and modes of living; and in part by other causes which we do not fully understand.*

### Civilization

Men are found in five different states of society; the savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized, and enlightened.

1. **The savage state** is that in which men gain their support chiefly by hunting, fishing, or robbery; dress in skins, and generally live in the open air, or in miserable huts. (See the engravings for the NORTH WESTERN TERRITORY, SIBERIA, AUSTRALASIA.) They have little knowledge of agriculture or the mechanic arts, and no division of lands, or system of laws. They seldom collect in towns or villages.

2. **The barbarous state** is that in which nations subsist by agriculture, or the pasturage of cattle and sheep, with some knowledge of the mechanic arts. (See the engravings for CIRCASSIA, TARTARY, ARABIA, and SOUTH AFRICA.) Barbarous nations collect in villages, and have some regular forms of government and religion; but they have no written language or books. Savages and barbarians are usually cruel and revengeful, and oblige their women to labour like slaves.

3. **The half-civilized state** is like that of the Chinese, and other nations in the south of Asia, who understand agriculture and many of the arts very well, and have some books and learning, with established laws and religion. Still they treat their women as slaves, and have many other customs like those of barbarous nations.

4. **In the civilized state**, which is found in Poland and South America, the sciences and arts are well understood, especially the art of printing; and females are treated as companions. Many of the customs of those civilized nations which are not enlightened are still barbarous, and most of the people remain in the grossest ignorance.

5. **Enlightened nations** are those in which knowledge is more general, and the sciences and arts are found in the greatest perfection, as in most of the nations of Europe. The degree of civilization of each country is shown in the Chart of the World by several shades, which are there explained.

### Questions

- **What are the different states of society among men?**
- **What is the savage state?** What can you say of the knowledge and customs of savages? What nations of the world are in this state? (See the Chart.)
- **What is the barbarous state?** What are the customs of these nations? What nations are barbarous? What is the general character of savage and barbarous nations? What is the half-civilized state? What knowledge have half-civilized nations? How do they treat their women? What countries are half-civilized? Describe the state of civilized nations. What can you say of their custom and information? What are enlightened nations? In what quarters of the world do you find civilized and enlightened nations? What are those of each class in Europe and America?
Religion
The four prevailing religions of the world are, the Pagan, Mahometan, Christian, and Jewish.

Pagans are those who believe in many false gods, and indifferent nations worship the sun, stars, rivers, idols and even beasts and insects. They often torture themselves, destroy their children, and practise other cruel and wicked rites to please their gods, and obtain the forgiveness of their sins. (See the engravings for HINDOOSTAN, THIBET, TONKIN, and POLYNESIA.)

Pagan countries are distinguished on the Chart of the World by an altar.

Mahometans are those who believe in Mahomet, an impostor in Arabia, who lived 600 years after Christ, and pretended to be inspired. He commanded all his followers to go on a pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca, and to kneel when they came near it. He forbade idolatry and the worship of many gods. But he allowed some crimes, and promised the faithful a sensual paradise hereafter. Mahometan countries are distinguished on the Chart by a cresent, the standard of Mahomet.

Christians are those who believe in Jesus Christ, as the Saviour.

There are three great divisions of Christians Catholic, Greek, and Protestant Christians, each having peculiar doctrines and modes of worship.

Protestants are divided into various sects, of which the principal are Lutherans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and Friends, or Quakers.

The Jews are a people scattered among all nations, who believe in the Old Testament only, and expect a Saviour yet to come.

It is supposed that there are more than 700 millions of people on the earth. Of these 400 millions are Pagans; 200 millions, Christians; 90 or 100 millions, Mahometans; and 8 or 10 millions, Jews.

The savage, barbarous, and half-civilized nations of the world, are either Pagans, or Mahometans. The Absinians profess to be Christians, but their religion is very corrupt.

Little settlements have been formed in many Pagan countries, called missionary stations, and missionaries have been sent to civilize and instruct the people, by different sects of Christians. Some tribes have thus been led to embrace Christianity, and have learned the arts of civilization. Christian countries are distinguished on the Chart of the World by a light cross, with the letter C, G, or P, near it to indicate Catholic, Greek, or Protestant Christians. Missionary stations are denoted by a dark cross.

Questions. What are the prevailing religions of the world? What are Pagans? What can you say of their rites? What countries of the world are chiefly Pagan? (See the Chart.) What are Mahometans? What pilgrimage did Mahomet require of his followers? What did he forbid, and what did he promise? In what countries of the world are Mahometans chiefly found? (See the Chart.) What are Christians? What are the great divisions of Christians? What countries of America and Europe are Catholic? What parts of Europe have the Greek religion? How are Protestants divided? What are the Protestant countries of Europe and America? What are Jews? What is supposed to be the number in the world of each religion? What is the religion of the savage, barbarous, and half-civilized nations? What has been done to instruct Pagan nations? What effect has been produced?
Figure 2  “Chart of the World Exhibiting the Prevailing Religion, Government, Degree of Civilization and Number of Inhabitants of each Country”, 1827 (David Rumsey Map Collection)

This chart of the world from the 1827 atlas illustrates prevailing religions, governments, degree of civilization and number of inhabitants in various regions. Woodbridge’s textbooks reference this and other maps.

Figure 3  Novel Cultural Features

Like many old geography books, Woodbridge’s textbooks describe non-European cultures as strange, dangerous and immoral.
Figure 4  Moral & Political Chart of the Inhabited World: Exhibiting the Prevailing Religion, Form of Government, Degree of Civilization, and Population of each Country (Woodbridge 1831)

This world map published in 1831 identifies the population, religion, form of government, and state of civilization of countries around the world. “State of civilization” ranges from savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized and enlightened. These categories were commonly used for the next century until about 1940.

Figure 5  More Novel Cultural Features

Non-European cultures are described as strange, dangerous and immoral.
**Table 2** Elementary Geography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q. What are Zones?</th>
<th>A. Divisions of the earth’s surface formed by the Tropics and Polar circles. The word Zone means a belt, or girdle, because it passes round the earth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q. How many Zones are there?</td>
<td>A. Five, viz. one torrid, two temperate, and two frigid zones.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Torrid Zone embraces that part of the earth’s surface which lies on both sides of the Equator, between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn. This is called the torrid zone, on account of its great heat. Snow and ice are never seen there except on the tops of the highest mountains. It is noted for its productions, both animal and vegetable. This is the home of the lion, tiger, giraffe, hippopotamus and elephant. The forests are clothed in perpetual verdure, and often the ripe fruit and opening blossom hang side by side on the same tree. The inhabitants are of a dark complexion, indolent, and effeminate. They live usually in slightly built dwellings.

The Temperate Zones embrace those parts of the earth’s surface which lie between the Tropics and Polar Circles. The zone which lies between the Tropic of Cancer and the Arctic Circle is called the North Temperate Zone. The other, between the Tropic of Capricorn and the Antarctic Circle, the South Temperate Zone. These zones are called Temperate, because the climate is mild and pleasant. The people have fair complexions, and in the northern temperate zone, they are noted for industry, intelligence and energy, and for having ever led the way in human improvement and civilization.

The Frigid Zones embrace those parts of the earth’s surface which lie between the Polar Circles and the Poles. They are called frigid, from the intense cold which prevails there for the greater part of the year. Vegetation is confined to mosses, a few stunted trees, shrubs and grasses. Only the hardiest animals, as the reindeer, whitebear, musk ox, and a few others, can find subsistence in these icy regions. The inhabitants are few in number, of low stature, swarthy complexions, and are noted for their ignorance and stupidity.

Questions. How many zones are there? What part of the earth’s surface does the Torrid Zone embrace? The North Temperate? North Frigid? In which zone are we? In which zone are the people most industrious, intelligent and persevering?
THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH (p. 16)
Q. Do all the nations of the earth resemble each other?
A. They do not. They differ in their complexion, in the language they speak, in their dress, their food, and in their manners and customs.

The various nations are divided into five races, viz. The European, The Asiatic, — The Malay, — The African, — and The American.
1. The European race has regular features and a fair complexion. It includes the Europeans and their descendants in America, Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Persians, Hindoos, Abyssinians, Egyptians and Moors.
2. The Asiatic race has a yellow complexion, and includes the Chinese, Japanese, the Siberian tribes, Laplanders, Greenlanders, and Esquimaux Indians.
3. The Malay race has a brown complexion, and includes the inhabitants of Malay, the Asiatic islands and New Zealand.
4. The African race has a black complexion and includes the Negroes of Africa.
5. The American race has a copper colored complexion, and includes all the Indians of America, except the Esquimaux.

STATE OF SOCIETY (p. 17)
Q. With respect to their social state, into how many classes may men be divided?
A. Into four, viz. the savage, half-civilized, civilized and enlightened. See symbols on the map of the world.
1. In the savage state, men usually live by hunting and fishing. Their wants are few, and they live almost like beasts, in miserable huts, dens, and caverns. They are generally blood-thirsty and revengeful, — as the American Indians.
2. In the half-civilized state, men subsist by pasturage and a rude kind of agriculture. Some, however, live in tents, and wander from place to place with their flocks and herds; others live by piracy and robbery as — the Arabs and Malays.
3. In the civilized state, men are acquainted with many of the arts and sciences, and subsist by agriculture, manufactures and commerce, as — the Chinese.
4. In the enlightened state, men are noted for intelligence, enterprise and industry. The arts and sciences are carried to a high degree of perfection, and all the arrangements of society are in a highly improved form, — as in the United States, France, &c.
Greenland and Iceland (p. 26)
Greenland is one of the coldest countries on the globe, a region of ice and snow. It has but two seasons,—a winter of nine months, and a summer of three. Nothing grows there, but a few mosses, stunted shrubs and grasses. The principal animals are white bears, reindeer, and dogs. The Greenlanders are similar to the Esquimaux Indians. They are of a dwarfish size, good natured, but dull, indolent and extremely filthy. The hunting of the seal constitutes their chief business and amusement.

Iceland is a cold, rough and barren island, noted for its volcano and hot springs, called Geysers. The people are moral, industrious, able to read and write,—kind, contented and happy. They prefer their own country to all others. Iceland is considered as belonging to Europe, and is subject to Denmark.

Esquimaux Indians (p. 30)
What singular race of people inhabit the whole northern coast of America, from the gulf of St. Lawrence to Behring’s strait? The Esquimaux Indians. The Esquimaux in appearance, character and habits, resemble the Greenlanders. They are small, ignorant, filthy and stupid, but are a harmless, gentle and cheerful race. They live on fish, seals and sea fowl, and anything else they can obtain for food. They are by no means particular in regard to their diet. They have a fine kind of dogs which are trained to draw their sledges, or sleds, over the snow. See the picture on the map. In winter they live in huts made of cakes of ice, or frozen snow. These are of a circular form, and are not only commodious, but even comfortable. When we look at the regions inhabited by the Esquimaux, the climate, the productions, &c. we feel that their condition would be improved by a removal to almost any other country on the globe, and yet, when any of them have been carried to England, or France, and treated with the greatest kindness, they have pined to go back.

Asia (p. 83)
What can you say of the countries and nations of Asia? A. Siberia is the largest, China the most populous, Hindostan the most fertile, Arabia the most barren. The Chinese are the most industrious nation, the Hindoos the most mild, the Tartars the most warlike, the Arabians the most barbarous, and the Persians the most learned.

Africa (p. 85)
Q. How is Africa situated for commercial pursuits?
A. It is more favorably situated than any other grand division of the globe. Placed almost in the centre of the world, it enjoys an easy communication with Europe, Asia and America. It is surrounded on all sides by navigable waters, of easy access, and abounds in all the necessaries and luxuries of life. Its coasts have been sailed round for centuries and even surveyed, and yet we know but little more of the interior than did the ancients three thousand years ago. It is the least known, the least civilized, and the least important of the five grand divisions of the globe.
Mitchell’s School Geography (1854)
This textbook describes current knowledge of the world. It identifies five races of men (European or Caucasian [White], Asian or Mongolian [Yellow], American [Red], Malay [Brown], and African or Negro [Black]); and five “stages of society” (savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized and enlightened), based on their progress in knowledge, learning, refinement and mechanical arts. Western countries, particularly “The United States, Britain, France, Switzerland and some of the German states,” are considered enlightened.

**Figure 6** Title Page and “Stages of Society” Illustration

Since this book was published in Philadelphia, it is unsurprising that it ranks the United States among enlightened countries. This cover page includes a plate (left) illustrating the “Stages of Society” which include “savage,” “barbarous,” “half-civilized,” “civilized” and “enlightened.” Positioning this image on the title page indicates that the rating of societies is considered a critical concept. Note that the image was colored, apparently by students, a common practice for maps and atlases at that time.
These pages describe the races of men, which include European or Caucasian (White), Asian or Mongolian (Yellow), American (Red), Malay (Brown), and African or Negro (Black). It asks students, “Which is the most noble of the five races of men?” (to reaffirming the supremacy of Whiteness), to “To which of the races of men do the greater part of the people of the United States belong?” (to racialize the United States as White) and “To which race do you belong?” (to racialize themselves).
Man is the most perfect of the works of God, being created in his own image, and formed by his wisdom to subdue and exercise dominion over all the earth.

From whom has the whole human race descended?
A. From our first parents, Adam and Eve.

What does the human race present?
A. Several varieties, differing greatly from each other in colour, form, and features.

What is the cause of the varieties in the human race?
A. It is probably owning to a difference in climate, food and mode of life, and no doubt partly to causes that we do not understand.

What are the various races of mankind?
A. They are five: the European or Caucasian, Asiatic or Mongolian, American, Malay, and African or Negro.

How may they be classed in regard to their colour?
A. Into the White, Yellow, Red, Brown and Black races.

What nations does the European or White race include?
A. The nations of Europe, Western Asia, the North of Africa, with all the white inhabitants of America and other regions.

What nations does the Asiatic or Yellow race include?
A. All the nations of Eastern Asia (except the Malays of Malacca).

What other nations belong to this race?
A. The Finns and Laplanders of Europe, and the Esquimaux of America.

What constitutes the Copper-coloured or Red race?
A. The Indians of America.

What nations does the Malay or Brown race include?
A. The people of Malacca and Malaysia, with those of Polynesia and New Zealand.

What part of the earth does the African or Black race inhabit?
A. All Western, Central and Southern Africa, with a considerable part of Madagascar and Australasia.

A large number of this race are found in both North and South America, where they are chiefly in a state of slavery.

The European or Caucasian is the most noble of the five races of men. It excels all others in learning and the arts, and includes the most powerful nations of ancient and modern times. The most valuable institutions of society, and the most important and useful inventions, have originated with the people of this race.

Which is the most noble of the five races of men?

In what does it excel all others?

What does it include?

What has originated with the people of this race?

To which of the races of men do the greater part of the people of the United States belong?

To which race do you belong?
The text rates societies from savage to enlightened based on their perceived progress at knowledge, learning, refinement and the mechanical arts. Western countries, particularly “The United States, Britain, France, Switzerland and some of the German states,” are categorized as enlightened.

Non-whites are considered inferior based on claims that they “treat their women as slaves” and “are very jealous of strangers.”
The boxes below repeat the text of these pages in easier-to-read format.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages of Society (pp. 42-44)</th>
<th>How are the half-civilized nations distinguished?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nations live in various stages of society, and their condition is found to depend materially on the progress they have made in knowledge, learning and refinement, and their skill in the mechanical arts.</td>
<td>A. They understand agriculture and many of the arts tolerably well, possess written languages, and have some knowledge of books. They have also established laws and religion, some little foreign commerce but are very jealous of strangers, and treat their women generally as slaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How may nations be divided according to their habits of live and state of improvement?</td>
<td>What nations can be considered as belonging to the half-civilized class?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Into five classes, vis: savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized, and enlightened.</td>
<td>A. China, Japan, Birmah, Siam, Turkey, Persia, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do men live in the savage state?</td>
<td>How are the civilized nations distinguished?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. By hunting, fishing, and on the spontaneous production of the ground. They are generally clad in the skins of wild animals, and reside in miserable huts, or dens, and caves in the earth.</td>
<td>A. The arts and sciences are well understood, and the inhabitants derive their subsistence principally from agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the general character of the savage nations?</td>
<td>What is the condition of the great body of the people in semi-civilized states?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. They are bloodthirsty and revengeful, often eat the flesh of enemies they take in war, and treat their women as slave.</td>
<td>A. They are very ignorant and superstitious, and there is likewise a vast difference between the conditions of the upper and lower classes of society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What degree of knowledge do they possess?</td>
<td>What countries rank among the civilized nations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. They possess little or no knowledge of agriculture, or the mechanical arts, cannot read or write, and are without a regular form of government.</td>
<td>Russia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Mexico, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What nations are examples of this class?</td>
<td>What is the character of the enlightened nations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The nations of Australia, or New Holland, and New Guinea, most of the Indian tribes of North and South America, and the Kamtschatdales or people of Kamtschatka.</td>
<td>A. They are noted for the intelligence, enterprise, and industry of their inhabitants; among them the arts and sciences are carried to a high state of perfection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what manner do barbarous nations live?</td>
<td>How are they otherwise noted?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. By agriculture and the pasturage of cattle, sheep, &amp;c. They understand a few of the most simple arts, and are acquainted with reading and writing only to a limited extent.</td>
<td>A. Females are treated with politeness and respect, the principles of free government are well understood, and education is more general than among other nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What nations are examples of this class?</td>
<td>What nations belong to this class?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. the roving tribes of Tartary, Arabia, Central Africa, and the people of Abyssinia.</td>
<td>A. The United States, Great Britain, France, Switzerland and some of the German States. Enlightened and civilized nations are distinguished by the number and variety of their public buildings and works of national utility; of these colleges, hospitals, libraries, bridges, canals, railroads, &amp;c. are amongst the most prominent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Smith’s First Book in Geography (1855)
Roswell C. Smith (1855), *Smith’s First Book in Geography: An Introductory Geography, Designed for Children*, Daniel Burgess & Co. (Philadelphia), 186 pages; at [www.loc.gov/item/05028352](http://www.loc.gov/item/05028352) and [https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011607952](https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011607952). This textbook includes general geographic concepts, with descriptions of countries and peoples, many based on racist stereotypes. It reflects a United States perspective, highlighting its cultural and political advantages. It’s assessments of foreign cultures are often racist, but sometimes positive. For example, “The Chinese Empire is inhabited by an ingenious people, whose chief articles of exportation are tea and silks.” (p. 135)

The Committee of the Ward Schools, New York states that:

> They are satisfied that, of all the works upon this branch of science, this is the best. The author’s aim seems to have been, to make a simple, comprehensive, and useful treatise for beginners, and they think he has happily succeeded. The questions are judiciously arranged, and the answers give the general and important divisions of the globe, with the particular localities of all important places, together with a knowledge of the state of Society, habits and customs of the different races of men.

**Figure 9** Title Page with Illustrated Plate

This textbook includes descriptions of countries and peoples, many based on limited knowledge and racist stereotypes. It reflects a United States perspective, highlighting its cultural and political advantages.
This textbook teaches literal interpretation of the Christian bible.

The peoples of South America are described as, “not remarkable for enterprise or intelligence.”

People of Africa are described as, “generally idolaters or pagans, and show little signs of intelligence.”
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

Figure 12  Zones of the Earth (p. 170-171)

Inhabitants of the “torrid” and “frigid” zones are described as dark-colored, passionate, ignorant and indolent, in contrast to fair, robust, intelligent and industrious temperate zone inhabitants.

Figure 13  The Races of Men

New England is “distinguished for the intelligence and enterprise of its inhabitants, and its valuable system of common schools.” It shows Indians attacking White settlers.

The back cover includes this illustration of the five races of men: European, Chinese, Malay, Indian and African.
Modern School Geography (1864)
Colton and Fitch (1867), *Modern School Geography*, Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman & Co. (New York), 136 pages; at [https://bit.ly/3ASFRok](https://bit.ly/3ASFRok). This affordable geography textbook was written for “Common Schools” in the United States. It is designed to embrace all of the important facts and principles of the science. It describes the geography theory, includes a section on the races and conditions of man, and contains numerous maps.

*Figure 14*  Title Page

![Colton and Fitch's Modern School Geography](image)
This textbook identifies five races (Caucasian or Europeans [white], Mongolian or Asiatic [yellow], Negro or African [black], Malayan [brown], and American or Indian [red]) plus four stages of society (savage, barbarous, half-civilized, and civilized).
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

The box below contains transcriptions of the key text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Races and Conditions of Men (p. 11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>How many distinct Races of men are there?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Five, the Caucasian or European; Mongolian, or Asiatic; Negro, or African; Malayan; and American, or Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What is the peculiar Color of each Race?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The Caucasian, white; Mongolian, yellow; Negro, black; Malayan, brown; American, red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What are the four principal states of society?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Savage, barbarous, half-civilized, and civilized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What characterizes the savage state?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The people in this state live chiefly by hunting, fishing, and plunder; are generally at war; have no literature; and look upon their women as inferior beings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How do men live in the barbarous state?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Principally by pasturage and rude agriculture. People in this state usually live in tents, and wonder from place to place with their herds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What are the characteristics of Half-civilized nations?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. They excel at many of the useful arts, have little foreign commerce, are jealous of strangers, and make slow progress in literature and science.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>For what are Civilized nations distinguished?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. For rapid advances in science, literature, and the useful arts; superior social and religious advantages; and the general diffusion of knowledge.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note – The degree of civilization to which a nation has arrived, can generally be estimated by the social position of women.
Natural Advanced Geography (1898)

**Figure 16** Title Page
Figure 17  Races of Men – Introduction (p. 32)

This describes man as similar to other animals in our physical needs, but superior in intelligence.
This page describes how adaptations to various environments resulted in diverse races and types of men. Notably, the “Aryan” image depicts a famous inventor (Thomas Edison), while the others are depicted in foreign clothing. The “Aryan people” image is labeled, “From the United States”, racializing the country.
This page categorizes races by their material progress from savagery to barbarianism and civilization.
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

Figure 20  Expansion of Culture (p. 35)

This page describes the positive attributes of civilization, and provides maps which illustrate the gradual expansion of civilization from Europe to the rest of the world. By depicting the “known world” over time, it teaches students how to define themselves as subjects of European knowledge.
The boxes below contain transcriptions of the key texts.

### Races and Culture of Man (pp. 32-35)

**Distribution of Mankind.**

In some respects man is like other animals. Like them he must have air to breathe a certain amount of heat water to drink and food to eat. But he is vastly superior to them all in *intelligence*.

His intelligence taught him how to start fire so as to warm when he is cold; to make tools with which to fashion clothing and a shelter protect himself from weather; and to make weapons with which secure food. His also gives him foresight to lay up food summer for use during the winter or to carry food with him when he travels to regions that do not supply it. Hence the natural barriers to other forms of life are not great barriers to man. Men live in nearly all the lands of the earth from the torrid to the frigid zones.

It is believed that many ages ago men gradually wandered away in various directions from some central region and made homes for themselves in new lands and thus peopled the earth. The people who wandered to different parts of the earth found very different surroundings, to which their descendants gradually adapted themselves just as the descendants of plants and animals gradually change and adapt themselves to changing conditions of life. Thus would arise different races and types of men in each of which the people resemble one another in manners and customs and, in a general way, in appearance while they differ more or less in these particulars from the people of other races and types.

**Races**

Mankind may be divided into three principal races in each of which the people resemble one another somewhat in color of the skin and in the kind of hair three races may be called the white race the yellow race and the black race.

**White Race.** The home of the white or “Caucasian” race is Europe southwestern Asia and northern Africa. The people have wavy hair, which may be light or dark in color. Most of the people have pinkish white skin, though some are quite dark. This race includes nearly half the people in the world and is the most civilized of all the races.

The principal division of this race is the *Mediterranean* type to which we belong. The home of this type is the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, western Europe, and southern Asia as far east as the mouth of the Ganges. The two principal peoples of this type are the *Aryans* embracing the Hindus and the Persians of southern Asia and most Europeans together with their descendants in all parts of the world; and the *Semitic* people embracing the Jews, Arabs and Berbers south and southeast of the Mediterranean Sea together with their descendants. The Aryan people are rapidly increasing in numbers. In recent times thousands of them have left Europe to found homes for themselves in each of the other grand divisions, and these new settlers have practically taken possession of North and South America and of Australia and are rapidly taking possession of Africa.

**Yellow Race**

The home of the yellow race is northern and eastern Eurasia America and most of the islands the Pacific. The hair is straight and black and the skin yellowish or yellowish red. The people the yellow race are about as numerous as those of the white race but are not so highly civilized. The principal and by far the most numerous type of this race is the *Mongolian*, the people of which in addition to the yellow skin, are distinguished by narrow almond shaped eyes. This type occupies nearly the whole of northern, central and eastern Asia.

The *Malays* form a second type of this race. They are often called the brown race because of their reddish yellow or copper colored skin. They are not so
reasonable. Many of them were savages, though some tribes in the western highlands of both North and South America were much more advanced.

**Black Race** The home of the black race is central and southern Africa, and some of the Australian islands. The people of this race have coarse woolly or kinky hair, protruding lips, and dark brown or black skin. The black race includes about one tenth of the people in the world, and is the least civilized of all the races.

The *negroes* whose home is central Africa form the principal type of this race, while the small Natives of Papuan type includes the savages of New Guinea and some other Australian islands. The natives of Australia itself have black skin but straight hair and by some are called a separate race.

**Man's Culture**

**The Progress of Man.** Man is constantly learning how to make things and to do things which enable him to live more comfortably. We have many conveniences nowadays such as the electric light, railroads, sewing machines, and hundreds of other common things which were entirely unknown when our grandparents were children. Name several others. A few hundred years ago the art of printing was unknown; the only books which then existed were written by hand and comparatively few people knew how to read. Some of these old books were histories from which we learn how people lived at that time. A few thousand years ago no one in the world had yet learned how to write, and we know very little of how people then lived since they left no written record of anything. Still it is certain that people lived long before that, because in rock deposits that are many thousands of years old we find things that must have been made by men such as stone arrowheads, stone axes, bits of pottery, and pieces of reindeer horn with rude pictures scratched on them.

**Savagery.** We therefore conclude that at one time many thousands of years ago all or nearly all people were more ignorant than the most savage tribes now living. They probably did not know how to make anything but lived in caves wore no clothing, and ate only fruits nuts roots, and such insects as they could catch, and such small animals as they could kill with clubs and stones. At last, some one may have learned how to tie a sharp stone on the end of a stick and thus make a spear with which to spear fish or kill animals. Then some one may have learned that sticks rubbed together will get hot and at last burn thus starting a fire. The most ignorant tribes in Australia today do not know how to do much more than this. Gradually some of the early men invented bows and arrows discovered how to chip stones rudely into shape for arrowheads and axes, and learned how to make a canoe by hollowing out a log with fire and stone scrapers.

Each of these discoveries enabled people to live more comfortably than before. People who have not learned how to do much more than this are savages. Some tribes in Africa and some of the most ignorant tribes of the American Indians are scarcely more advanced than this today.

**Barbarism.** The next important step in the progress of man seems to have been the learning how to make rude pottery, by roughly shaping bowls and other vessels of soft clay, and baking them hard by fire. In Eurasia where there were wild horses and many kinds of wild cattle, sheep, and goats, men gradually learned how to tame and domesticate these animals, and to cultivate several kinds of grain, while in America men learned how to plant and raise corn, which is perhaps the easiest of all grains to cultivate.

With their increasing knowledge the more advanced races gradually learned how to improve their tools and weapons. They smoothed and polished their rough stone arrowheads and spearheads and axes, made fishhooks of bone, and rough needles with which they could sew together the skins of animals for clothing. Then some one found copper in the earth and discovered that it was soft enough to be hammered into the proper...
shape for ornaments, while some one else found tin and discovered that both tin and copper would melt and when melted together would cool into a very hard metal bronze. Out of this metal the people molded tools that were a great improvement on their old stone and bone implements. With these tools they learned to quarry and roughly to shape stone to make houses while some one else learned how to make bricks from clay. They also twisted the stringy fibers of plants into rude threads and wove them into a coarse cloth. Finally those interested in working metals found out how to get iron from the minerals or ores in which it is found in the earth and soon learned some of the many uses of this metal.

Though no one in the world had yet learned how to write and hence every one was ignorant in comparison with the people we know, still the people who knew how to do some or all of these things could live much more comfortably than the savage tribes.

People who have advanced far enough to make pottery, to have domestic animals, or some cultivated plants, and to know something of the use of the metals, but who have not yet learned to write are said to be in the condition of barbarism. Very many of the negro tribes of Africa and the Mongolian tribes of northern Asia are barbarians to day.

Nearly all the Indians who lived in the eastern part of North America when it was first visited by white men knew how to make pottery and to cultivate corn, while some of the Indians living in the western highlands had advanced nearly through the highest stage of barbarism.

Civilization When men at last learned to write and were thus able to leave records of what they did and thought, they had advanced to a stage that may be called the beginning of civilization. The greater part of the Mongolian type have reached the beginning of civilization, but have not progressed far beyond it. The greater part of the Mediterranean type and especially its great Aryan branch have continued to improve and are still making inventions and discoveries and these people form the enlightened nations of to day. The knowledge of the arts of navigation, of printing, of architecture, the discoveries of nature’s laws, and the application of steam and electricity to the needs of man mark the highest stage to which he has advanced. Mention any other discoveries which belong to the age of civilization.

The maps above indicate the gradual growth of man’s knowledge of the world after he became civilized enough to leave a record of what he knew upon the subject. From the first map tell in what part of the world man first became civilized enough to leave such a record. What parts of the world next became known to civilized man. What great geographical discovery was made about 400 years ago? Why are the later maps surrounded by circles while the earlier ones are not? What part of the world is still unknown?

Supplementary Work Bring to school or describe any implements or utensils used in your ancestors time and tell what improvements have been made since then. Bring to the school collection any stone spearheads arrowheads pipes or other stone implements which you or your friends may have found in the fields near your home. Read chapter 14 of McMaster’s School History of the United States.
New Geography of the World (1904)

**Figure 21** Title Page

![Title Page](image)

**Figure 22** The Continent of Europe

*This geography book describes Europe as, “although inferior as regards mere area, it is by far the most important Continent in the world.”*
Figure 23  Title Page

A SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WORLD

BY
LIONEL W. LYDE
M.A., F.R.S.G.S.
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

FIFTH EDITION
(COMPLETING TWENTY-FIRST THOUSAND)

LONDON
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK
1907
The “Population” section highlights the violence and poverty of traditional cultures and economies.
Population.

1. Men live together in groups by nature and by necessity—because they like company, and because they cannot supply all their own wants.

   1. Necessity has been the more influential cause. The desire for company is easily satisfied, but trade and defence need numbers; and trade depends on the unequal distribution of commodities in different parts of the world, and the possibility of, and facilities for, transporting them safely from one place to another.

2. The character of the group depends on the character of the country. Cf. p. 369.

   1. For instance, amongst hunting tribes every man is his neighbour’s enemy; from the nature of his occupation he prefers to follow it alone, and therefore his progress in civilization is very slow. In a land where there was no domestic animal which gave milk, and no grass out of which bread could be made, the Australian Black became a houseless cannibal; the Eskimo, living in a cold desert, not a hot one, has to build a house of ice, and to make weapons out of the bones, clothes out of the skins, fuel out of the fat, food out the flesh, of animals slaughtered in the chase.

   2. The Bedouin and the Lapp represent a great advance. Both have a domestic animal which provides food, clothing, and transport—the camel and the reindeer; both have besides a staple food—dates and fish; both are nomads, though the one wanders mainly in other people’s business and the other for his own food; both are traders, though the one collects furs on the outskirts of the world, while the other trades through the heart of it to rich lands on either side; both depend for nothing on outside supplies, and despise the slavish tiller of the soil.

   3. Like the Lapp, a fisherman is a hunter, engaged in destroying the resources of nature instead of increasing them; but, like the Arab, he is also a trader. His boat is his camel (‘ship of the desert’); and, as he leaves his womenkind to look after the homestead while he is away on his trading or his raids, much power passes into the hands of women. Then, too, a perishable raw material, e.g. fish, will give birth to a local industry, e.g. fish-curing.
2. Climatic conditions also affect the distribution of population. A surplus population, finding a climate similar to that of their mother-country—with similar vegetation and conditions of human life—will form Colonies of Settlement, e.g. Canada; where the conditions of life are so different as to be prohibitive of such settlement, there may still be Colonies of Exploitation or Trade, e.g. Tropical Africa.

3. In Colonies of Settlement the harbours are of relatively less importance than in Exploitation Colonies; e.g. Halifax (N.S.) is relatively less important than Singapore.

4. The essentials of a really valuable harbour are:—
   1. A large, deep, safe anchorage, e.g. Walvisch Bay contrasted with Port Elizabeth.
   2. Easy access from the ocean in any weather or at any state of the tide, e.g. Sydney (N.S.W.) contrasted with Durban.
   3. Easy communication inland, e.g. Montreal contrasted with Bombay.
   4. Facilities for coaling, e.g. Esquimalt contrasted with Melbourne.
   5. Rich land or dense population behind the harbour, to give certainty of return cargo without delay or difficulty, e.g. Calcutta contrasted with Trincomali.
   6. Freedom from heavy duties and other ‘uneconomic’ disabilities, e.g. Hong-Kong and Halifax.
   7. Protection of situation or fortifications, e.g. Gibraltar or Aden.

This section highlights the importance of trade and therefore transportation. The examples described are all of British Empire harbors, indicating to student the importance of these colonial projects.
School Geography of the World (1911)

Figure 27 Title Page
This page discusses how people have been affected by, adapted to, and modified our environments.
Figure 29  Races

This textbook identifies six races, Caucasian (White), Mongolian (Yellow), Negro or African (Black), Malay (Brown), Australian (grayish black), and American Indian (copper-colored), plus three conditions of society, hunter (lowest), pastoral, and farming (highest). It uses concepts of evolution to argue that, by living in temperate climates the White race “surpasses the other races in intellectual power, in activity, and in energy of character, and it has been the dominant race from the earliest of times.”
The book teaches that all British subjects live under the rule of a law which does not differentiate “between the settler and the native”, reinforcing the belief that there is in fact no racial prejudice or inequality in the Empire at an institutional level. British Supremacy is taught as universally beneficial to all recipients, using examples of water management in India and malaria eradication in West Africa.

It states that, “The courage and enterprise of the Briton have their due effect on the subject Eastern races, and prove successful in the struggle with new and unbroken lands...” and highlights the benefits that British institutions and technologies provide to native residents. It
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

Advanced Geography (1916)

This textbook includes geographic concepts and descriptions of places around the world. Although it has no explicitly stated racist hierarchy, it describes the races in various regions, some of which are called “savages” and “barbarians,” and highlights the benefits provided by British colonialism, as illustrated in these examples.

**Figure 31  Advanced Geography - Europe**

Europe is described as “surpassing the other continents in its population, commerce and wealth.”
This describes European races and highlights the benefits of Christianity, which “served more than anything else to soften savage customs, to do away with slavery, and to create respect for the law and the rights of others.”
This page describes the benefits of British rule, which it claims has increased production and trade tremendously. ("foreign trade has been multiplied a hundredfold"). Transportation and education are emphasized as being benevolent works of British colonization. In this context race and colonial narratives support each other: Blackness is marked as undeveloped due to local xenophobia ("conflicting races and religious has been a serious problem"), and White colonization as benevolent and harmonious.
Figure 34  Advanced Geography – Africa

Like many old geography texts, this book highlights and illustrates exotic cultural features and activities.
Australian natives are described as “short”, “dark brown or black.” “savages of a low order,” while New Zealand Maoris are “strong and intelligent,” but both are described as decreasing in number, with the implication that they will soon disappear.
Ontario Public School Geography (1922)
Minister of Education for Ontario (1922), *Ontario Public School Geography*, W.J. Gage & Co. (Toronto), 256 pages; at [https://archive.org/details/ontariopublicsch00onta/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater](https://archive.org/details/ontariopublicsch00onta/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater). This textbook includes descriptions of places, starting with Canada and expanding around the world, with emphasis on industrial and commercial activities. It includes descriptions of various cultures based on their livelihoods, such as “Men who live by hunting and fishing,” “Men who live by lumbering and mining,” and “How man obtains food from the soil.”

Although it does not apply a specific racial hierarchy, as was common in previous textbooks, it does describe Europe as more civilized and important than other continents, Europeans as intelligent and industrious, and Britain as a benevolent ruler. For example, it explains that Britain a great trading nation because of “her methods of managing and developing her colonies, especially in the less civilized parts of the world. She has never tried to exploit ignorant savages, but has treated them with kindness and justice, so that they have benefited by her rule.” (p. 167).

This was the standard geography textbook used in Ontario, Canada for many years. Although it does not apply a racial hierarchy, it does describe some peoples, mostly European, as particularly intelligent and industrious.
Japanese are described as artistic, industrial and skillful, and “the most intelligent and enterprising of the Eastern peoples.” Their imagined racial superiority is connected to how they are integrated into EuroAmerica educational institutions: “The young men are sent to Europe or to America to be educated” and how those educations result in public and technical works like railways, factories, and schools. While not stated in racial terminology, the interwar period marked a trend in EuroAmerican textbooks of racializing Japan as White or as nearly White through cultural terminology.
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

Figure 37  Ontario Public School Geography – The British Empire

This textbook highlights the size, power and benefits of the British Empire. It emphasizes the British Empire as multi-racial (“all the races of the world”), repeating the racial hierarchy found also in Anglo-American texts of the past (“from the lowest and most degraded savage to the finest type of the highest civilization”) and relates this to geographic and ecological diversity (“There is every variety of climate” and “every type of plant grows”).
Figure 38  New Pictorial Atlas of the World – Asia

The largest rivers of Asia are as follows: flowing northward to the Arctic Ocean, the Ob, Yenisei, and Lena; flowing eastward to the Pacific, the Amur, Hwang Ho, and Yangtze-Kiang; flowing southward, the Mekong or Cambodia, the Ganges, Indus, and Euphrates. The largest lakes are Baikal, Balkhash (salt), Aral Sea (salt), and the two great inland seas, the Caspian and the Black. The Dead Sea in Palestine is exceptionally salty, and is also 1,300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean.

India may be described in more detail since it is of great interest to the world at present. On the west and northwest, mountain barriers, broken only by narrow passes, and on the east are highlands or almost impenetrable jungles. Along the valley of the Indus River is the Indus Plain, and along the valley of the Ganges, which has a massive delta in the Sundarbans tract and several marshes, is the Ganges Plain. The Deccan Plateau, bounded by the Malwa Plain and Vindhyas Mountains in the north, and by the Eastern and Western Ghats, respectively, dominates the central part of the Hindustan Peninsula. Between the Malwa Plateau and the Indus Plain is the Thar or Indian Desert. The southeastern coast of India is called the Malabar Coast, and the southeastern lowlands, the Coromandel Coast. Along both coasts, and further inland, are coastal plains. The southernmost point is Cape Comorin. The Gulf of Mannar and Palk Strait separate India from Ceylon, except for a narrow chain of islands called Adam’s Bridge.

Animal and Plant Life: The fauna and flora of Asia, because of its continent’s vast extent and because of the various types of climate, must necessarily vary markedly. The fauna and flora of Java have been described (see Indonesia) as typical of the Malay Archipelago. The fauna and flora of Japan (see index) are also separately described.

Typical animals of Asia are the following: Gibbons, orang-utan, pangolin, mountain barbary, tiger, lion, hyena, antelopes, mosa, rock rats, man, ass, sheep, goats, camels (one-humped and two-humped), oxen, sheep, goats, camels, rhinoceros, cheetah, mouse, deer, hare, squirrel-shrew, lemur, chamois, ibex, zebu, peacock, argali (wild sheep), genet, buffaloes, yak, horses, musk deer, pine marten, sable, chamois, reindeer, gluton, monkeys, raccoon dog, mole, domesticated, and donkey. India is famous for its deadly cobra, with its arch enemy, the mongoose. Plant life corresponds in the north and central part of Asia rather closely to the similar zones of Europe. In the north are birch, larch, and pine in the highlands, and alder, willow, and poplar in the lowlands. The far north, of course, is entirely tundra. The desert regions are naturally sparsely vegetated. The oak and other plant life similar to eastern United States grow extensively in central Asia. The plant life of the mountain plateaus is alpine in character. The tropical jungles contain a profusion of trees, bushes, vines, etc., with many parasitic plants, such as orchids. Teak and sandalwood are typical trees of the tropics. The banana tree is famous for its great size. Numerous species of bamboo are prevalent. The tamarind and tali (tan palm) are also common.

New Pictorial Atlas of the World (1931)
This world atlas contains a combination of color images and maps.

This section describes the diverse races of Asia. It highlights sensational features such as the “notorious” use of blow-guns, tattooing as a “savage art,” wooden drums, headhunting, and “a particular racial liability to homicidal mania called ‘running amuck’.”
Frances Carpenter’s Geography Readers and Folktales (1928-1976)
The innovative Frances Carpenter folklorist, author, photographer, and geographer (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frances_Carpenter) wrote numerous books that provide friendly and respectful information about people (usually children) from other times and places. Below is a list.

- *Children of Our World* (1929)
- *Our Neighbors Near and Far* (1933)

**Figure 39** Our Little Friends…

Frances Carpenter’s geography readers provided friendly and respectful information about foreign people and cultures.
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

An Approach to Geography (1934)

This textbook categorizes cultures into primitive hunters and collectors, nomadic herdsman, agriculture and civilized countries where people live in towns, but no longer uses the terms “savages” or “barbarians.” This discourse of “stages of civilization” reflects the interwar shift from race as biology to race as culture.

Figure 40 An Approach to Geography – Man and the Earth

This chapter highlights how environments and human occupations affect race and culture.
Figure 41  An Approach to Geography – Man and the Earth Continued

AN APPROACH TO GEOGRAPHY

as we know it, is impossible, and the population is always small and scattered.

Nomadic Herdsmen
We have seen that natives of grassland areas in many parts of the world have domesticated hoofed animals, such as horses, cattle, goats, sheep, asses, and camels, to provide milk, meat, and means of transport.

In Africa the cattle thus kept are often of a poor type, and the tribes which keep them are very backward. They are, however, physically superior to the forest-dwellers, and their contests with wild flesh-eating animals make them independent and warlike.

In Asia, on the vast Mongolian plains and tablelands, the Mongol or Tartar herdsmen are more advanced. Their conical tents, made of felts stretched

AN APPROACH TO GEOGRAPHY

over a framework, must be proof against the biting winter winds. Nevertheless, these yurts, as they are called, are easily portable, and may be taken down or erected in twenty minutes. The tribes are always on the move, seeking fresh pastures for their flocks and herds.

A Mongol’s real home is the back of a pony. He is uncomfortable on the ground. His great boots are not adapted for walking, and he is so seldom on foot that to walk a mile is punishment. A Mongol has no respect for a man or woman who cannot ride. . . .

At five or six children begin to do their bit of herding sheep and goats; a few years later they graduate to the care of camels and ponies, work necessitating long hours in the saddle and often nights alone on the desert.1

R. C. Andrews, in the National Geographic Magazine, June 1923.

AN APPROACH TO GEOGRAPHY

The herdsmen of the Arabian deserts lead a similar life, as also did the gauchos of Argentina and the cowboys of North America years ago.

(d) Agriculture
It is only when a particularly favourable spot is discovered for settlement that human beings are able to live a more or less stationary existence. The Israelites of old were nomads of the Syrian Desert before they discovered a region where they could till the land and produce crops of wheat and barley or fruits like grapes and pomegranates.

Agriculture, in fact, is so important in the development of man and in building what we call civilization that the next chapter is devoted entirely to it.

The building of the Temple, the foundation of Jerusalem, and the glories and wonders of Solomon were possible only after the Hebrews had settled

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the land of Canaan and given up their wandering existence.

(d) Conditions in Civilized Countries: the Growth of Towns
The barbarous but simple states of existence which have already been reviewed were also the lot of our own early ancestors in the dawn of history.

Here and in other civilized regions in the world there has been opportunity for further development. Men were not slow to learn that commodities and articles which were plentiful in their own area were perhaps scarce in another region.

People of two or more different environments therefore met together periodically at fairs to exchange their produce. This led to a development of trade on a large scale, and settlements, conveniently situated with regard to routes, became towns of size and importance.

With the invention of machinery and the discovery of the use of coal some of these market-towns attracted still more people, who settled permanently to take part in the new manufactures.

This led to demands for extra food-supplies from abroad and raw materials for the factories.

The wonderful transport inventions of the last century have satisfied these demands and made possible a world-wide exchange of raw materials for manufactures.

In recent years some of these manufacturing and market-towns have grown enormously. Further improvement of means of transport has led to the construction of great suburbs, where the factory-
This section describes how trade, transport and urbanization lead to civilization and its benefits.

**Figure 42** An Approach to Geography – Modern Agriculture

This section describes how British technologies improve agriculture production and distribution, benefitting natives in colonized countries.
Living Across the Seas (1934)
This textbook is intended to introduce geographic concepts, particularly human-natural relationships. It integrates stories and examples to make the subjects interesting and relatable to American students, and encourages students to think about these relationships and produce descriptive graphs and maps. It contains information on individual countries, focusing on physical and economic geography, with limited information about people and their societies. It contains fewer references to race than older texts but reflects a Eurocentric view of the world and highlights the economic benefits of colonialism for colonized peoples. It devotes significant attention to the Soviet Union.

This book emphasizes the ways that geographic location and environments affect economic activity and development. It highlights the benefits of colonialism.
This page describes how East African natives benefit from producing rubber, oil and cacao, for trade. It racializes “White” habitation as a defining aspect of parts of Africa, and presents the relationships between “White” and “native” peoples as harmonious and mutually beneficial.
This page describes Melanesians, called here “Oceanic Negroes,” as almost black, “fierce and warlike”, while Polynesians are “brown in color, and usually more peaceful than the Melanesians.” This is one of the book’s few references to racial characters. This wording encourages students to equate skin color (“almost black” and “Oceanic Negroes”) with xenophobic violence (“fierce and warlike”).
Journeys Near and Far (1934)
L.A. DeWolf (1934), Journeys Near and Far, J.M. Dent and Sons (Toronto), 330 pages. This geography textbook, written by the Director of Rural Education for Nova Scotia,

This 1934 Nova Scotia school geography book describes geographic concepts and places, starting with Nova Scotia and Canada, and expanding out to other parts of the world. It provides detailed descriptions of Canadian communities. It emphasizes economic activities. It states that “We must remember, however, that differences do not imply inferiority” and emphasizes the importance of respecting other cultures. It reflects the shift from biological to cultural understandings of race in Anglo-American geographic education.

Figure 45    Journeys Near and Far – Title Page
This book emphasizes the importance of showing tolerance and respect for different cultures. It states that, “Unthinking people usually believe that that those of other language, religion, and culture are inferior to themselves. We must remember, however, that differences do not imply inferiority. Our thoughts, habits, and beliefs depend upon the accident of birth...From this it does not follow that a person of any given nationality or religion is better or worse than his follow-man of different creed or nationality.” This is itself a counter-discourse to previous racist geography education, and even describes the people who would make those earlier claims as “Unthinking”.

Figure 46  Journeys Near and Far – Tolerance Toward Strangers
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

Collier’s World Atlas and Gazetteer (1938)

This comprehensive atlas provides information about countries and cities around the world, plus basic geographic concepts. The “Physical and Commercial Analysis of the World” chapter contains a section, “Races of Mankind” which provides systematic descriptions and comparisons of races and language groups, such as the table below (original and transcribed).

This book cites various contemporary ethnographic and anthropological sources in Anglo-American academia. It applies these sources to support the theory of evolution and to emphasize the overall unity of humanity when it explains that, “There is no specific difference between the various branches of the human family – no differences, that is, which implies anything in contradiction to the assumption of a common origin. The order Bimana (Latin, two-handed) to which, in scientific classification, man is referred, contains only a single genus and a single species (Homo sapiens).”

However, it also repeats racist statements from older geography books, such as, “The white race comprises the most enlightened and powerful nations of the world, including not only Europeans, wherever found, but also Hindus, Hebrews, and Arabs,” and “In temperament the [American] Indian is phlegmatic. His sight, hearing, and smell are remarkably acute. These, and other attributes of his race, have probably resulted from conditions of the hunter’s life.”

It includes the following table which categorizes various physical features by race.

**Figure 47 Colliers Atlas and Gazetteer – Racial Comparison Table** (p. 121, transcribed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Skull</th>
<th>Hair</th>
<th>Eyes</th>
<th>Nose</th>
<th>Jaws</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>White or swarthy</td>
<td>Two types: the long, index 74, and short 80-90</td>
<td>Straight or wavy; black, brown, flaxen, red</td>
<td>Blue, grey, brown, black; straight; large; round</td>
<td>Narrow, straight, or arched</td>
<td>Orthognathous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolic</td>
<td>Yellowish or brown</td>
<td>Short: index 82 to 90</td>
<td>Black: coarse, lank</td>
<td>Oblique; small, black</td>
<td>Snub or medium</td>
<td>Mesognathous or orthognathous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopic</td>
<td>Black or brown</td>
<td>Long: index 72 to 75</td>
<td>Wooly, Black; flat in transverse section</td>
<td>Round, black, yellowish cornea</td>
<td>Flat or aquiline; broad at the base</td>
<td>Prognathous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayan</td>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>Short: index 80 to 90</td>
<td>Black, lank</td>
<td>Black or dark brown, round</td>
<td>Straight or snub, small</td>
<td>Prognathous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>Coppery or dark brown</td>
<td>Variable: index from 74 to 90</td>
<td>Coarse, lank, black</td>
<td>Small, round, black</td>
<td>Long, arched or aquiline</td>
<td>Mesognathous or prognathous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table provides a pseudoscientific comparison of human races, reflecting contemporary ethnological and anthropological methods that emphasize race as biology. This book also includes some emerging counter-arguments against the biological determinacy of race by claiming a common human origin.
This 1938 atlas includes a section on the “Races of Mankind” which identifies five races: Caucasian or White, Mongolian or Yellow, Ethiopic or Black, Malay or Brown, and American Indian or Red.
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

This atlas includes systematic descriptions of human races and a table comparing skin color, skull shape (craniometry), hair texture and color, eye color, nose shape and jaw shape. It reflects the shift in anthropology from race as biology to race as culture, and uses the term “Ethnic” to describe race.
This copiously illustrated school textbook was written by world-renowned geographer Carl Sauer for elementary school children. It describes Native Americans in North and Central America before the arrival of Europeans. It treats indigenous people with respect and emphasized an ecological perspective. It describes basic geography, history and anthropology concepts. The introduction for teachers, copied below, highlights the diversity of Indigenous cultures, of their mastery of nature, and their importance in American history.

**Figure 50 To the Teacher**

The introduction to teachers emphasizes the diversity and importance of indigenous people.

**Figure 51 What Happened to the Maya**

This quote describes the conquering of Maya people by "greedy and warlike white men," and the damages this did to indigenous people and culture.
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

The Teaching of the Social Sciences in a Changing World (1942)

This college textbook discusses why and how to teach social sciences, including history, geography, government and “intelligent patriotism” to American children. It emphasizes progressive teaching perspectives, methods and subjects. It justifies and defends teaching these subjects, and encourages teachers to make them relevant and interesting to students.

It highlights the importance of teaching good citizenship and tolerance, explaining, “The American way of life is one in which each person is given an opportunity of pursuing his own ambitions and interests, so long as he keeps in mind his social responsibilities and does not interfere with the general welfare of others. The true American is one who is willing to listen to his fellow men and abide by the will of the majority, since he knows that his success and happiness are closely related to the success and happiness of others.”

It emphasizes the importance of learning about and appreciating foreign cultures, and encourages teachers to teach about local current events and take students on excursions to other communities. It states that “If history is taught correctly, pupils should gradually come to have a friendly feeling for peoples in all parts of the world.” (p. 25). It includes a section titled, An Intelligent and Friendly Understanding of People, which states, “Probably the lack of an intelligent and sympathetic feeling for other people is one of the chief causes why some countries make war on other counties.” (p. 40) and “For example, some people in our own country think of the Chinese as being queer people just because they do not do certain things as we do them. However, when we learn that the Chinese were the first people to use silk, tea, paper, gunpowder, the compass and many other common articles, we realize that the Chinese are a wonderful people and our respect for them increases.” (p. 42).

Although it reflects a progressive and tolerant perspective for its time, it contains subtle racism and colonialism by highlighting western cultural superiority. For example, it states “the United States has had the same physical geography for thousands of years, yet the Indians never advanced very far in using the land. They hunted and fished, and carried on primitive farming. They never developed the land as it was developed after the coming of the white man.” (p. 35)

Like most publications of the time, this book is sexist; it uses the term “man” to refer to people. It was written by a man for what was probably largely a female audience of social studies teachers, whose pupils were probably about half female.
Seeing Our World (1955)
L.H. Adair and T.J. Sanderson (1955), Seeing Our World, Ryerson Press (Toronto), 152 pages. This is an example of children's geography textbooks and readers that are clearly intended to encourage respect for foreign cultures. The first three chapters explain basic geographic concepts and terms; the majority of the book consists of stories describing a typical Canadian child’s visit to six regions (Northern Canada, Peru, Brazil, Egypt, The Netherlands and Japan) and their friendly interactions with local children. The descriptions are positive and respectful, while emphasizing exoticized differences that contrast with “normal” Canadian Whiteness. Of particular note is the inclusion of Japan just a decade after the end of World War II, suggesting that the authors wanted to teach students to overcome anti-Japanese prejudices.

Figure 52  Seeing Our World – Title Page
This book offers a positive and friendly view of foreign cultures.

Figure 53  Seeing Our World – Inside Cover
This book provides basic geographic concepts and definitions, and describes the lives of children in six communities including northern Canada, Peru, Brazil, The Netherlands, Egypt and Japan.
The chapter on Japan is respectful and friendly despite being written just a decade after World War II.

The tone of this book indicates that by the 1950s educators valued cultural diversity and respect.
**Geography Readers**

Geography readers use stories to describe foreign cultures and people. Some respected foreign people and cultures (see Frances Carpenter), but others were racist and colonialist. A good example is Florence A. Tapsell’s 1915 book, *The Land of Sugar-Cane (Jamaica & Cuba)*, one of the “Little People in Far-Off Lands” readers, intended to introduce children to foreign cultures. It was racist and condescending, as illustrated below. For example, it includes the following quotes:

> “Many of the negroes who live in the hill-country of Jamaica, will never do a stroke of work if they can help it. So long as one of this sort has just enough to live upon, and a wife to work for him, he is quite content to do nothing at all, sleeping away most of his time.” (p. 19).

> “The country people are simple folks, are fond of children, and have kind hearts. They are not always very wise. They do not saving their money, but spend it as soon as they get it, or as soon as they can; yet they are always ready to share what they have with a stranger, or to give to those who are more needy than themselves.” (p. 24).

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**Figure 56 Slavery and Post-Slavery**

This section describes ex-slaves as free and happy, but lazy.
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

Figure 57  Chapter II

The Little Darkies.

1. A merry crew are these little darkies—happy, care-free, ebony mites, dressed, in their early days, in nothing at all, or perhaps in just a short shirt that is not at all in the way if they want to paddle, to make mud pies, or do any of those hundred and one things which children love all the world over.

2. If the sport of the moment is climbing trees, the shirts are slipped off and left at the foot of the tree, leaving the owners as free as the monkeys to climb aloft for banana, coconut, or orange.

3. You do not need to see these little people to know they are in the grove. Their merry voices and shouts of laughter ring out so clear in the still, damp air, that you hear them long before you reach the place where they are at play.

4. Or maybe you hear the strains of some of the sweet old negro songs, for, little and big, the darkies all love to sing. On market days the roads ring with laughter and song, as men, women, and children carry their goods to market. They also dance as they go along the road—dance for the very joy of life and movement in the bright morning air.

5. There is one thing they love even more than dance and song, and that is eating. A little darkie is always ready and eager for his meals. The meal may consist of fruit alone, or of rice, or it may be of salt fish and vegetables cooked in fat; but, whatever it is, the darkies grow easier and the little black faces wear a happy smile, as they watch Mother making it ready.

6. Then they fall to, and in a very little while there is not so much as a single scrap of food to be seen. Bones are picked as clean as clean

This chapter describes Jamaican children — “darkies” — as happy but dishonest and thieving.
Racism and Colonialism in Geography Textbooks, 1820s to 1950s
Todd Litman

Analysis
The following table summarizes these books’ descriptions of race and culture, with representative quotes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Race and Culture Descriptions</th>
<th>Representative Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td><em>Rudiments of Geography</em> (William C. Woodbridge)</td>
<td>There are five races of men on the earth, distinguished from each other by their features and colour. The European race, with features like ours; the Asiatic or Mongolian race, of a deep yellow; the American or Indian race; the Malay race, found in Malacca and some of the Asiatic Islands, of a deep brown colour; and the African, or black race, with flat noses, woolly hair, and thick lips. Men are found in five different states of society; the savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized, and enlightened.</td>
<td>“Savages and barbarians are usually cruel and revengeful, and oblige their women to labour like slaves.” (p. 47) “Many of the customs of those civilized nations which are not enlightened are still barbarous, and most of the people remain in the grossest ignorance.” (p. 49) “Enlightened nations are those in which knowledge is more general, and the sciences and arts are found in the greatest perfection, as in most of the nations of Europe.” (p. 49) “Pagans are those who believe in many false gods, and indifferent nations worship the sun, stars, rivers, idols and even beasts and insects. They often torture themselves, destroy their children, and practise other cruel and wicked rites to please their gods, and obtain the forgiveness of their sins.” (p. 51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td><em>Elementary Geography</em> (J. Olney)</td>
<td>The various nations are divided into five races, viz. The European, The Asiatic,—The Malay,—The African,—and The American.</td>
<td>Torrid zone inhabitants “are of a dark complexion, indolent, and effeminate. They live usually in slightly built dwellings.” Temperate zone inhabitants, “have fair complexions, and in the northern temperate zone, they are noted for industry, intelligence and energy, and for having ever led the way in human improvement and civilization.” Frigid zone inhabitants “are few in number, of low stature, swarthy complexions, and are noted for their ignorance and stupidity.” (p. 15) “In the savage state, men usually live by hunting and fishing. Their wants are few, and they live almost like beasts, in miserable huts, dens, and caverns. They are generally blood-thirsty and revengeful,—as the American Indians.” (p. 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td><em>Smith’s First Book in Geography</em> (Roswell C. Smith)</td>
<td>Describes five races: European, Chinese, Malay, Indian and African. Highlights the intelligence, learning and industry of people in the United States and Europe. Describes temperate zone inhabitants as fair, robust, intelligent and industrious, in contrast to the dark-colored, passionate, ignorant and indolent inhabitants of the “torrid” and “frigid” zones.</td>
<td>“New England is “distinguished for the intelligence and enterprise of its inhabitants, and its valuable system of common schools.” (p. 68. This book was published in New England) “The people [of Africa] are generally idolaters or pagans, and show little signs of intelligence. Their complexion is mostly black.” (p. 139) “The inhabitants [of Oceania] are chiefly of the Malay race. By the exertions of Christian missionaries, many have been induced to abandon their barbarous customs, and adopt the usages of civilized life.” (p. 146)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Race and Culture Descriptions</td>
<td>Representative Quotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td><em>Mitchell’s School Geography</em> (S. Augustus Mitchell)</td>
<td>Describes five races: European or Caucasian (White), Asian or Mongolian (Yellow), American (Red), Malay (Brown), and African or Negro (Black). Ranks societies as savage, barbarous, high-civilized, civilized and enlightened, with Europeans rated as enlightened.</td>
<td>“What is the character of the enlightened nations? They are noted for the intelligence, enterprise and industry of their inhabitants; among them the arts and sciences are carried to a high state of perfection.” (p. 43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td><em>Modern School Geography</em> (Colton and Fitch 1867)</td>
<td>Identifies five races (Caucasian [white], Mongolian [yellow], Negro [black], Malayan [brown], and American Indian [red]) plus four stages of society (savage, barbarous, half-civilized and civilized).</td>
<td>“What characterizes the Savage state? The people in this state live chiefly by hunting, fishing, and plunder; are generally at war; have no literature; and look upon their women as inferior beings.” (p. 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td><em>Natural Advanced Geography</em> (Jacques Redway and Russell Hinman)</td>
<td>Describes three principal races: white, yellow and black, which can be divided into additional categories. Races are categorized by their material progress from savagery to barbarianism and civilization. Justifies colonialism.</td>
<td>“The Aryan people are rapidly increasing in numbers. In recent times thousands of them have left Europe to found homes for themselves in each of the other grand divisions, and these new settlers have practically taken possession of North and South America and of Australia, and are rapidly taking possession of Africa.” (p. 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td><em>New Geography of the World</em> (Oliver &amp; Boyd)</td>
<td>Describes geographic concepts and places, particularly landscapes, climate and commerce, with emphasis on Britain, followed by European countries. Provides minimal information about people and culture.</td>
<td>“…although inferior as regards to mere area, it [Europe] is by far the most important continent in the world. It proportion to its size, it is the most populous, and its people excel all other Continental nations in industry, arts, and commerce; although this pre-eminence is now being fearlessly challenged by North America.” (p. 27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td><em>A School Geography of the World</em> (Lionel Lyde)</td>
<td>Cultures develop in response to environmental conditions. Traditional cultures were violent and poor. Wealth increases with civilization and commerce.</td>
<td>“The character of the group depends on the character of the country. For instance, amongst hunting tribes every man is his neighbour’s enemy; from the nature of his occupation he prefers to follow alone, and therefore his progress in civilization is very slow.” (p. 9)</td>
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<td>1911</td>
<td><em>School Geography of the World</em> (J. B. Calkin)</td>
<td>Identifies six races, Caucasian (white), Mongolian (yellow), Negro or African (black), Malay (brown), Australian (grayish black), and American Indian (copper-colored), plus three conditions of society, hunter (lowest), pastoral, and farming/urban (highest).</td>
<td>[The white race] “comprises about two-fifths of the human family...it surpasses the other races in intellectual power, in activity, and in energy of character; ant it has been the dominant race from the earliest times.” (p. 38)</td>
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| 1912 | *The British Empire Beyond the Seas* (James H. Torbitt) | British culture is superior and benefits natives in colonies. | “In all our colonies acquired by discovery and settlement, race and speech are those of the British Isles. British institutions, social life, religion, and literature become those of the new nation; and British rule has established the laws and customs of civilization, and helped the progress of commercial prosperity. In the great possessions peopled by native races, British influence is a great force for progress. The law makes no difference
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Race and Culture Descriptions</th>
<th>Representative Quotes</th>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td><em>The Land of Sugar-Cane (Jamaica &amp; Cuba)</em> (Florence A. Tapsell’s)</td>
<td>Foreign people are friendly and fun, but simple and irresponsible.</td>
<td>“Many of the negroes who live in the hill-country of Jamaica will never do a stroke of work if they can help it. So long as one of this sort has just enough to live upon, and a wife to work for him, he is quite content to do nothing at all, sleeping away most of his time.” (p. 19). “The country people are simple folks, are fond of children, and have kind hearts. They are not always very wise. They do not save their money, but spend it as soon as they get it, or as soon as they can; yet they are always ready to share what they have with a stranger, or to give to those who are more needy than themselves.” (p. 24).</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td><em>Advanced Geography</em> (Harmon B. Niver)</td>
<td>Provides a systematic and scientific review of geographic concepts. Includes detailed descriptions of places around the world, with more attention to North America and Europe. Although it includes no systematized hierarchy of races, descriptions of foreign residents are racist and highlight the benefits of British colonialism to natives.</td>
<td>“The native races of South America are Indians. In the interior are many tribes still in the savage state, who make a living by hunting and fishing. Most of the Indians, however, have mixed with the white races and are partly civilized.” (p. 248) “Although Africa is second in size among continents, it has been of little importance until recent times.” (348) “The natives of Australia are of a race peculiar to that continent. They are short in stature and dark brown or black in color. They are savages of a low order, and their number is diminishing rapidly since the settlement of the island by Europeans” (p. 356) “The natives are a brown race called Maoris. They are strong and intelligent, skilled in fishing, farming and the trades, and have all the rights of citizenship. They number about 50,000, but are gradually decreasing.” (p. 359)</td>
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<td>1922</td>
<td><em>Ontario Public School Geography</em> (Minister of Education for Ontario)</td>
<td>Describes places starting with Canada. Describes cultures based on their livelihoods and countries based on industries. Describes Europe as more civilized and important than other continents, Europeans as intelligent and industrious, and Britain a benevolent ruler.</td>
<td>Britain is a great trading nation because of “her methods of managing and developing her colonies, especially in the less civilized parts of the world. She has never tried to exploit ignorant savages, but has treated them with kindness and justice, so that they have benefited by her rule.” (p. 167)</td>
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<td>1928-1976</td>
<td>Various readers by Frances Carpenter</td>
<td>An extensive series of geography readers and folk tales show various cultures (particularly children) in friendly and respectful ways.</td>
<td>“In other parts of the world there are many lands that are not like ours. Their people do not seem at all like us. They dress differently and have different homes. Yet, if we were able to spend a lot of time with the children of those strange lands we would find that they are really much like ourselves. They love their own countries. They are happy with their families. They like to laugh and play. When we come to know them, we should find that they make excellent friends.”</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>Race and Culture Descriptions</td>
<td>Representative Quotes</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td><em>New Pictorial Atlas of the World</em> (Frederick K. Branom)</td>
<td>Includes racist descriptions. It highlights sensational features such as the &quot;notorious&quot; use of blow-guns, tattooing as a &quot;savage art,&quot; wooden drums, headhunting, and &quot;a particular racial liability to homicidal mania called 'running amuck'&quot;.</td>
<td>“Tropical Africa is not favorable to settlement by white men, being extremely unhealthful for them. Europeans live in tropical Africa, as a rule, only a few years at a time, particularly in low altitudes, serving in economic or political capacity in the colonies of their governments.” (p. 22)</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td><em>An Approach to Geography</em> (H.E. Edwards)</td>
<td>Categorizes cultures into primitive hunters and collectors, nomadic herdsmen, agriculture and civilized, but does not use the terms &quot;savages&quot; or &quot;barbarians.&quot; Describes how British technologies benefit natives in colonized countries.</td>
<td>“In the forests of the Congo Basin of Africa and the Amazon Basin of South America the natives are skilful users of long blow-pipes, by means of which they kill small animals and birds with poison-tipped darts. The struggle for food in such regions can be understood when it is realized that tribes of primitive Indians on the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana devour ants and grasshoppers, and regard them as a delicacy” (p. 105)</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td><em>Living Across the Seas</em> (W.R. McConnell)</td>
<td>It encourages students to produce descriptive graphs and maps. It focuses on physical and economic geography, with limited information about people and their societies. It reflects a Eurocentric view of the world and highlights the economic benefits of colonialism. Devotes significant attention to the Soviet Union.</td>
<td>“Backwards methods. The people of Ethiopia are chiefly farmers... The ground is plowed with wooden plows, and the grain is harvested with sickles and knives. The people are backward largely because they have had little to do with other countries. Ethiopian roads, for the most part, are but trails which wind over the mountains. Few bridges cross the many rivers...Ethiopia has deposits of gold, coal, copper and iron, but nobody knows how great they are for little or no mining is done. Some day roads will be built and the minerals will be used. (p. 328)</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td><em>Journeys Near and Far</em> (L.A. DeWolf)</td>
<td>States that cultural differences do not imply inferiority, and emphasizes the importance of respecting people with other languages, religions and customs. When talking about cultural difference, it teaches Canadian students to respect European cultures.</td>
<td>“Unthinking people usually believe that those of other language, religion, and culture are inferior to themselves. We must remember, however, that differences do not imply inferiority. Our thoughts, habits, and beliefs depend upon the accident of birth...From this it does not follow that a person of any given nationality or religion is better or worse than his follow-man of different creed or nationality.” (p. 7)</td>
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<td>1938</td>
<td><em>Collier’s Atlas and Gazetteer</em> (Collier)</td>
<td>Constructs systematic descriptions and comparisons of races, plus descriptions of language groups. Identifies five races: Caucasian or White, Mongolian or Yellow, Ethiopian or Black, Malay or Brown, and American Indian or Red.</td>
<td>There is no specific difference between the various branches of the human family – no differences, that is, which implies anything in contradiction to the assumption of a common origin. (p. 120). “The white race comprises the most enlightened and powerful nations of the world, including not only Europeans, wherever found, but also Hindus, Hebrews, and Arabs.” (p. 121) “In temperament the [American] Indian is phlegmatic. His sight, hearing, and smell are remarkably acute. These, and other attributes of his race, have probably resulted from conditions of the hunter’s life.” (p. 121)</td>
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### Year | Title | Race and Culture Descriptions | Representative Quotes
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1939 | *Man in Nature* (Carl Sauer) | Treats indigenous people with respect and emphasized an ecological perspective. | “Like all other Indians, these people [Mayans] were conquered by greedy and warlike white men. Very many of them died; the rest were made to work for the white man. Most of their rules and priests and teachers were killed. They were forbidden to go to their temples. They were made to learn the ways of the white man. They had no time to carve or write or make the things of which they were so proud. Soon they lost most of the skills and knowledge that had enabled them to reach such a high place in civilization.”

1942 | *Teaching of the Social Sciences in a Changing World* (Frederick K. Branom) | Emphasizes progressive teaching perspectives, methods and subjects, including understanding and tolerance of foreign culture. Despite its progressive message, it includes subtle racism and colonialism by highlighting the superiority of western over indigenous culture and technology. The text is sexist, using “man” in reference to people. | “If history is taught correctly, pupils should gradually come to have a friendly feeling for peoples in all parts of the world.” (p. 25).

| | | | “Probably the lack of an intelligent and sympathetic feeling for other people is one of the chief causes why some countries make war on other countries.” (p. 40) and “For example, some people in our own country think of the Chinese as being queer people just because they do not do certain things as we do them. However, when we learn that the Chinese were the first people to use silk, tea, paper, gunpowder, the compass and many other common articles, we realize that the Chinese are a wonderful people and our respect for them increases.” (p. 42, *Intelligent and Friendly Understanding of People*) |

1955 | *Seeing Our World* (L.H. Adair and T.J. Sanderson) | Provides positive and respectful descriptions of children living in foreign cultures including Northern Canada, Peru, Brazil, Egypt, The Netherlands and Japan. Uses culture and ethnicity instead of biological race as organizing principal for identity. | “On the first day of the year no one in Japan does any work, and gifts are given to friends all over the country. The celebration is started by one hundred strokes of the temple bell...No lessons will be learned, but as on all other feast days, children and teachers dress in their best kimonos and go to school. There they feast, play games and give presents.” (p. 125) |

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*This table summarizes 21 textbooks’ racial descriptions. Quotes give a sense of their perspective and tone.*

This table shows how racial and cultural descriptions changed over time. Nineteenth Century textbooks were blatantly racist, claiming that factors such as intelligence, industry and morality are biological, so non-white races and cultures are innately inferior. During the Twentieth Century textbooks gave less attention to cultural geography and more to physical and commercial geography. Rather than calling non-white races and foreign cultures inferior they highlighted the benefits that European knowledge and commerce offered natives, with the implication that foreign nations can become enlightened by emulating western culture and industry. Some books published in the 1930s through 1950s emphasized similarities between races and cultures, and the importance of respecting people who seem different. This marked a transition from biological to cultural analysis of race.

Despite diverse authors and publishers, textbooks repeated key concepts and phrases. A common theme is that races and cultures evolve based on their environments, which explains, for example, why “torrid” (tropical) zone people have darker skins than in “temperate” and “frigid” zones. They often extrapolated this to argue that races and cultures that evolved in tropical areas, where food and shelter
are easily obtained, are inherently lazier than peoples in climates that demand more effort to produce necessities.

These textbooks claimed that their conclusions reflected scientific analysis, often citing anthropological and geographic research. Biological taxonomies and anthropological research were incorporated into textbooks as comparative geography, framed as racial and cultural hierarchies, which were used to support racist and colonialist policies, affecting individuals’ identity, behavior and opportunities, as illustrated below.

**Figure 59** How Scientific Research Contributed to Racist Identity and Behavior

![Diagram showing the flow from anthropological research to geographic analysis to textbook messages to racist and colonialist policies to people's identity and behavior.]

Geographic textbooks claimed to reflect anthropological research and geographic analysis, which influenced policies, identity and behavior.

Starting in the mid-Twentieth Century these practices faced growing criticism and many geographers, historians and educators developed more multicultural and critical materials. During the Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries textbooks where probably used for two or three decades, so a racist and colonialist textbooks published in the 1930s was probably still used during the 1950s and possibly into the 1960s, and their effects could continue for the rest of many students’ lives. This helps explain, for example, the durability of attitudes supporting racial segregation and imperialist foreign policies.

**Table 4** Duration of Impacts

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<th>1840</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
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<th>1960</th>
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<td>Overtly racist</td>
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<td>Pseudoscientific</td>
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<td>Multicultural</td>
<td>Publication period</td>
<td>Use in classrooms</td>
<td>Influence on citizens</td>
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<td>Anti-racist</td>
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This figure illustrates the duration of impacts: red indicates textbooks’ period of publication, blue their period of use, and green their period of influence on graduates. Before 1900, many geography textbooks were overtly racist. Some of those books were probably used through the 1930s and so influenced graduates’ beliefs and attitudes through the Twentieth Century. Starting about 1900, geography textbooks presented pseudoscientific claims about the superiority of European countries and the benefits of colonialism. During the second half of the Twentieth Century, textbooks tended to emphasize multiculturalism, and some recent curricula are anti-racist.

A similar evolution occurred in history textbooks, particularly in the American south (Gates 2023; Huffman 2019; Morris 2020; Yacovone 2022). As Cynthia Greenlee explained in the article, “How History Textbooks Reflect America’s Refusal to Reckon with Slavery,”

After slavery’s end in this country, many Southern-focused textbooks promoted a Lost Cause approach to Jamestown and slavery writ large, portraying the institution as part of a natural order. White Southerners created ideologically driven narratives that yearned for the Good Ole Days where whites sat atop the hierarchy and African Americans were faithful slaves. In this racist revisionism, they didn’t have to reckon with the new black citizen, voter, or legislator as nominal equals. (Greenlee 2019).
The reference to “natural order” reflects pseudoscientific anthropology which claimed that racial differences are biological and innate, conveyed in older geography books. One textbook published in 1957, and probably used until the 1970s or 1980s, states,

With all the drawbacks of slavery, it should be noted that slavery was the earliest form of social security in the United States. It was the legal responsibility of the master to take care of aged workers. It was against the law to emancipate a slave after he was too old to work. The master was responsible for looking after his over-aged slaves. (Summersell, Alabama History for Schools, cited in Morris 2020).

This suggests that many public school history and geography textbooks where written and selected as propaganda to justify slavery, the Confederacy, Jim Crow segregation and other racist attitudes and policies. This continues. Analysis summarized in a recent article, “The Rightwing US Textbooks That Teach Slavery as ‘Black Immigration’,” finds that,

While public school textbooks suffer from their own blindspots, a Guardian analysis has found that private schools, especially Christian schools, use textbooks that tell a version of history that is racially biased and often inaccurate. These textbooks, used in thousands of private schools, many of which receive tens of thousands of dollars in public funding every year, whitewash the legacy of slavery, frame Native Americans as lesser and blame the Black Lives Matter movement for sowing racial discord. (Klein 2021)
Impacts on Individuals and Society
Geography textbooks that presented racist and colonialist perspectives as scientific truth surely raised the confidence and ambition of White students and reduced those of minority students, contributing to their sense of inferiority, futility and fear. It probably resulted in teasing, bullying and isolation of minority students, causing them to feel unwelcome and unsafe at school, reducing their participation and trust. This encouraged teachers to guide White students toward more academically challenging courses and careers, and lowered the expectations and support for minority students, guiding them toward less ambitious goals and less lucrative careers. This would contribute to a self-reinforcing cycle of minority student isolation, conflicts, and underperformance that further reinforced anti-minority prejudices.

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<th>Table 4</th>
<th>Impacts of Racist Geography Books</th>
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<tr>
<td>Portrayal of Non-White Races</td>
<td>Impacts</td>
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Racist portrayals of non-white races and cultures caused Whites to fear and distrust other races and cultures, resulting in discrimination, reduced wealth generation, brutality, social isolation and emotional stress.

Pseudoscientific evidence that non-whites are fundamentally different, and intellectually and morally inferior, justified suspicion and fear, and therefore both formal and informal segregation, resulting in separate but unequal treatment in public facilities and services (Table 4). Current social conflicts, including housing and employment segregation, and oppressive laws and policing, probably result in part from racist messages in geographic textbooks.

Figure 60  Anderson, Texas School Geography Class, 1955

Geography books used until the 1950s described the white race as the most enlightened, foreign cultures as primitive, and colonialism as beneficial to natives. (Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu).

That surely contributed to a self-reinforcing cycle of minority student isolation, conflicts, and underperformance that further reinforced anti-minority prejudices.

Similarly, colonialist language in geography texts encouraged Europeans to feel confident and justified in controlling foreign nations, and displacing their cultures, by violence when necessary. They described
foreign cultures as backwards and inferior, and foreign peoples as benefiting from colonialism. Earlier textbooks presented the issues starkly: they classified non-Europeans as savages or barbarians who tended toward laziness, and engage in immoral behaviors including cannibalism, murder, theft and domestic abuse. Later texts were somewhat more respectful, admitting that some foreigners have admirable skills and sophisticated cultures, but still claimed that colonists are respectful and benevolent. This encouraged young people to participate in colonialist adventures as soldiers, missionaries, traders and teachers.

European colonialism left a legacy of conflict and inequity that often continued long after those countries become independent, in part because of the arrogance of colonizers who drew irrational boundaries, encouraged inter-group conflicts, and extracted resources primarily for their own benefit. They often devastated traditional cultures.

For example, in North America, colonial governments used unfair treaties and violence to displace Natives from prime lands. To eliminate Native culture and traditions indigenous children were removed from home and adopted into White families or forced to attend abusive residential schools where they were forbidden to speak their languages or participate in cultural activities, and often faced mental, physical and sexual abuse. These policies were justified by the assumption that Native culture was inferior, beliefs reinforced by older geography books’ pseudoscientific messages. There are countless other examples. The native peoples of virtually every country that was colonialized by Europeans bear the psychological, social and economic costs of having been considered inferior and worthy of exploitation.

Such prejudices are not unique to white Europeans or to geography textbooks. Many countries have traditional racial and class hierarchies. For example, India has castes, Latin America categorizes people by racial heritage (European, Indian, Black and mixed), Africa categorizes people by tribe and clan, and East African Muslims derided people from the interior as washenzi (“uncivilized”).

Racial and cultural prejudices continue to be expressed in countless, sometimes subtle ways. For example, some politicians promote “classical” (i.e., European) education and reject multicultural concepts such as critical race theory, and aggressive behaviors that are celebrated when performed by white athletes are criticized when performed by Blacks (Morse 2023).
CrRed Ctiticism of Racist Geography Education

Below are various academic criticisms of racist geography textbooks, from oldest to most recent.

Avril Maddrell’s 1998 article, “Discourses of Race and Gender and the Comparative Method in Geography School Texts 1830-1918,” critically examined how school geography texts during that period reflect hegemonic views of gender, race, and class. It argues that this reflected the influences of European exploration, church-sponsored education, popular images of empire, plus state education codes, grants, and inspections. Comparative geography, popular during this period, frequently supported Eurocentrism and specifically Anglo-centrism, and memory exercises instilled simplistic messages about geographical and political relations. Pupil-centred approaches, such as the use of adventure stories and family life where often biased. State legislation for grant-related examinations served to homogenise the content of texts.

David Lambert’s 2002 article, “Geography, ‘Race’ and Education: Further Perspectives,” in Geography, the journal of the Geographical Association, explores how geographers address ideological tensions relating to race and racism, from the early days of ‘imperialist’ geography to the awareness-raising decade of the 1980s. It recommends that teachers of geography be attentive to the assumptions that frame school geography and teach with ‘confident uncertainty’ which recognizes biases and knowledge gaps.

Nick Schuermans’ 2009 article, “Geography Textbooks and the Reproduction of a Racist and Ethnocentric World View among Young People in Flanders” critically evaluates how race and culture were presented in fifty Flemish geography textbooks published from 1896 to 2004. It finds that the previous emphasis on racial differences was replaced by a focus on cultural differences, but by emphasizing cultural otherness, one-sided explanations of cultural conflicts, ignoring discrimination and xenophobia and use of exclusionary us-them-perspectives the textbooks (re)produce a racist and ethnocentric world view. It offers recommendations for encouraging students to support a more inclusive, diverse and just society.

Michael Keevak’s 2011 book, No Longer White: The Nineteenth-Century Invention of Yellowness, investigates when and how East Asians became yellow in the Western imagination. It follows a trajectory that emphasizes an important shift in thinking about race during the course of the eighteenth century, when new sorts of human taxonomies began to appear and new claims about race were presented. It also examines how the “yellow race” and “Mongolian” bodies became important subjects in nineteenth-century anthropology and medicine, respectively. “Mongolian” bodies, for example, were linked to certain conditions thought to be endemic in—or in some way associated with—the race as a whole, including the “Mongolian eye,” the “Mongolian spot,” and “Mongolism” (now known as Down syndrome). Finally, the book considers how the Far East came to be seen as a “yellow peril.”
The academic book, *Histories of Social Studies and Race: 1865–2000* (Woyshner and Bohan 2012) includes ten essays that explore how race was incorporated into social studies, such as geography, history, and vocational education. They investigate ways African Americans were excluded or included, and the roles that black teachers played in crafting curricula.

Peter Smagorinsky’s 2014 article, “The Ideal Head: Bizarre Racial Teachings From a 1906 Textbook,” published in *The Atlantic*, describes racism in old geography textbooks. “A hundred years ago, American geography students learned about a world in which ‘the brown people raise rice,’ ‘the black people ... have no books,’ and ‘the red men are savages.’”

Jeremy W. Crampton’s 2015 chapter, “Race, Maps and the Social Construction of” in *The History of Cartography*, examines the cartographic construction of race, based on the assumption that maps create and reproduce race and racial knowledges.

Pia Mikander’s 2015 article, “Colonialist ‘discoveries’ in Finnish School Textbooks,” examines descriptions of colonial events in Finnish basic education history books. This includes the descriptions of “voyages of discovery” and the treatment of the indigenous people in America. It describes three discourses supporting the hegemonic idea that people in the “West” are superior to “others.” The first discourse shows explorers as heroes and colonized peoples as exotic objects, although some textbooks include stories written from the point of view of the oppressed people. The second discourse concerns justified violence as part of colonialism. The third discourse focuses on the lessons that are taught through the study of colonialism, and portrays Western knowledge as the only relevant knowledge. The article also discusses the role of textbooks regarding education about colonialism and proposes alternative starting points for the study of colonialism and its implications today.

In 2015 the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers' (RGS-IBG) established the *Race, Culture and Equality Working Group* (RACE), which promotes anti-racist initiatives that improve the representation, progression, support, and experiences of people in the discipline who are racialised as non-white. It subsequently published a wide range of academic studies, plus learning and teaching resources.

Christine Winter’s 2018 article, “Disrupting Colonial Discourses in the Geography Curriculum during the Introduction of British Values Policy in Schools,” was written to expose and disrupt dominant discourses concerning global development in an English school geography textbook chapter, prompted by the author’s encounter with cultural difference in a geography lesson while teaching in South Korea. It investigates the issues through the lens of a new curriculum policy in English schools called ‘Promoting Fundamental British Values.’ It identifies three key themes, each informed by colonial logic: ‘development’, ‘numerical indicators’ and ‘learning to divide the world’. The inquiry appears to expose a tension between the knowledge of the textbook chapter and the purported aims of the British Values curriculum policy, but further investigation reveals the two to be connected through common colonial values.
Maria Luce Sijpenhof’s 2019 article, “Racialized Narratives in Dutch History Textbooks: A Critical Race Examination,” evaluates 1968-2017 Dutch secondary school textbooks. It includes eight exemplary visual depictions of Black people selected from 200 textbooks. It concludes that racialization is displayed through two types of narratives: a) through otherness using one-sided stereotypical identities and racial hierarchy, and b) through sameness maintained through color-blind frames, racialized narratives and minimization of race-talk. The article reflects on the use of critical race theory (CRT) as a framework and critical race methodology (CRM) in combination with discursive methods and visual analysis. By inserting counter narratives, this article illustrates that the field could make better use of critical frameworks and research tools that do not divorce historical events from contemporary and persisting injustices.

Steve Puttick and Amber Murrey’s 2020 article, Confronting the deafening silence on race in geography education in England: learning from anti-racist, decolonial and Black geographies, argues that school geography educations should make substantive anti-racist changes in the curriculum. They propose a more holistic and sustained anti-racist school geography education that empowers young people to understand the complex and shifting politics of space, place and knowledge and contribute to meaningful anti-racist futures.

James Esson and Angela Last (2020), “Anti-racist Learning and Teaching in British Geography,” Area 52(4), pp. 668-677 (https://bit.ly/3fx70e). This article illustrates how UK higher education reinforces, but can potentially also help to counteract, racism. It sketches out three guiding principles for incorporating anti-racist praxis in learning and teaching: (1) Recognise each other's humanity, (2) Say the unsayable, and (3) Experiment with (y)our history.


Mike Klein’s 2021 blog, “When ‘Savages’ Roamed the Earth: Maps Perpetuating Bias and Bigotry in the 19th Century,” published by the Library of Congress, describes maps Woodbridge’s School Atlas, such as the “Moral & Political Chart of the Inhabited World” which categorized countries according to their “state of civilization” from savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized, to enlightened, as well as religions.
Klein comments,

To our modern sensibilities, Woodbridge’s classification scheme and moralizing are patently absurd. Yet, they were wholly pertinent within the intellectual and political climate of Europe and America in the nineteenth century. Incipient anthropologists misinterpreted data to conclude that the races were static rather than evolutionary, from which they further deduced that the races had emerged as discrete species. Natural scientists, like Harvard’s Louis Agassiz, essentially endowed races with different attributes and classified them on the basis of climate zones. Under his system, the races were of separate origin, and lent themselves naturally to classification by assessments of moral, social, and cultural character, which were further grounded in biology. Even humanists, such as historian Francis Parkman, credited by many weighty authorities as the doyenne of American “scientific history,” invented a moral universe of civilized colonials waged in battle with natives, mere innocents of the wilderness, who inexorably crumbled beneath the progress of western civilization.

If nothing else, the Moral & Political Chart, with its overriding flaws, is a relic of an earlier era and reflects its prejudices. It drew upon the prevailing social and cultural milieu for its ideas concerning humankind, which predated anthropology’s transformation into a science.

If we really need to assess blame for the map’s shortcomings, it may be prudent to cast a wider net, in which case we would likely capture broader systems of western scientific and political institutions that served to diminish human rights and negate cultural pluralism. In many ways those systems remain the legacy of our intellectual forebears, even those who designed maps. And, like bad genes, they have been passed down us, and continue to inform some of our current thinking about places and peoples.
The Decolonising Geography Educators Group (https://decolonisegeography.com) is a group of geography educators, established in 2019, working to decolonise geography curriculum. It challenges ‘universal truths’ and ‘objective knowledge’ by offering pedagogical techniques to empower students to co-create knowledge and build critical geographies; a space for critical reflection on the content we teach in geography education; and practical teaching resources. It produces resources such as the ‘Critical GCE: Heads Up’ tool that helps educators and students to identify ‘hegemonic practice (reinforcing and justifying the status quo)’ and ‘depoliticised orientations (disregarding the impacts of power inequalities and delegitimizing dissent)’; published a booklet, Global Citizenship Education Otherwise, which describes teaching exercises; promotes innovative scholarship (e.g. Black geographies, like Beatriz Nascimento’s Geographies of Liberation); created a list of critical questions based on case studies to help students understand social, environmental, and cultural change in cities; plus humor resources such as Parody Tests for Anti-Racist and Decolonial Geography School Teaching and Kayonga Kagame Shows Us The World. Episode: Darkest Austria.

The art exhibit and website, Race: Are We So Different? (https://understandingrace.org), sponsored by the American Anthropological Association, emphasizes that race is not really about how people look, but rather about how people assign meaning to how we look. It describes how race was treated by society, science and governments at various times and locations. It includes a variety of resources for understanding race and overcoming prejudice.

Recent studies and articles critically analyze racist narratives in history books, particularly those intended for U.S. southern states (Greenlee 2019; Huffman 2019; Morris 2020; Yacovone 2022). Klein (2021) highlights the racist narratives in current textbooks used in some private, especially Christian, schools. Several U.S. states have passed laws limiting discussion of race and colonialism in schools (LaPage 2021).
Conclusions

During the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries school geography textbooks were an important source of information about foreign lands and peoples. When somebody heard about a distant place or culture they often recalled geography textbooks’ descriptions and images. It is enlightening to examine how those books described race and culture, and consider how this affected popular knowledge and public policies.

Most geography textbooks published before 1900 were overtly racist; they categorized people by race and ranked them according to “stages of society,” from savage and barbarous to civilized and enlightened. They defined what is good and successful in ways that favored Europeans, for example, describing colonial industries as more productive, western education more enlightened, European social practices better, and Christian religions superior to all others. As a result, British and North American textbooks ranked Europeans highest and described other races and cultures as economically, intellectually, morally inferior.

These descriptions changed over time. Textbooks published from 1900 to 1940 had less overt racial hierarchies but still emphasized the superiority of western institutions and technologies, and the benefits that colonization provided to natives. Textbooks published after 1940 tended to provide positive stories about foreign people and cultures, and some encouraged students to critically analyze racism and colonialism.

Geography textbooks claimed to reflect objective research and analysis. Scientific disciplines including anthropology, geography and education where complicit in supporting racist and colonialist narratives. They provided pseudoscientific foundations for ranking some societies and races over others, and for defending colonialism against criticism.

Figure 65  A Self-Reinforcing Cycle of Racist Beliefs and Outcomes

These textbooks claimed to reflect anthropological and human geography science.

They contributed to a self-reinforcing cycle of fear and disrespect for minorities, discriminatory policies, inferior economic opportunities and outcomes, that reinforced anthropological bias.

Anthropological and geographic professional organizations are working to correct these biases and harms.
What were the impacts of these racist messages? They allowed colonialist agents – explorers, soldiers, missionaries, administrators, teachers and traders – to consider their actions noble and overall beneficial, despite sometimes obvious harms to foreign peoples. Just as medieval theology justified religious crusades, these textbooks justified capturing foreign lands, displacing foreign peoples, and destroying foreign cultures. During that period, textbooks where probably used for many years or decades, so racist textbooks published in the 1930s were probably still used during the 1960s and their effects could continue for the rest of those students’ lives, even to the present day. Many current social conflicts and inequities, including housing and employment segregation, and discriminatory laws and policing practices, reflect the legacy of messages in older geographic textbooks.

A growing body of academic research by anthropologists, geographers and educators critically analyzes these racist and colonialist messages, and provides guidance for introducing anti-racist and anti-colonialist concepts to students. By providing the actual texts and images from these books, this report can help researchers better understand and respond to the racist and colonialist messages in old geography textbooks.
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Annotated Bibliography

The Online Books Page – Geography Textbooks (https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/browse?type=lcsubc&key=Geography%20%2D%20Textbooks&c=x). This webpage lists many old geography books, some with links to online versions.

L.H. Adair and T.J. Sanderson (1955), Seeing Our World, Ryerson Press (Toronto), 152 pages. The first three chapters of this elementary school textbook explain basic geographic concepts and terms; the majority of the book consists of stories describing a typical Canadian child’s visit to six regions (Northern Canada, Peru, Brazil, Egypt, The Netherlands and Japan) and their friendly interactions with local children. The descriptions are positive and respectful, while emphasizing exoticized differences that contrast with “normal” Canadian culture. Of particular note is the inclusion of Japan just a decade after World War II ended, suggesting that the authors wanted to help overcome anti-Japanese prejudices.

Admin (2011), The Great Debate, Native American Netroots (http://nativeamericannetroots.net); at http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1014. This website has extensive information on Native American history and culture.


Frederick K. Branom (1942), The Teaching of the Social Sciences in a Changing World, W.H. Sandler (New York); at https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015059774102. This college textbook discusses why and how to teach children social sciences, including history, geography, government and “intelligent patriotism.” It highlights the importance of teaching good citizenship and tolerance; emphasizes the importance of learning about and appreciating foreign cultures; and encourages teachers to take their students on excursions to other communities. It states that “If history is taught correctly, pupils should gradually come to have a friendly feeling for peoples in all parts of the world.” (p. 25). A section titled, “An Intelligent and Friendly Understanding of People,” states, “Probably the lack of an intelligent and sympathetic feeling for other people is one of the chief causes why some countries make war on other counties.” (p. 40) and “For example, some people in our own country think of the Chinese as being queer people just because they do not do certain things as we do them. However, when we learn that the Chinese were the first people to use silk, tea, paper, gunpowder, the compass and many other common articles, we realize that the Chinese are a wonderful people and our respect for them increases.” (p. 42).

J.B. Calkin (1911), School Geography of the World, T. Nelson and Sons (Edinburgh), 186 pages; at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100277468. This geography textbook is available free online.

Sean Carleton (2011), “Colonizing Minds: Public Education, the ‘Textbook Indian,’ and Settler Colonialism in British Columbia, 1920-1970, BC Studies, no. 169, Spring 2011; at https://ojs.library.ubc.ca/index.php/bcstudies/article/view/422. This article examines the relationship between public education, the representations of indigenous peoples as the Textbook Indian in secondary school textbooks, and the struggle for settler hegemony in British Columbia between 1920 and 1970. Drawing inspiration from the ideas of Antonio Gramsci and postcolonial theory, this work shows how education in general and textbooks in particular were powerful tools for colonizing minds. It argues that the colonizing minds project was changed over time to reflect the needs, struggles, and changing circumstances of settler society in British Columbia during the twentieth century.
Frances Carpenter (1956), *Our Homes and Our Neighbors*, American Book Company. This is one of numerous children’s geography readers by the innovative Frances Carpenter folklorist, author, and geographer (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frances_Carpenter). Her geography books provided friendly and respectful information about people (usually children) from other times and places, and she published many books of folk tales from distant lands.

Collier’s (1938), *Collier’s World Atlas and Gazetteer* (1938), P.F. Collier & Son Co. (New York), p. 328 pages. This comprehensive atlas provides information about countries and cities around the world, plus basic geographic concepts.

Colton and Fitch (1867), *Modern School Geography*, Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman & Co. (New York), 136 pages; at https://bit.ly/3ASFRok. This affordable geography textbook was written for “Common Schools” in the United States. It is designed to embrace all of the important facts and principles of the science, and so condensed as to lead the pupil to a through general knowledge of the subject. It includes geography theory, maps and a section on the races and conditions of man.

Jeremy W. Crampton (2015), “Race, Maps and the Social Construction of,” *The History of Cartography*, Vo. 6, (Mark Monmonier Editor); at https://press.uchicago.edu/dam/ucp/books/pdf/9780226534695_blad.pdf. The cartographic construction of race refers to the concept that maps and mapping actively create and reproduce race and racial knowledges. Although maps create many different knowledges, those that sustain or create race are particularly important as theyundergird projects as diverse as colonialism, redlining, territorialization, and indigeneity. The idea that humans can be assigned to a small number of distinct populations was popularized by Carl von Linné (Linnaeus). He identified four natural racial categories: blue-eyed white Europeans, kinky-haired black Africans, greedy yellow Asians, and stubborn but free red Native Americans. Twentieth-century race maps extend the nineteenth century practice of mapping particular kinds of people. By the mid-nineteenth century multiple forms of mapping were in use, including maps of race, ethnicity, education, crime, longevity, language, religion, birth and death rates, and age of first marriage. These “moral statistics,” deemed useful for governing a modern state.

**Decolonising Geography Educators Group** (https://decolonisegeography.com) is a group of geography educators, established in 2019, working to decolonise geography curriculum. It produces resources such as the ‘Critical GCE: Heads Up’ tool to help educators and students identify ‘hegemonic practice (reinforcing and justifying the status quo)’ and ‘depoliticised orientations (disregarding the impacts of power inequalities and delegitimizing dissent)’; published *Global Citizenship Education Otherwise*, which describes teaching exercises; promotes innovative scholarship (e.g. Black geographies, like Nascimento’s *Geographies of Liberation*); created a list of critical questions to help students understand social, environmental, and cultural change; plus humor resources such as Parody Tests for Anti-Racist and Decolonial Geography Teaching and Kayonga Kagome Shows Us The World. Episode: Darkest Austria.

L.A. DeWolf (1934), *Journeys Near and Far*, J.M. Dent and Sons (Toronto), 330 pages. Geography textbook written by Nova Scotia’s Director of Rural Education. This geography textbook describes geographic concepts and places, starting with Nova Scotia and Canada, and expanding out to other parts of the world. It provides detailed descriptions of Canadian communities, particularly economic activities. It states that “We must remember, however, that differences do not imply inferiority” and emphasizes the importance of respecting other cultures. It reflects the shift from biological to cultural understandings of race in Anglo-American geographic education.
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H.E. Edwards (1935), *An Approach to Geography*, George G. Harrap & Co., 205 pages. This textbook categorizes cultures into primitive hunters and collectors, nomadic herdsman, agriculture and civilized countries where people live in towns, but no longer uses the terms “savages” or “barbarians.” This discourse of “stages of civilization” reflects the interwar shift from race as biology to race as culture.

Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (2023), “Who’s Afraid of Black History?” *New York Times* (www.nytimes.com); at www.nytimes.com/2023/02/17/opinion/desantis-florida-african-american-studies-black-history.html. This article summarizes research concerning the way that organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and activists such as Mildred Lewis Rutherford, influenced elementary school history education and textbooks to reflect “Lost Cause” messages that slavery was benevolent and the Confederacy was noble.

James Esson and Angela Last (2020), “Anti-racist Learning and Teaching in British geography,” *Area* 52(4), pp. 668-677 (https://rgs-ibg.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/area.12658). Examines how learning and teaching in UK higher education reinforces, but can potentially also help to counteract, racism. It identifies three guiding principles for the incorporation of explicitly anti-racist praxis in geography learning and teaching: (1) Recognise each other’s humanity, (2) Say the unsayable, and (3) Experiment with (y)our history. We call for explicitly anti-racist praxis while conscious of the “disciplinary fragility” that moves to address racism might elicit.

Cynthia Greenlee (2019), “How History Textbooks Reflect America’s Refusal to Reckon with Slavery,” *Vox* (www.vox.com); at www.vox.com/identities/2019/8/26/20829771/slavery-textbooks-history. Describes how Twentieth Century elementary school history books often overlooked or misrepresented slavery. “After slavery’s end in this country, many Southern-focused textbooks promoted a Lost Cause approach to Jamestown and slavery writ large, portraying the institution as part of a natural order. White Southerners created ideologically driven narratives that yearned for the Good Ole Days where whites sat atop the hierarchy and African Americans were faithful slaves. In this racist revisionism, they didn’t have to reckon with the new black citizen, voter, or legislator as nominal equals.”


Greg Huffman (2019), “Twisted Sources: How Confederate propaganda ended up in the South’s schoolbooks,” *Facing South* (www.facingsouth.org); at www.facingsouth.org/2019/04/twisted-sources-how-confederate-propaganda-ended-souths-schoolbooks. “The Lost Cause, a false version of U.S. history developed in response to Reconstruction, minimizes slavery's central role in the Civil War, promotes the Confederacy's aim as a heroic one, glorifies the Ku Klux Klan, and portrays the white South as the victim. The poisonous Lost Cause lessons were taught to multiple generations of Southerners to uphold institutionalized white supremacy — in part through public school curriculums shaped by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). More famous these days for their controversial Confederate monuments, the UDC had an almost singular focus on making sure the Lost Cause propaganda was so ingrained in the minds of Southern youth that it would be perpetual. Their most effective tool? School textbooks.”

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Ellsworth Huntington (1912), *Asia; a Geography Reader*, American Book Company (New York); at https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063637899&view=1up&seq=17&skin=2021. Includes chapters which describe life, culture, history and commerce in various Asian countries, often consisting of first-hand accounts by Western travellers. Although the descriptions are often condescending, there is little that it overtly racist.

James Johonnot (1882), *A Geographical Reader*, American Book Company (New York); at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100397731. This book is intended to interest children in reading in general and geography in particular. It includes articles from various sources, such as popular magazines, about distant lands and peoples. Many descriptions are racist and condescending.

Michael Keevak (2011), *Introduction No Longer White: The Nineteenth-Century Invention of Yellowness*, Princeton University Press (https://doi.org/10.23943/princeton/9780691140315.003.0001). This book investigates when and how East Asians became yellow in the Western imagination. It follows a trajectory that emphasizes an important shift in thinking about race during the course of the eighteenth century, when new sorts of human taxonomies began to appear and new claims about the color of all human groups, including East Asians, were put forward. It also examines how the “yellow race” and “Mongolian” bodies became important subjects in nineteenth-century anthropology and medicine, respectively. “Mongolian” bodies, for example, were linked to certain conditions thought to be endemic in—or in some way associated with—the race as a whole, including the “Mongolian eye,” the “Mongolian spot,” and “Mongolism” (now known as Down syndrome). Finally, the book considers how the Far East came to be seen as a “yellow peril,” a term coined in 1895 and often attributed to Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany.

Mike Klein (2021), *When “Savages” Roamed the Earth: Maps Perpetuating Bias and Bigotry in the 19th Century*, Library of Congress Blog (https://blogs.loc.gov/2021/04/when-savages-roamed-the-earth-maps-perpetuating-bias-and-bigotry-in-the-19th-century). This blog describes various maps in Woodbridge’s *School Atlas* which illustrated the “prevailing religions, forms of government, degrees of civilization, and the comparative size of towns, rivers, and mountains.” It highlights examples such as the “Moral & Political Chart of the Inhabited World” which categorized countries according to their “state of civilization” from savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized, to enlightened, as well as religions.

Rebecca Klein (2021), “The Rightwing US Textbooks that Teach Slavery as ‘Black Immigration’,” *The Guardian* (www.theguardian.com); at www.theguardian.com/education/2021/aug/12/right-wing-textbooks-teach-slavery-black-immigration. This analysis found that private schools, especially Christian schools, use textbooks that tell a version of history that is racially biased and often inaccurate. These textbooks, used in thousands of private schools, many of which receive tens of thousands of dollars in public funding every year, whitewash the legacy of slavery, frame Native Americans as lesser and blame the Black Lives Matter movement for sowing racial discord.

David Lambert (2002), “Geography, ‘Race’ and Education: Further perspectives,” *Geography*, Vo. 87, No. 4 (October), pp. 297-304, Published by the Geographical Association (www.jstor.org/stable/40573763). Geography and geographers have a long history of engagement with issues relating to ‘race’ and ‘racism’ in education, from the early days of ‘imperialist’ geography to the awareness-raising decade of the 1980s, with its ideological tensions between the multiculturalist and the anti-racist camps. Since the passing of the 1988 Education Reform Act, which resulted in the replacement of multiculturalism and anti-racism with the monoculture of the national curriculum, there has been very little development of the concepts of ‘race’ and ‘culture’, or indeed of geography, within the teaching profession. As well as
tracing the course of these developments, this article argues that the goals of geography education are subsumed by the goals for a healthy moral education, in which students ‘know where they stand’. To achieve these goals, teachers of geography need to be attentive to the assumptions that frame school geography and teach with ‘confident uncertainty’.

Brooke LaPage (2021), *These Are the States That Passed Laws Restricting the Teaching of Racial History*, The 74 Million (www.the74million.org); at www.the74million.org/article/these-are-the-states-that-passed-laws-restricting-the-teaching-of-racial-history. The latest culture war in education is being fought over how schools teach racial issues and episodes in U.S. history. That has led to a slew of state legislative measures that limit or ban discussions touching on the sensitive topic of race. Some extend the prohibition to teaching about sexism. FutureEd identified 47 bills introduced in 23 state legislatures that limit teaching on these topics. Alabama, Arizona, Idaho, Iowa, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Utah have enacted 11 of these bills.

Carl von Linné (Linnaeus) (1758), *Systema naturæ per regna tria naturæ, secundum classes, ordines, genera, species, cum characteribus, differentiis, synonymis, locis* (translated: *System of nature through the three kingdoms of nature, according to classes, orders, genera and species, with characters, differences, synonyms, places*), Tomus I. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Systema_Naturae).

Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins (1993), *Reading National Geographic*, University of Chicago Press (https://press.uchicago.edu); at https://tinyurl.com/3j9jez5c. This book investigates how National Geographic photographers, editors, and designers select images and text concerning Third World cultures. They describe the process as one of negotiating standards of “balance” and “objectivity,” informational content and visual beauty. In a close reading of some six hundred photographs they examine issues of race, gender, privilege, progress, and modernity through an analysis of the way such things as color, pose, framing, and vantage point are used in representations of non-Western peoples. Through interviews with readers, the authors assess how the cultural narratives of the magazine are received and interpreted, and identify a tension between the desire to know about other peoples and their ways and the wish to validate middle-class American values. The result is a complex portrait of an institution and its role in promoting a kind of conservative humanism that acknowledges universal values and celebrates diversity while allowing readers to relegate non-Western peoples to an earlier stage of progress. We see the magazine and the Society as a key middlebrow arbiter of taste, wealth, and power in America, and we get a telling glimpse into middle-class American culture and all the wishes, assumptions, and fears it brings to bear on our armchair explorations of the world.


Avril M C Maddrell (1998), “Discourses of Race and Gender and the Comparative Method in Geography School Texts 1830-1918,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vo. 16, pp. 81 103; at https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.126.8473&rep=rep1&type=pdf. School texts on geography are an important but neglected repository of geographical knowledge and representations within the historiography of geography. During the period 1830-1918 geography school texts were influenced by European exploration, church sponsors of education, the mediation of religious and scientific explanation of the natural world, popular images of empire, and state education codes, grants, and inspections. These factors combined in differing degrees over the period studied to reflect hegemonic views of gender, race, and class. The comparative method, popularised as a means of transmitting geographical knowledge in this period, frequently resulted in methodological Eurocentrism,
or specifically Anglo-centrism, and memory exercises instilled necessarily simplistic messages about geographical and political relations. Pupil-centred approaches, such as the use of adventure stories and family life as ciphers for geographical understanding, often served to masculinise the content of texts. State legislation for grant-related examinations served to homogenise the content of texts.

W.R. McConnell (1934), *Living Across the Seas*, Rand McNally & Co (New York); at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102271597. This textbook is intended to introduce geographic concepts, particularly human-natural relationships. It integrates stories and examples to make the subjects interesting and relatable to American students, and encourages them to consider these relationships and produce descriptive graphs and maps. It contains information on individual countries, focusing on physical and economic geography, with limited information about people and their societies. It contains fewer references to race than older texts but reflects a Eurocentric world view and highlights the economic benefits of colonialism for colonized peoples. It devotes significant attention to the Soviet Union, which was progressive at that time.

Pia Mikander (2015), “Colonialist ‘Discoveries’ in Finnish School Textbooks,” *Nordidactica – Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, Vo. 4, pp. 48-65. The article focuses on the descriptions of colonial events in Finnish history textbooks. This includes descriptions of “voyages of discovery” and the treatment of indigenous people in America. The article analyses articulations in the textbooks and describes three discourses supporting the hegemonic idea that westerners are superior to “others.” The first discourse illustrates explorers as heroes and colonized peoples as exotic objects still endure. The second discourse concerns justified violence as part of colonialism, while the third discourse focuses on the textbook lessons that are taught through the study of colonialism. It also portrays Western knowledge as the only relevant knowledge. The article discusses the role of textbooks portraying colonialism and proposes alternative perspectives and their implications.

Minister of Education for Ontario (1922), *Ontario Public School Geography*, W.J. Gage & Co. (Toronto), 256 pages; at https://archive.org/details/ontariopublicsch00onta/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater. This textbook includes descriptions of places, starting with Canada and expanding around the world, with emphasis on industrial and commercial activities. It includes descriptions of various cultures based on their livelihoods, such as “Men who live by hunting and fishing,” “Men who live by lumbering and mining,” and “How man obtains food from the soil.”

S. Augustus Mitchell (1854), *Mitchell’s School Geography: A System of Modern Geography*, Cowperthwait, Desilver & Butler (Philadelphia), 336 pages (www.loc.gov/item/05040779); at https://bit.ly/3pSxG53; 1845 edition at www.thedigitalgallery.org/exhibits/348#. This geography textbook describes current knowledge of the world. It identifies five races of men, which include European or Caucasian (White), Asian or Mongolian (Yellow), American (Red), Malay (Brown), and African or Negro (Black), and five “stages of society” which include savage, barbarous, half-civilized, civilized and enlightened, depending on the progress they have made knowledge, learning, refinement and the mechanical arts. Western countries, particularly “The United States, Britain, France, Switzerland and some of the German states,” are categorized as enlightened.

Scott Morris (2020), “Racist Textbooks Endured, Presenting Alternate ‘History’ to Alabama Students for 70 Years,” *Birmingham Watch* (https://birminghamwatch.org); at https://birminghamwatch.org/racist-textbooks-endured-presenting-alternate-history-alabama-students-70-years. According to a ninth grade textbook, slaves in Alabama could thank their masters for providing them with one of the earliest versions of social security. The textbook, Charles Grayson Summersell’s “*Alabama History for Schools*”
dismissed realities of slavery, glorified the Confederacy and defended the Ku Klux Klan. It was the ninth grade companion to Frank L. Owsey’s “Know Alabama,” written for fourth graders. These two advocates of the Lost Cause ideology influenced tens of thousands of grammar-school, high school, and college students, and teachers. These books were still used after classrooms were widely integrated in the late 1960s, and they continued to use revised editions well into the 1970s. The later editions toned down the contention that slaves were mostly happy and contented.


Favell Lee Mortimer (1852), Far Off; Or, Asia and Australia Described, R. Carter & Brothers (New York); at www.gutenberg.org/files/13011/13011-h/13011-h.htm. Favell Lee Mortimer (1854), Far Off; Or, Africa and America Described, Hatchards (London); at https://books.google.ne/books?id=P2IDAAAAQAAJ. These books were intended to inspire children to appreciate foreign missionaries. They include often racist and negative descriptions of foreign peoples, and stories about how they were converted to Christianity.


Oliver & Boyd (1904), New Geography of the World, Oliver & Boyd (London), 216 pages.


Steve Puttick and Amber Murrey (2020), Confronting the Deafening Silence on Race in Geography Education in England: Learning from Anti-racist, Decolonial and Black Geographies, (www.geography.org.uk/Journal-Issue/3c4ea440-1db3-48ef-9e15-77fc4e05de5b). Sumarized in, Working Towards Anti-racist School Geography in Britain; at https://bit.ly/3SK2iLP. School geography in England has been largely silent on issues around race, which stands in contrast to important strands of thought in the discipline. This article explores two influential approaches in education - cultural literacy and powerful knowledge - to argue that we urgently need to address the silence on race by making substantive anti-racist changes in the curriculum. Within cultural literacy, we argue that anti-racist geographies provide powerful frameworks to address white supremacy and institutionalised racisms.

Race, Culture and Equality Working Group (RACE) by the Royal Geographical Society and the Institute of British Geographers’ (RGS-IBG) promotes anti-racist initiatives that improve the representation, progression, support, and experiences of non-white people in the discipline. It publishes a wide range of academic studies, plus learning and teaching resources.


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Carl O. Sauer, Illustrated by Antonio Sotomayor (1939), Man in Nature: America Before the Days of the White Men, Charles Scribner's Sons; at https://archive.org/details/maninnatureameri0000sau. This copiously illustrated school textbook for older children describes Native Americans in North and Central America before the arrival of Europeans. It treats indigenous peoples with respect and emphasized an ecological perspective.

Nick Schuermans (2009), “Geography Textbooks and the Reproduction of a Racist and Ethnocentric World View Among Young People in Flanders,” Book of Abstracts, Is. 4; pp. 1 – 1 (https://doi.org/10.4000/belgeo.11594); at https://journals.openedition.org/belgeo/11594. Drawing on an analysis of fifty Flemish geography textbooks published between 1896 and 2004, this paper critically addresses the way in which these topics have been presented. It found an emphasis on racial differences that changed to a focus on cultural differences. Because of the emphasis on cultural otherness, the one-sided explanation of cultural conflicts, the manifest silencing of discrimination and xenophobia, and use of an us-them-perspective, the textbooks (re)produce a racist and ethnocentric world view among young people in Flanders. Hence, the article concludes with four propositions for geography textbooks which motivate students to become part of a more inclusive, more diverse and more just society.

Maria Luce Sijpenhof (2019), “Racialized Narratives In Dutch History Textbooks: A Critical Race Examination,” Historia y Memoria de la Educación, Vo. 10, pp. 131-174, Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación, ISSN: 2444-0043 (DOI: 10.5944/hme.10.2019.22223); at https://bit.ly/3RrpRyM. This article analyzes racialized narratives in Dutch textbooks (1968-2017), illustrated by eight exemplary depictions of Black people selected from a sample of 200 Dutch secondary school history textbooks. The article concludes that racialization is displayed through two types of narrative structures: a) through otherness using one-sided stereotypical identities and racial hierarchy and b) through sameness maintained through color-blind frames, racialized narratives and minimization of race-talk. It reflects on the use of critical race theory (CRT) as a framework and critical race methodology (CRM) in combination with discursive methods for textbook and visual analysis. By inserting counter narratives, this article illustrates that the history of education could make better use of critical (race) frameworks and research tools that do not divorce historical events from contemporary and persisting injustices.

Peter Smagorinsky (2014), “‘The Ideal Head’: Bizarre Racial Teachings From a 1906 Textbook,” The Atlantic (www.theatlantic.com); at https://bit.ly/3byFMfz. This general-interest magazine article describes racism in old geography textbooks. “A hundred years ago, American geography students learned about a world in which ‘the brown people raise rice,’ ‘the black people … have no books,’ and ‘the red men are savages.’”

Mindy Spearman (2012), “Race in Elementary Geography Textbooks: Examples from South Carolina, 1890–1927,” Histories of Social Studies and Race 1865-2000, pp. 115-134, Springer (https://link.springer.com/book/10.1057/9781137007605). For most of the nineteenth century in the United States, a young learner’s first exposure to what we now call social studies came through the field of geography. Geography was considered the most important subject after reading, writing, and mathematics because it gave students practical knowledge. The Committee of Ten’s 1894 Geography Conference prompted educators to conceptualize the subject as a broader field than just physical geography; the report suggested that elementary geography include “astronomy, meteorology, zoology, botany, history, commerce, governments, races, religions, etc.” Called “home geography” in the primary grades, this curriculum emphasized the use of resources in the local community to teach about the social world, in order to provide a foundation for future scholastic work in history, geography, and the
then fledgling field of anthropology. “Social units,” focused on subjects like communication, industry, and societal roles, held equal importance with lessons concerning physical geography.

Florence A. Tapsell (1915), *The Land of Sugar-Cane (Jamaica & Cuba): Little People in Far-Off Lands*, E.J. Arnold & Son Educational Publishers (Leeds). This is one in a series of “Little People in Far-Off Lands” books intended to introduce Western children to the lives of those in foreign countries.

William Ellis Topping (1963), *The Historical Development of the Teaching of Geography in British Columbia*, Masters Thesis, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia; at https://open.library.ubc.ca/media/stream/pdf/831/1.0302302/1. This Master’s thesis examines the history of geography education in British Columbia, Canada. Most early textbooks were published in Britain, but after Confederation in 1871, schools relied more on books published in Ontario. Over time, the emphasis shifted from listing and memorizing places to more understanding of how environments influence people and cultures. Textbooks emphasized “pride of empire,” which included information about economic activity and interesting stories from around the British Empire. The 1960 Royal Council on Education recommended more emphasis on geography instruction.


Christine Woyshner and Chara Haeussler Bohan (2012), *Histories of Social Studies and Race: 1865–2000*, Springer (https://link.springer.com/book/10.1057/9781137007605) is a collection of essays that investigate how race was incorporated into social studies, such as geography, history, and vocational education. Contributors focus on the ways African Americans were excluded or included in the social education curriculum and the roles that black teachers played in crafting social education curricula.

supremacist ideology has infiltrated American culture and how it has been at the heart of our collective national identity. The author argues that it is the North, not the South, that bears the greater responsibility for creating the dominant strain of race theory, inculcated throughout the culture and in school textbooks, that restricted and repressed African Americans and other minorities.

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