The Idea of Race

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The Classification of Races

provided for each kind and given each one its own inheritance. She has
distributed the apes in as many species and varieties and spread them out
as far as she could spread them; you human, however, should honor
yourself. Neither the pongo nor the gibbon is your brother, whereas the
American and the Negro certainly are. You should not oppress him, nor
murder him, nor steal from him: for he is a human being just as you are;
you may not enter into fraternity with the apes.

Finally, I would not like the distinctions that have been interjected into
human kind out of a laudable zeal for a comprehensive science, to be
extended beyond their legitimate boundaries. Some have for example
ventured to call four or five divisions among humans, which were origi-
nally constructed according to regions or even according to colors, races; I
see no reason for this name. Race derives from a difference in ancestry that
either does not occur here or that includes the most diverse races within
each of these regions in each of these colors. For each people is a people: it
has its national culture and its language; the zone in which each of them is
placed has sometimes put its stamp, sometimes only a thin veil, on each of
them, but it has not destroyed the original ancestral core construction of
the nation. This extends itself even into families, and the transitions are as
malleable as they are imperceptible. In short, there are neither four nor
five races, nor are there exclusive varieties on earth. The colors run into
one another; the cultures serve the genetic character; and overall and in
the end everything is only a shade of one and the same great portrait that
extends across all the spaces and times of the earth. It belongs less to the
systematic history of nature than to the physical-geographic history of
humanity.

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach,
On the Natural Variety of Mankind

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840) published On the Natural
Variety of Mankind, his doctoral dissertation, in 1775. He was only
twenty-three years old. It was reprinted unchanged the following year, re-
vised in 1781, and rewritten in 1795. In the first edition of the De generis
humane varietate nativa, Blumenbach enumerated only four varieties, but
in 1781 he extended these to five to accommodate reports of "the new
Southern world" provided by such authors as J. R. Forster, who accom-
panied Captain Cook. It was only in the third edition in 1795 that
Blumenbach named the varieties and, in the course of doing so, introduced
the term "Caucasian." The following selection is from a nineteenth-century
translation of the 1795 edition.

Five Principal Varieties
of Mankind, One Species.

80. Innumerable varieties of mankind run into one another by insensible
degrees. We have now completed a universal survey of the genuine varieties
of mankind. And as, on the one hand, we have not found a single one
which does not (as is shown in the last section but one) even among other
warm-blooded animals, especially the domestic ones, very plainly, and in a
very remarkable way, take place as it were under our eyes, and deduce its
origin from manifest causes of degeneration; so, on the other hand . . . ,
no variety exists, whether of colour, countenance, or stature, &c., so singu-
lar as not to be connected with others of the same kind by such an
imperceptible transition, that it is very clear they are all related, or only
differ from each other in degree.

81. Five principal varieties of mankind may be reckoned. As, however, even
among these arbitrary kinds of divisions, one is said to be better and
preferable to another; after a long and attentive consideration, all man-
kind, as far as it is at present known to us, seems to me as if it may best,
according to natural truth, be divided into the five following varieties;
which may be designated and distinguished from each other by the names
Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay: I have allotted the

From Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, The anthropological treatises of Johann
Friedrich Blumenbach, translated by Thomas Bendyshe, 1865.
first place to the Caucasian, for the reasons given below, which make me esteem it the primeval one. This diverges in both directions into two, most remote and very different from each other; on the one side, namely, into the Ethiopian, and on the other into the Mongolian. The remaining two occupy the intermediate positions between that primeval one and these two extreme varieties; that is, the American between the Caucasian and Mongolian; the Malay between the same Caucasian and Ethiopian.

82. Characters and limits of these varieties. In the following notes and descriptions these five varieties must be generally defined. To this enumeration, however, I must prefix a double warning; first, that on account of the multifarious diversity of the characters, according to their degrees, one or two alone are not sufficient, but we must take several joined together; and then that this union of characters is not so constant but what it is liable to innumerable exceptions in all and singular of these varieties. Still this enumeration is so conceived as to give a sufficiently plain and perspicuous notion of them in general.

Caucasian variety. Colour white, cheeks rosy . . . ; hair brown or chestnut-coloured . . . ; head subglobular . . . ; face oval, straight, its parts moderately defined, forehead smooth, nose narrow, slightly hooked, mouth small . . . . The primary teeth placed perpendicularly to each jaw . . . ; the lips (especially the lower one) moderately open, the chin full and rounded . . . . In general, that kind of appearance which, according to our opinion of symmetry, we consider most handsome and becoming. To this first variety belong the inhabitants of Europe (except the Lapps and the remaining descendants of the Finns) and those of Eastern Asia, as far as the river Obi, the Caspian Sea and the Ganges; and lastly, those of Northern Africa.

Mongolian variety. Colour yellow . . . ; hair black, stiff, straight and scanty . . . ; head almost square . . . ; face broad, at the same time flat and depressed, the parts therefore less distinct, as it were running into one another; glabella flat, very broad; nose small, apish; cheeks usually globular, prominent outwardly; the opening of the eyelids narrow, linear; chin slightly prominent . . . . This variety comprehends the remaining inhabitants of Asia (except the Malays on the extremity of the trans-Gangetic peninsula) and the Finnish populations of the cold part of Europe, the Lapps, &c. and the race of Esquimaux, so widely diffused over North America, from Behring's straits to the inhabited extremity of Greenland.

Ethiopian variety. Colour black . . . ; hair black and curly . . . ; head narrow, compressed at the sides . . . ; forehead knotty, uneven; malar bones protruding outwards; eyes very prominent; nose thick, mixed up as it were with the wide jaws . . . ; alveolar edge narrow, elongated in front; the upper primaries obliquely prominent . . . ; the lips (especially the upper) very puffy; chin retreating . . . . Many are handi-legged . . . . To this variety belong all the Africans, except those of the north.

American variety. Copper-coloured . . . ; hair black, stiff, straight and scanty . . . ; forehead short; eyes set very deep; nose somewhat apish, but prominent; the face invariably broad, with checks prominent, but not flat or depressed; its parts, if seen in profile, very distinct, and as it were deeply chiselled . . . ; the shape of the forehead and head in many artificially distorted. This variety comprehends the inhabitants of America except the Esquimaux.

Malay variety. Tawny-coloured . . . ; hair black, soft, curly, thick and plentiful . . . ; head moderately narrowed; forehead slightly swelling . . . ; nose full, rather wide, as it were diffuse, end thick; mouth large . . . ; upper jaw somewhat prominent with the parts of the face when seen in profile, sufficiently prominent and distinct from each other . . . . This last variety includes the islanders of the Pacific Ocean, together with the inhabitants of the Marianne, the Philippine, the Molucca and the Sunda islands, and of the Malay peninsula.

83. Divisions of the varieties of mankind by other authors. It seems but fair to give briefly the opinions of other authors also, who have divided mankind into varieties, so that the reader may compare them more easily together, and weigh them, and choose which of them he likes best. The first person, as far as I know, who made an attempt of this kind was a certain anonymous writer who towards the end of the last century divided mankind into four races; that is, first, one of all Europe, Lapland alone excepted, and Southern Asia, Northern Africa, and the whole of America; secondly, that of the rest of Africa; thirdly, that of the rest of Asia with the islands towards the east; fourthly, the Lapps. 1 Leibnitz divided the men of our continent into four classes. Two extremes, the Lapons and the Ethiopians; and as many intermediates, one eastern (Mongolian), one western (as the European). 2

Linnaeus, following common geography, divided men into (1) the red American, (2) the white European, (3) the dark Asiatic, and (4) the black Negro. 3 Buffon distinguished six varieties of man: (1) Lapp or polar, (2)

2. In Feller in Otium Hanoveranum, p. 159.
3. After the year 1735, in all the editions of his immortal work. Gmelin has added to the last edition, brought out by himself, my division, T. I. p. 23.
Tartar (by which name according to ordinary language he meant the Mongolian), (3) south Asian, (4) European, (5) Ethiopian, (6) American.4

Amongst those who reckoned three primitive nations of mankind answering to the number of the sons of Noah, Governor Pownall is first entitled to praise, who, as far as I know, was also the first to pay attention to the racial form of skull as connected with this subject. He divided these stocks into white, red and black. In the middle one he comprised both the Mongolians and Americans, as agreeing, besides other characters, in the configuration of their skulls and the appearance of their hair.5 Abbé de la Croix divides man into white and black. The former again into white, properly so called, brown (bruns), yellow (jaunâtres), and olive-coloured.6

Kant derives four varieties from dark-brown Autochtones: the white one of northern Europe, the copper-coloured American, the black one of Senegambia, the olive-coloured Indian.7 John Hunter reckons seven varieties: (1) of black men, that is, Ethiopians, Papuans, &c.; (2) the blackish inhabitants of Mauritania and the Cape of Good Hope; (3) the copper-coloured of eastern India; (4) the red Americans; (5) the tawny, as Tartars, Arabs, Persians, Chinese, &c.; (6) brownish, as the southern Europeans, Spaniards, &c., Turks, Abyssinians, Siamoïdes and Lapps; (7) white, as the remaining Europeans, the Georgians, Mingrelians and Kabardinski.8

Zimmermann is amongst those who place the aborigines of mankind in the elevated Scythico-Asiatic plain, near the sources of the Indus, Ganges and Obi rivers; and thence deduces the varieties of Europe (1), northern Asia, and the great part of North America (2), Arabia, India, and the Indian Archipelago (3), Asia to the north-east, China, Corea, &c. (4). He is of opinion that the Ethiopians deduce their origin from either the first or the third of these varieties.9

Meiners refers all nations to two stocks: (1) handsome, (2) ugly; the first white, the latter dark. He includes in the handsome stock the Celts, Sarmatians, and oriental nations. The ugly stock embraces all the rest of mankind.10 Klügel distinguishes four stocks: (1) the primitive, autochthones of that elevated Asiatic plain we were speaking of, from which he derives the inhabitants of all the rest of Asia, the whole of Europe, the extreme north of America, and northern Africa; (2) the Negroes; (3) the Americans, except those of the extreme north; (4) the Islanders of the southern ocean.11 Metzger makes two principal varieties as extremes: (1) the white man native of Europe, of the northern parts of Asia, America and Africa; (2) the black, or Ethiopian, of the rest of Africa. The transition between the two is made by the rest of the Asiatics, the inhabitants of South America, and the Islanders of the southern ocean.12

84. Notes on the five varieties of Mankind. But we must return to our pentad of the varieties of mankind. I have indicated separately all and each of the characters which I attribute to them in the sections above. Now, I will string together, at the end of my little work, as a finish, some scattered notes which belong to each of them in general.

85. Caucasian variety. I have taken the name of this variety from Mount Caucasus, both because its neighbourhood, and especially its southern slope, produces the most beautiful race of men, I mean the Georgian,13 and because all physiological reasons converge to this, that in that region, if anywhere, we seem to have the greatest probability to place the autochthones of mankind. For in the first place, that stock displays, as we have seen . . . , the most beautiful form of the skull, from which, as from a mean and primeval type, the others diverge by most easy gradations on both sides to the two ultimate extremes (that is, on the one side the Mongolian, on the other the Ethiopian). Besides, it is white in colour, which we may fairly assume to have been the primitive colour of mankind, since, as we have shown above . . . , it is very easy for that to degenerate into brown, but very much more difficult for dark to become white, when the secretion and precipitation of this carbonaceous pigment . . . has once deeply struck root.

86. Mongolian variety. This is the same as what was formerly called, though in a vague and ambiguous way, the Tartar variety;14 which

4. These six varieties have been beautifully described, and in fact painted as it were by the glowing brush of Haller, in his classical work, Ideen zur philosophie der geschichte der menschheit. T. II. p. m. 4—68.
7. Both in Engel, Philosoph. für die Welt. T. II. [translated as “Of the Different Human Races,” pp. 8—22 above] and in Berliner monatschrift, 1785, T. VI.
9. In that very copious work Geographische geschichte des Menschen, &c. T. I.
10. See his Grundriss der Geschichte der menschheit, ed. 2. Lemgov. 1793, 8vo.
12. See his Physiologie in Aphorismen, p. 5.
13. From a cloud of eye-witnesses it is enough to quote one classical one, Jo. Chardin, T. I. p. m. 171. “The blood of Georgia is the best of the East, and perhaps in the world. I have not observed a single ugly face in that country, in either sex; but I have seen angelical ones. Nature has there lavished upon the women beauties which are not to be seen elsewhere. I consider it to be impossible to look at them without loving them. It would be impossible to paint more charming visages, or better figures, than those of the Georgians.”
14. On the origin of this erroneous confusion, by which the name of Tartars began
denomination has given rise to wonderful mistakes in the study of the variations of mankind which we are now busy about. So that Buffon and his followers, seduced by that title, have erroneously transferred to the genuine Tartars, who beyond a doubt belong to our first variety, the racial characters of the Mongols, borrowed from ancient authors, who described them under the name of Tartars.

But the Tartars shade away through the Kirghis and the neighbouring races into the Mongols, in the same way as these may be said to pass through the Tibetans to the Indians, through the Esquimaux to the Americans, and also in a sort of way through the Philippine Islanders to the men of the Malay variety.

87. Ethiopian variety. This variety, principally because it is so different in colour from our own, has induced many to consider it, with the witty, but badly instructed in physiology, Voltaire, as a peculiar species of mankind. But it is not necessary for me to spend any time here upon refuting this opinion, when it has so clearly been shown above that there is no single character so peculiar and so universal among the Ethiopians, but what it may be observed on the one hand every where in other varieties of men; and on the other that many Negroes are seen to be without each. And besides there is no character which does not shade away by insensible gradation from this variety of mankind to its neighbours, which is clear to every one who has carefully considered the difference between a few stocks of this variety, such as the Foulahs, the Wolufs, and Mandingos, and how by these shades of difference they pass away into the Moors and Arabs.

The assertion that is made about the Ethiopians, that they come nearer the apes than other men, I willingly allow so far as this, that it is in the same way that the solid-hoofed . . . variety of the domestic sow may be said to come nearer to the horse than other sows. But how little weight is for the most part to be attached to this sort of comparison is clear from this, that there is scarcely any other out of the principal varieties of mankind, of which one nation or other, and that too by careful observers, has not been compared, as far as the face goes, with the apes; as we find said in express words of the Lapps, the Esquimaux, the Caaguaus of South America, and the inhabitants of the Island Mallicollo.

18. There is only one thing I should like to add to what has been more copiously discussed about this point in the section above, that the sort of powder-like soot which can be distinguished in the skin of black men, can by no means, as some authors think, be peculiar to the Malpighian mucus of the Ethiopians, because I have perfectly observed the same thing, although more scattered and less equally distributed, in so many of those Indian sailors who are called Lascars. In one Indian woman, a native of Bombay, who is a servant in my household, I can see as time goes on, the same blackness in the face and arms gradually vanish, though in other respects the precipitated carbon remains unaltered, of a chestnut colour, effused under the epidermis.

19. Thus Regnard concludes his description of the Lapps in these words: "Such is the description of that little man they call the Laplander, and I may say that there is no animal, after the ape, which so nearly approaches the man." Oeuvres, T. I. p. 71.

20. When the Esquimaux Attuioch, whose picture taken from the life I owe to Sir Joseph Banks, saw an ape in London for the first time, he asked his companion Cartwright in astonishment, "Is that an Esquimaux?" and he adds in his account, "I must confess, that both the colour and contour of the countenance had considerable resemblance to the people of their nation."

21. "As like apes as men," says Nic. del Techo of them, Relation de Caaguaus gente, p. m. 34.

22. Of these, J. R. Forster says in his Bemerkungen, p. 217, "The inhabitants of the island Mallicollo appear to have a nearer relationship to the apes than any I have ever seen."
8. American variety. It is astonishing and humiliating what quantities of fables were formerly spread about the racial characters of this variety. Some have denied beards to the men,23 others menstruation to the women.24 Some have attributed one and the same colour25 to each and all the Americans; others a perfectly similar countenance to all of them.26 It has been so clearly demonstrated now by the unanimous consent of accurate and truthful observers, that the Americans are not naturally beardless, that I am almost ashamed of the unnecessary trouble I formerly took to get together a heap of testimony,27 by which it is proved that not only throughout the whole of America, from the Equinoctial. downwards to the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are there groups of inhabitants who cherish a beard; but also it is quite undeniable as to the other beardless ones that they eradicate and pluck out their own by artifice and on purpose, in the same way as has been customary among so many other nations, the Mongolians28 for example, and the Malays.29 We all know that the beard of the Americans is thin and scanty, as is also the case with so many Mongolian nations. They ought therefore no more to be called beardless, than men with scanty hair to be called bald. Those therefore who thought the Americans were naturally beardless fell into the same error as that which induced the ancients to suppose and persuade others, that the birds of paradise, from whose corpses the feet are often cut off, were naturally destitute of feet.

The fabulous report that the American women have no menstruation, seems to have had its origin in this, that the Europeans when they discovered the new world, although they saw members of the female inhabitants almost entirely naked, never seem to have observed in them the stains of that excretion.30 For this it seems likely that there were two

27. I cited a few out of many others some years ago in Gottingisch. Magazin, 2d year, p. VI. p. 419.
28. See besides many others J. G. Grdinin, Reise durch Sibirien, T. II. p. 125. "It is very difficult to find amongst the Tungus, or any of these people, a beard. For as soon as one appears, they pull the hair out, and at last bring it to this that there is nothing more spring up."
29. Comp. on the Sumerars, Marsden; on the Magindas, Forrest; on the Pelew Islanders, Wilson; on the Papuans, Carteret; on the inhabitants of the Navigators group, Bougainville, &c.
30. Lery, Voyage fait en le terre du Bresil, p. m. 270.

reasons; first, that amongst those nations of America, the women during menstruation are, by a fortunate prejudice, considered as poisonous, and are prohibited from social intercourse, and for so long enjoy a beneficial repose in the more secluded huts far from the view of men;31 secondly, because, as has been noticed,32 they are so commendably clean in their bodies, and the commissure of their legs so conduces to modesty, that no vestiges of the catamenia ever strike the eye.

As to the colour of the skin of this variety, on the one hand it has been observed above, that it is by no means so constant as not in many cases to shade away into black . . . ; and on the other, that it is easily seen, from the nature of the American climate,33 and the laws of degeneration when applied to the extremely probable origin of the Americans from northern Asia,34 why they are not liable to such great diversities of colour, as the other descendants of Asiatic autochthones, who peopled the ancient world. The same reason holds good as to the appearance of the Americans. Careful eye-witnesses long ago laughed at the foolish, or possibly facetious hyperbole of some, who asserted that the inhabitants of the new world were so exactly alike, that when a man had seen one, he could say that he had seen all,35 &c. It is, on the contrary, proved by the finished drawings of Americans by the best artists, and by the testimony of the most trustworthy eye-witnesses, that in this variety of mankind, as in others, countenances of all sorts occur;36 although in general that sort of racial confor-
Society, and the Friendly Islanders, and also the Malambi of Madagascar.

Meanwhile even these differ so much between themselves through various degrees of beauty and other corporeal attributes, that there are some who divide the Otaheitans themselves into two distinct races: the first, paler in colour, of lofty stature, with face which can scarcely be distinguished from that of the European; the second, on the other hand, of moderate stature, colour and face little different from that of Mulatto, curly hair, &c. This last race then comes very near those men who inhabit the islands more to the south in the Pacific Ocean, of whom the inhabitants of the New Hebrides in particular come sensibly near the Papuans and New Hollanders, who finally on their part graduate away so insensibly towards the Ethiopian variety, that, if it was thought convenient, they might not unfairly be classed with them, in that distribution of the varieties we were talking about.

90. Conclusion. Thus too there is with this that insensible transition by which as we saw the other varieties also run together, and which, compared with what was discussed in the earlier sections of the book, about the causes and ways of degeneration, and the analogous phenomena of degeneration in the other domestic animals, brings us to that conclusion, which seems to flow spontaneously from physiological principles applied by the aid of critical zoology to the natural history of mankind; which is, That no doubt can any longer remain but that we are with great probability right in referring all and singular as many varieties of man as are at present known to one and the same species.


42. See Bougainville in Voyage autour du Monde, p. 213.

43. Thus long ago the immortal De Quiros, who first discovered the Society Islands, accurately distinguished these varieties among the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, when he called some white, and compared some to the Mulattoes, and some to the Ethiopians. See Dalrymple, Collection of Voyages to the South Pacific Ocean, Vol. I. p. 164.

37. Lettret di Amer. Vespucci, p. 9, ed. Bandini. “They are not very handsome, because their faces are wide, which makes them like Tartars.”

38. This I see most clearly both in two Esquimaux skulls from Nain, a colony of Labrador, which adorn my collection, and in the pictures of these barbarians taken from the life by good artists, which I owe to the liberality of Sir J. Banks.

39. The paradox of Robertson, who derived the Esquimaux from the Normans, in his History of America, Vol. II. p. 40, scarcely deserves a refutation at this time.

40. Thus that classical Argonaut and capital eye-witness and observer, Linschot, compares the inhabitants of the strait of Magellan whom he saw, in physiognomy, appearance, colour, hair and beard, to the Samoiedes, with whom he was very well acquainted through his famous journey to the Strait of Nassovitch, in his notes to Acosta, p. 46 b.