

and social structures aimed to establish the hegemony of one group over another. Racial formation is the process "by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed." This definition implies that politically motivated conservative and liberal racial projects are always multiply determined. These projects occur not only at the macrolevel of social policy and state activity but also at the microlevel of everyday experience. "Everybody learns some combination, some version, of the rules of racial classification, and of her own racial identity, often without obvious teaching or conscious inculcation." Race functions as a "common sense" way of "comprehending, explaining, and acting in the world." The process of racial formation has constantly changed over time. The present racial order is the outcome of this evolution and, for this reason, the meaning of race remains transient.

## THE CLASSIFICATION OF RACES

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### François Bernier, "A New Division of the Earth"

*"A new division of the earth according to the different species or races of men" was published anonymously in 1684. The author has since been identified as François Bernier, who was born in Anjou in 1620 and died in Paris in 1688. Bernier traveled extensively. In 1656 he set out on a twelve-year journey that took him to Egypt, India, and Persia. The record of this journey was published in 1670 as Voyages de François Bernier and is known in English as Travels in the Mogul Empire. Although many European travelers before Bernier noted the different physical characteristics of the various peoples they encountered, especially their skin color, he was the first to group those peoples specifically into "races" on that basis. For this reason, "A New Division of the Earth" can be described as the first text in which the term "race" is used in something like its modern sense to refer to discrete human groups organized on the basis of skin color and other physical attributes. Later writers, including Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, acknowledged Bernier's contribution to the classification of humanity along biological lines.*

A new division of the earth, according to the different species or races of men who inhabit it, sent by a famous traveller to Mons. \* \* \* \* \*, nearly in these terms.

Geographers up to this time have only divided the earth according to its different countries or regions. The remarks which I have made upon men during all my long and numerous travels, have given me the idea of dividing it in a different way. Although in the exterior form of their bodies, and especially in their faces, men are almost all different one from the other, according to the different districts of the earth which they inhabit, so that those who have been great travellers are often never mistaken in distinguishing each nation in that way; still I have remarked that there are four or five species or races of men in particular whose difference is so

From *Journal des Scavans*, April 24, 1684. Translated by T. Bendyshe in *Memoirs Read Before the Anthropological Society of London*, vol. 1, 1863-64, pp. 360-64.

remarkable that it may be properly made use of as the foundation for a new division of the earth.

I comprehend under the first species France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Poland, and generally all Europe, except a part of Muscovy. To this may be added a small part of Africa, that is, from the kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli up to the Nile; and also a good part of Asia, as the empire of the Grand Seignior with the three Arabias, the whole of Persia, the states of the Grand Mogul, the kingdom of Golconda, that of Visapore, the Maldivias, and a part of the kingdoms of Araucan, Pegu, Siam, Sumatra, Bantan and Borneo. For although the Egyptians, for instance, and the Indians are very black, or rather copper-coloured, that colour is only an accident in them, and comes because they are constantly exposed to the sun; for those individuals who take care of themselves, and who are not obliged to expose themselves so often as the lower class, are not darker than many Spaniards. It is true that most Indians have something very different from us in the shape of their face, and in their colour which often comes very near to yellow; but that does not seem enough to make them a species apart, or else it would be necessary to make one of the Spaniards, another of the Germans, and so on with several other nations of Europe.

Under the second species I put the whole of Africa, except the coasts I have spoken of. What induces me to make a different species of the Africans, are, 1. Their thick lips and squab noses, their being very few among them who have aquiline noses or lips of moderate thickness. 2. The blackness which is peculiar to them, and which is not caused by the sun, as many think; for if a black African pair be transported to a cold country, their children are just as black, and so are all their descendants until they come to marry with white women. The cause must be sought for in the peculiar texture of their bodies, or in the seed, or in the blood—which last are, however, of the same colour as everywhere else. 3. Their skin, which is oily, smooth, and polished, excepting the places which are burnt with the sun. 4. The three or four hairs of beard. 5. Their hair, which is not properly hair, but rather a species of wool, which comes near the hairs of some of our dogs; and, finally, their teeth whiter than the finest ivory, their tongue and all the interior of their mouth and their lips as red as coral.

The third species comprehends a part of the kingdoms of Aracan and Siam, the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, the Philippines, Japan, the kingdom of Pegu, Tonkin, Cochin-China, China, Chinese Tartary, Georgia and Muscovy, the Usbek, Turkistan, Zaquetay, a small part of Muscovy, the little Tartars and Turcomans who live along the Euphrates towards Aleppo. The people of all those countries are truly white; but they

have broad shoulders, a flat face, a small squab nose, little pig's-eyes long and deep set, and three hairs of beard.

The Lapps make the fourth species. They are little stunted creatures with thick legs, large shoulders, short neck, and a face elongated immensely; very ugly and partaking much of the bear. I have only seen two of them at Dantzic; but, judging from the pictures I have seen, and the account which I have received of them from many persons who have been in the country, they are wretched animals.

As to the Americans, they are in truth most of them olive-coloured, and have their faces modelled in a different way from ours. Still I do not find the difference sufficiently great to make of them a peculiar species different from ours. Besides, as in our Europe, the stature, the turn of the face, the colour and the hair are generally very different, as we have said, so it is the same in other parts of the world; as for example, the blacks of the Cape of Good Hope seem to be of a different species to those from the rest of Africa. They are small, thin, dry, ugly, quick in running, passionately fond of carrion which they eat quite raw, and whose entrails they twine round their arms and neck, as one sees here sometimes with our butchers' dogs, that they may eat them when they want; drinking seawater when they can get no other, and speaking a language altogether strange, and almost inimitable by Europeans. Some of the Dutch say they speak *turkey*.

The remarks I have made also on the beauty of women are not less peculiar. It is certain that beautiful and ugly ones are found everywhere. I have some very handsome ones in Egypt, who recalled to my memory the beautiful and famous Cleopatra. I have also seen some very handsome ones among the blacks of Africa, who had not those thick lips and that squab nose. Seven or eight of them whom I met in different places were of a beauty so surprising, that in my opinion they eclipsed the Venus of the Farnese palace at Rome. The aquiline nose, the little mouth, the coral lips, the ivory teeth, the large and ardent eyes, that softness of expression, the bosom and all the rest, is sometimes of the last perfection. I have seen at Moka many quite naked for sale, and I may say that I have never seen anything more beautiful; but they were very dear, for they wanted to sell them three times dearer than the others.

I have also seen very handsome women in the Indies, and may say that they are beautiful brunettes. Amongst others some are coloured of ever so little a yellow, who are very much prized, and whom I found also very much to my taste; for that shade of yellow is vivid and brilliant, and has none of that ugly and livid paleness of jaundice. Imagine to yourself a beautiful and young French girl, who is only just beginning to have the

jaundice, and instead of that sick, pale visage, and those yellowish eyes, dull and languishing, give her a healthy face, soft, laughing, and beautiful brilliant and very amorous eyes, and you will have as near an idea of them as I can give you.

The Indians are quite right in saying that you do not find handsome women in the countries where the water is bad, or where the soil is not vigorous and fertile. In fact, the goodness of the water, and that of the diet, doubtless, have a great deal to do with beauty. It is not, however, generally true, that wherever these two things are found, there the women are always handsome. In my opinion, that depends upon some other conditions, which make beauty more scarce and more dispersed about. It arises not only from the water, the diet, the soil, and the air, but also from the seed which must be peculiar to certain races and species.

The women who live in the Ganges at Benares, and downwards towards Bengal, are generally esteemed. Those of the kingdom of Cashmere are still more so; for besides being as white as those of Europe, they have a soft face, and are a beautiful height; so it is from there that all those come who are to be found at the Ottoman Court, and that all the Grand Seigniors keep by them. I recollect that as we were coming back from that country, we saw nothing else but little girls in the sort of cabins which the men carried on their shoulders over the mountains. But although the women of Lahore are brown like the rest of the Indian women, still they seemed to me more charming than all the others; their beautiful figure, small and easy, with the softness of their faces, quite surpassed by a great deal that of the Cashmerians.

It cannot be said that the native and aboriginal women of Persia are beautiful; but this does not prevent the city of Isfahan from being filled with an infinity of very handsome women, as well as very handsome men, in consequence of the great number of handsome slaves who are brought there from Georgia and Circassia.

The Turks have also a great number of very handsome women; besides those of the country, who are by no means ugly, they have those Greek beauties of whom you have heard so much said, and besides that an immense quantity of slaves who come to them from Mingrelia, Georgia, and Circassia, where, according to all the Levantines and all the travellers, the handsomest women of the world are to be found.

Thus the Christians and Jews are not allowed to buy a Circassian slave at Constantinople. They are reserved for the Turks alone. When our friend speaks of them he is in raptures, and declares he has seen nothing so handsome in Europe. I shall say nothing of European beauties, you doubtless know as much of them as I do.

François-Marie Voltaire,  
"Of the Different Races of Men"  
from *The Philosophy of History*

*François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778) first published The Philosophy of History in 1765 using the religious pseudonym of the Abbé Bazin as protection. In 1769, when preparing a collection of his works, Voltaire made of it a "Preliminary Discourse" when he added it to a work that he had initially published in 1756 under the title Essay on General History and on the Customs and Spirit of Nations since Charlemagne until Our Times. In its new form, the whole was given the now familiar name Essay on Customs and the Spirit of Nations. In 1655, Isaac de la Peyrère published Præ-Adamitæ, a work that argued that Adam and Eve were not the first human beings. His ideas were heavily criticized, but a century later, polygenesis was again being advocated by Voltaire in various works, including The Philosophy of History from which the following extract is taken.*

What is the most interesting to us, is the sensible difference in the species of men, who inhabit the four known quarters of the world.

None but the blind can doubt that the whites, the negroes, the Albinoes, the Hottentots, the Laplanders, the Chinese, the Americans, are races entirely different.

No curious traveller ever passed through Leyden, without seeing part of the *reticulum mucosum* of a negro dissected by the celebrated Ruish. The remainder of this membrane is in the cabinet of curiosities at Petersburg. This membrane is black, and communicates to negroes that inherent blackness, which they do not lose, but in such disorders as may destroy this texture, and allow the grease to issue from its cells, and form white spots under the skin.

Their round eyes, squat noses, and invariable thick lips, the different configuration of their ears, their woolly heads, and the measure of their intellects, make a prodigious difference between them and other species of men; and what demonstrates, that they are not indebted for this difference to their climates, is that negro men and women, being transported into the

From *Traité de Métaphysique*, 1734. Translated in Voltaire, *The Philosophy of History*, 1766.

coldest countries, constantly produce animals of their own species; and that mulattoes are only a bastard race of black men and white women, or white men and black women, as asses, specifically different from horses, produce mules by copulating with mares.

The Albinos are, indeed, a very small and scarce nation; they inhabit the center of Africa. Their weakness does not allow them to make excursions far from the caverns which they inhabit; the negroes, nevertheless, catch some of them at times, and these we purchase of them as curiosities. I have seen two of them, a thousand other Europeans have seen some. To say that they are dwarf negroes, whose skin has been blanched by a kind of leprosy, is like saying that the blacks themselves are whites blackened by the leprosy. An Albino no more resembles a Guinea negro, than he does an Englishman or a Spaniard. Their whiteness is not like ours, it does not appear like flesh, it has no mixture of white and brown; it is the color of linen, or rather of bleached wax; their hair and eye-brows are like the finest and softest silk; their eyes have no sort of similitude with those of other men, but they come very near partridge's eyes. Their shape resembles that of the Laplanders, but their head that of no other nation whatever; as their hair, their eyes, their ears, are all different, and they have nothing that seems to belong to man but the stature of their bodies, with the faculty of speaking and thinking, but in a degree very different from ours.

The apron, which nature has given to the Caffres, and whose flabby and lank skin falls from their navel half way down their thighs; the black breasts of the Samoiedes women, the beard of the males of our continent, and the beardless chins of the Americans, are such striking distinctions, that it is scarce possible to imagine that they are not each of them of different races.

But now, if it should be asked, from whence came the Americans, it should be asked from whence came the inhabitants of the Terra Australis; and it has been already answered, that the same providence which placed men in Norway, planted some also in America and under the antarctic circle, in the same manner as it planted trees and made grass to grow there.

Several of the learned have surmised, that some races of men, or animals approximating to men, have perished: the Albinos are so few in number, so weak, and so ill used by the negroes, that there is reason to apprehend this species will not long subsist.

Satyrs are mentioned by all the ancient writers. I do not see why their existence should be impossible: monsters brought forth by women are still stifled in Calabria. It is not improbable that in hot countries, monkeys may have enslaved girls. Herodotus in his second book, says, that in his Voyage into Egypt, there was a woman in the province of Mendes, who publicly copulated with a he-goat; and he calls all Egypt to witness the truth of it. It

is forbidden in Leviticus, chapter eighteen to commit abominations with he and she-goats. These copulations must then have been common, and till such time as we are better informed, it is to be presumed that a monstrous species must have arisen from these abominable amours; but if such did exist, they could have no influence over the human kind; and like the mules, who do not engender, they could not interrupt the course of nature in the other races.

With respect to the duration of the life of man (if you abstract that line of Adam's descendants, consecrated by the Jewish books) it is probable that all the races of man have enjoyed a life nearly as short as our own; as animals, trees and all productions of nature, have ever had the same duration.

But it should be observed, that commerce not having always introduced among mankind the productions and disorders of other climates, and men being more robust and laborious in the simplicity of a country life, for which they are born, they must have enjoyed a more equal health, and a life somewhat longer than in effeminacy, or in the unhealthy works of great cities; that is to say, that if in Constantinople, Paris, or London, one man in 20,000 attains the age of an hundred years, it is probable that twenty men in twenty years arrived formerly at that age. This is seen in several parts of America, where mankind have preserved a pure state of nature.

The plague and the small pox, which the Arabian caravans communicated in a course of years to the people of Asia and Europe, were for a long time unknown. Thus mankind in Asia and the fine climates of Europe multiplied more easily than elsewhere. Accidental disorders, and some wounds were not, indeed, cured, as they are at present; but the advantage of never being afflicted with the plague or smallpox, compensated all the dangers attendant on our nature; so that, every thing considered, it is to be believed that human kind formerly enjoyed in the favorable climates a more healthy and happy life, than since the foundation of great empires.

## Immanuel Kant, “Of the Different Human Races”

*Immanuel Kant's (1724–1804) “Of the Different Human Races” is widely recognized as the first attempt to give a scientific definition of race based on a clear distinction between race and species. The translation that follows is the first complete rendering in English of the 1777 version of Kant's essay, which is a revised and an expanded version of the original 1775 essay. The only previous translation omitted a number of passages and corresponds to neither version of Kant's text. The importance to Kant of the concept of race is reflected in the fact that he defended it in two further essays, in 1785 and 1787. The second of these, “Of the Use of Teleological Principles in Philosophy,” prepares for the second part of the Critique of Judgment, thereby suggesting a possible link between Kant's writings on race and his critical project that is currently being debated by scholars.*

### 1. Of the diversity of races in general

In the animal kingdom, the natural division into genera and species is based on the law of common propagation and the unity of the genera is nothing other than the unity of the reproductive power that is consistently operative within a specific collection of animals. For this reason, Buffon's rule, that animals that produce fertile young with one another belong to one and the same physical genus (no matter how dissimilar in form they may be), must properly be regarded only as a definition of a natural genus of animals in general. A natural genus may, however, be distinguished from every artificial division. An artificial division is based upon classes and divides things up according to similarities, but a natural division is based upon identifying distinct lines of descent that divide according to reproductive relations. The first of these creates an artificial system for memorization, the second a natural system for the understanding. The first has only the intent of bringing creatures under headings; the second has the intent of bringing them under laws.

Immanuel Kant, “Von der verschiedenen Rassen der Menschen,” 1777, translated by Jon Mark Mikkelsen, 1999, Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. All rights reserved.

According to this second way of thinking, all human beings anywhere on earth belong to the same natural genus, because they always produce fertile children with one another even if we find great dissimilarities in their form. The unity of such a natural genus is, in other words, tantamount to the unity of its common effective reproductive power. To account for such unity, we can introduce only a single natural cause. More specifically, we must, to account for the unity of the natural genus, assume that all human beings belong to the one line of descent from which—regardless of their dissimilarities—they emerged, or from which they might at least possibly have emerged. In the first case, human beings belong not merely to one and the same genus, but also to one family. Alternatively, differing human beings might be viewed as similar to one another, but not related, and we would have to assume that there were many different local creations. This alternative is, however, a view that needlessly multiplies the number of causes. An animal genus, which at the same time has a common line of descent, is not comprised of different species (since being comprised of different species just indicates dissimilarities of descent), but their divergences from one another are called deviations when they are inheritable. Similarly, the hereditary marks of descent are called resemblances when they agree with their origin. However, if the deviation can no longer produce the original formation of the line, it would be called a degeneration.

Among the deviations, that is, among the hereditary dissimilarities that we find in animals that belong to a single line of descent, are those called races. Races are deviations that are constantly preserved over many generations and come about as a consequence of migration (dislocation to other regions) or through interbreeding with other deviations of the same line of descent, which always produces half-breed off-spring. Those deviate forms that always preserve the distinction of their deviation are called variations. Variations resemble each other, but they do not necessarily produce half-breeds when they mix with others. Those deviations which often, but not always, resemble one another may, on the other hand, be called varieties. Conversely, the deviation which produces half-breed off-spring with others, but which gradually dies out through migration, may be called a special stock.

Proceeding in this way, Negroes and whites are clearly not different species of human beings (since they presumably belong to one line of descent), but they do comprise two different races. This is because each of them perpetuate themselves in all regions of the earth and because they both, when they interbreed, necessarily produce half-breed children, or blends (Mulattoes). Blonds and brunettes are not, by contrast, different races of whites, because a blond man who is the child of a brunette woman

can also have distinctly blond children, although each of these deviations is always preserved, even when migration occurs frequently over many generations. For this reason, they are only variations of whites. At long last, then, the condition of the earth (dampness or dryness), along with the food that a people commonly eat, eventually produces one hereditary distinction or stock among animals of a single line of descent and race, especially with regard to their size, the proportion of their limbs (plump or slim), and their natural disposition. This stock will surely produce half-breed resemblances when it mixes with hereditary stocks foreign to it. Such half-breed resemblances disappear, however, in only a few generations when members of the stock live in other places and change their diet (even when there is no change in climate). We take pleasure in becoming aware of how we can account for the origin of the different stock of human beings according to the variety of causes that account for these differences. Thus someone from the same region is recognizable simply according to the features characteristic of any one from that province. The Boeotians, who live in a region with damp soil, are, for example, distinguishable from the Athenians, who live in a region with dry soil. Such dissimilarity is of course often easily recognizable only to a keen observer, while others find it laughable. Those features that belong to varieties—which are, therefore, by themselves hereditary (even if not always)—can, through marriages that always take place within the same families, even produce, in time, something that I call the family stock. These features ultimately become rooted in the reproductive power so characteristically that they come near to forming a variation in the way that they perpetuate themselves. Indeed, this development has presumably been observed in the old Venetian nobility, particularly in the women. At any rate, all of the noble women on the recently discovered island of Tahiti do have longer noses than is common.—Maupertuis believes that we might cultivate a noble stock of human beings in any province, a stock in whom understanding, diligence, and probity were hereditary. His view rests on the possibility that an enduring family stock might eventually be established through the careful selection of the degenerate from the normal births. I think, however, that even though such a scheme is, strictly speaking, certainly practicable, nature, in its wisdom, acts to hinder it rather well. This is because major driving forces lie even within the mixing of evil with good that set the sleeping powers of humanity into play. These forces require that human beings develop all of their talents and approach the perfection of their calling. If nature, when undisturbed (without the effects of migration or foreign interbreeding) can effect procreation everywhere, she can eventually produce an enduring stock at any time. The people of this stock would always be recognizable and might even be called a race, if their

characteristic feature does not seem too insignificant and so difficult to describe that we are unable to use it to establish a special division.

## 2. Division of the human genus into its different races

I believe that we only need to assume four races in order to be able to derive all of the enduring distinctions immediately recognizable within the human genus. They are: (1) the white race; (2) the Negro race; (3) the Hun race (Mongol or Kalmuck); and (4) the Hindu or Hindustani race. I also count among the first of these, which we find primarily in Europe, the Moors (Mauritanians from Africa), the Arabs (following Niebuhr), the Turkish-Tatars, and the Persians, including all the other peoples of Asia who are not specifically excepted from them in the other divisions. The Negro race of the northern hemisphere is native (indigenous) only in Africa; that of the southern hemisphere (except Africa) is native only to New Guinea and is to be found on several neighboring islands only because of migration. The Kalmuck race seems to be purest among the Khoshuts, to be mixed a little with Tatar blood among the Torguts, and to be mixed more with Tatar blood among the Zingari. This is the same race which in the oldest times carried the name Huns, later that of Mongols (in the wider sense), and currently that of Oliuts. The Hindustani race is, in the land of the same name, very pure and ancient, but is to be distinguished from the people who live on the other half of the Indian peninsula. I believe that it is possible to derive all of the other hereditary characters of peoples from these four races either as mixed races or as races that originate from them. The first of these two alternatives occurs when different races interbreed; the second occurs when a people has not yet lived long enough in a specific climate to take on fully the character of the race peculiar to that climate. Thus, the mixing of Tatar and Hunnish blood in the Kara-Kalpaks, the Nagas, and others, has produced half-races. Similarly, the inhabitants of the other side of the Indian peninsula, the Tonkinese and Chinese, were possibly produced as mixed races when Hindustani blood was mixed with that of the ancient Scyths (in and around Tibet) and with either more or less of that of the Huns. The inhabitants of the northern arctic coast of Asia are, on the other hand, an example of a race that has not yet taken on fully the characteristics of the Huns. This claim is based on the observation that these people already display uniformly black hair, beardless chins, flat faces, and eyes placed within long slits that seem to be barely opened. These features indicate the effect of the arctic climate on a people that were only recently driven into this region from a milder climate. This is the same sort of development

that the sea Lapplander, a lineage deriving from the Hungarians, seem to have undergone. If the sea Lapplander did indeed originate from a well-developed people that previously lived in the temperate zone, then they have already, in only a few centuries, acclimated themselves quite well to the peculiarities of a cold climate. Finally, the native Americans appear to be a Hunnish race that is still not fully acclimated. For in the extreme northwest region of America, on the northern coast of Hudson Bay, the inhabitants are quite similar to the Kalmucks (a likely explanation for this is that the inhabitants of this part of the world might have originated in northeastern Asia, since the kinds of animals found in both of these regions are in agreement). Further south, the face is indeed more open and higher, but the beardless chin, the uniformly black hair, the red-brown facial color, together with the coldness and insensitivity of the natural disposition—genuine remnants of the effect of a long residence in a cold region of the world, as we will soon see—continue from the far north of this part of the world to Staten Island. The long residence of the lineal ancestors of the native Americans in northeastern Asia and the neighboring northwestern region of America brought about the perfection of the Kalmuck form, but the speedy dispersal of their descendants toward the south of this region fostered the perfection of the form now characteristic of the native American. Outside of America, there is no further resettlement of this people. This is shown by the fact that all inhabitants of the Pacific islands, except for a few Negroes, have beards. Furthermore, these people show some signs of originating from Malaysians, the same as do the inhabitants of the Sunda islands. This supposition is indeed confirmed by the kind of feudalism that we find on the island of Tahiti, since this sort of political system is also common in Malaysia.

The reason for assuming that Negroes and whites are the base races is self-evident. As for the Hindustani and Kalmuck races, the olive-yellow skin color of the first of these races—which accounts for the lighter or darker brown skin color that we find in peoples living in hot lands—is no more to be derived from some other known national character as is the original face of the Kalmucks. Both leave their mark inevitably in mixed matings. Exactly the same circumstances explain the origin of the closely-related native American race. This race was first struck in the Kalmuck form, but developed through the effects of the same causes. We may also assume, then, that the yellow Mestizo arose from the interbreeding of east Indians with whites, just as red-skinned peoples arose from the interbreeding of native Americans with whites. Similarly, Mulattoes arose from the interbreeding of whites with Negroes, and the Kabugl, or black Caribs, arose from the interbreeding of native Americans with Negroes.

These other peoples may, therefore, be viewed as recognizably marked blends with origins derivable from genuine races.

### 3. Of the immediate causes of the origin of these different races

The causes lying in the nature of an organic body (plant or animal) that account for a specific development are called seeds when this development concerns a particular part of the plant or animal. When, however, such development only concerns the size or the relationship of the parts to one another, I call them natural predispositions. For example, in birds of the same species which can nevertheless live in different climates, there are seeds for the development of a new layer of feathers. These feathers appear when such birds live in cold climates, but they are held back when they live in temperate climates. Similarly, the wheat kernel must be more protected against damp cold in a cold climate than in a dry or warm climate. Therefore, a previously determined capacity or natural predisposition lies in it to produce, within a certain period of time, a thicker skin. This solicitude of nature to equip her creatures through hidden inner measures for all possible future circumstances is certainly admirable and enables these creatures to preserve themselves and to be fit for different climates and lands. These hidden measures also make possible the migration and transplantation of animals and plants. Such migration and transplantation may even lead us to believe that new species of animals and plants have arisen, but these apparent new species are really nothing other than deviations and races of the same genus whose seeds and natural predispositions have only occasionally developed in different ways in the long course of time.<sup>1</sup>

1. We commonly make no distinction between the expressions "the description of nature" and "natural history." However, it is obvious that knowledge of the things of nature as they now are will always leave us wishing for knowledge of how they once were and by what series of changes they went through to come to their present place and condition. Natural history, of which we presently have very little, would teach us about the changes in the earth's form, including the changes that the earth's creatures (plants and animals) have sustained as a result of natural migrations, and about the deviations from the prototype of the lineal root genus that have originated as a consequence of these migrations. Natural history would presumably lead us back from the great number of seemingly different species to races of the same genus and transform the presently overly detailed artificial system for the description of nature into a physical system for the understanding.

Neither chance nor general mechanistic laws could produce such matches. For this reason, we must view this sort of chance development as preformed. The mere ability to reproduce a specific acquired character in just those cases where nothing purposive presents itself is already proof enough that a special seed or natural predisposition is to be found in organic creation. For external factors might well be occasional but not productive causes of those creatures that necessarily pass on the same characteristic features that they have inherited. It is just as unlikely that chance or physical-mechanical causes could produce an organic body as that they might add something to the reproductive power of such a body, that is, as that they might effect the particular form or relationship among the various parts of a thing that can reproduce itself.<sup>2</sup> Air, sun, and diet can modify the growth of the body of an animal. Factors such as these cannot, however, produce this change together with a reproductive power capable of producing such change without these causes. Any possible change with the potential for replicating itself must instead have already been present in the reproductive power so that chance development appropriate to the circumstances might take place according to a previously determined plan. Such development makes it possible for things to turn out well for the creature and for it to preserve itself continually. For nothing can become a part of an animal's reproductive power that is foreign to it, since this would make it possible for the creature to distance itself gradually from its original and essential determination and produce true degenerate forms that might perpetuate themselves.

Human beings were created in such a way that they might live in every climate and endure each and every condition of the land. Consequently, numerous seeds and natural predispositions must lie ready in human beings either to be developed or held back in such a way that we might become fitted to a particular place in the world. These seeds and natural predispositions appear to be inborn and made for these conditions through the on-going process of reproduction. Making use of these ideas, we wish to examine the entire human genus as it can be found all over the earth and to specify purposive causes to account for the appearance of deviations in those cases where natural causes are not readily discernible. However, we also wish to specify natural causes in those cases where we cannot become aware of any purposes. I note here only that air and sun

2. Diseases are, at times, hereditary. For this to occur, however, no special organization is needed. There needs instead only to be a ferment of harmful juices that are passed on through infection. Diseases are also not necessarily passed on to the next generation.

appear to be the sort of causes that influence most intimately the reproductive power. They also seem to produce a long-lasting development on the seeds and predispositions. This is to say that they could be the factors responsible for establishing a race. My reason for saying this is that a specific diet can surely produce a stock of humans, but the distinctions that identify such a stock as distinct quickly disappear when this stock is transplanted to another place. The reproductive power ought not be responsible for the maintenance of life, but instead for its source, i.e., it ought to affect the first principles of its animal organization and movement.

Displaced into an arctic region, human beings had gradually to take on a smaller build. This is because with a smaller build the power of the heart remains the same but blood circulation takes place in a shorter time. Consequently, the pulse is more rapid and the blood warmer. In fact, Cranz found the Greenlanders not only far smaller in stature than Europeans, he also found the natural heat of their bodies to be noticeably greater. The disproportion between the full body height and the short legs of northern peoples is itself very appropriate for their climate, since this part of the body suffers more danger from the cold due to its distance from the heart. All the same, most of the currently known inhabitants of this region seem to be newcomers. For example, the Laplanders, who are of the same line of descent as the Finns, that is to say, who emerged from the Hungarian line, have occupied their present place of residence only since the migration of the Hungarians (from east Asia). They are nevertheless already to a certain degree acclimated to this climate.

However, when a northern people is compelled to withstand the influence of the cold of this region for a long time, even greater changes must take place. All development which causes the body only to squander its juices must eventually be impeded in so dry a region as this. For this reason, the seeds for hair growth are suppressed over the course of time so that only so much hair remains as is needed for the necessary covering of the head. By means of a natural predisposition the protruding part of the face, which is the part of the face that is least capable of being covered by hair, gradually becomes flatter. This happens through the intervention of a solicitous nature, in order that this people might better survive, since this part of the face also suffers the most from the effect of the cold. The bulging, raised area under the eyes and the half-closed and squinting eyes themselves seem to guard this same part of the face partly against the parching cold of the air and partly against the light of the snow (against which even the Eskimo need snow goggles). This part of the face seems indeed to be so well arranged that it could just as well be viewed as the

natural effect of the climate, since these features are to be found only infrequently in milder regions of the earth. Thus, the Kalmuck facial form, marked by its beardless chin, snarled nose, thin lips, squinting eyes, flat face, and the red-brown color with black hair, emerged only gradually. Indeed, this development of an enduring race took root only after an extended period of reproductive activity in the same climate. These features would, therefore, be preserved even if such a people were to migrate immediately to a more temperate climate.

Doubtlessly, someone might ask how I can justify deriving the Kalmuck form from a people that has lived primarily in the far north or northeast when we can presently find them in their most complete development in a mild climatic zone. I would explain this possibility in the following way. Herodotus reported already in his time that the Argippeans, inhabitants of a land situated at the feet of high mountains in a region that we can assume to be the Urals, were bald and that they covered their trees with a white covering (he was presumably thinking of felt tents). We now find this form, in greater or smaller numbers, in northeastern Asia, but even more prominently in the American northwest, which can be explored outward from Hudson Bay. In fact, according to many reports the inhabitants of this region look like true Kalmucks. If we bear in mind then that both animals and humans must have passed back and forth in this region between Asia and America in the most ancient time, that we find the same animals in the cold parts of both of these regions, that this human race first showed itself to the Chinese in a region beyond the Amur river approximately 1,000 years before the Christian era (according to de Guignes), and that it gradually drove other people of Tatar, Hungarian and other lines of descent out of their places of residence, then this account of the origin of this people from out of the cold regions of the world will not seem completely forced.

However, the foremost case, namely, the derivation of the native Americans as a people that has inhabited the northern most part of the earth for a long time but which has not yet fully acclimated itself to this region as would a distinct race, is confirmed completely by the suppressed growth of hair on all parts of their body except the head and by the reddish, iron rust color that marks this people when they live in the colder regions of this part of the world and the dark copper color that marks them when they live in the hotter regions. For the red-brown skin color (as an effect of the acidic air) seems to be just as suited to the cold climate as the olive-brown skin color (as an effect of briny bile of the juices) is suited to the hot regions of the earth. We can, in fact, come to this conclusion without even taking into account the natural disposition of the native American, which

reveals a half-extinguished life power.<sup>3</sup> This diminishment of life power can, however, also be seen as entirely natural for the effect of a cold region of the world.

The extreme, humid heat of the warm climate must, on the other hand, show quite opposite effects on a people that has lived under such conditions long enough to have become fully acclimated. Conditions such as these will produce exactly the reverse of the Kalmuck form. The growth of the spongy parts of the body had to increase in a hot and humid climate. This growth produced a thick, turned up nose and thick, fatty lips. The skin had to be oily, not only to lessen the too heavy perspiration, but also to ward off the harmful absorption of the foul, humid air. The profusion of iron particles, which are otherwise found in the blood of every human being, and, in this case, are precipitated in the net-shaped substance through the evaporation of the phosphoric acid (which explains why all Negroes stink), is the cause of the blackness that shines through the epidermis. The heavy iron content in the blood also seems to be necessary in order to prevent the enervation of all the parts of the body. The oily skin, which weakens the nourishing mucus necessary for the growth of hair, hardly even allows for the production of the wool that covers the head. Besides all this, humid warmth generally promotes the strong growth of animals. In short, all of these factors account for the origin of the Negro, who is well-suited to his climate, namely, strong, fleshy, and agile. However, because he is so amply supplied by his motherland, he is also lazy, indolent, and dawdling.

The indigenous peoples of Hindustan may be viewed as a race that has sprouted from one of the oldest human races. Their land, which is protected to the north by a high mountain range, is cut through from north to south, to the tip of the peninsula, by a long row of mountains. (I am still including, in the northern part of this region, Tibet, which was, perhaps, the common place of refuge for humankind during the earth's last great geological revolution, and, in the period following that revolution, a plant nursery for the re-vegetation of the entire earth.) This land is also fortunate to have the most perfect drainage system (draining toward two different oceans) of any of the regions lying in the similarly fortunate climatic zones of mainland Asia. This land could, therefore, have been dry

3. To cite just one example, red slaves (native-Americans) are used only for domestic work in Surinam, because they are too weak to work in the fields. Negroes are thus needed for fieldwork. The difficulties in this case are not the result of a lack of coercive measures, but the natives in this part of the world lack ability and durability.

and inhabitable in ancient times, since not only the eastern Indian peninsula, but also China (because its rivers run parallel instead of diverging from one another) must have been uninhabitable in those times of floods. A fixed human race could, therefore, have established itself in this region over a long period of time. The olive-yellow skin of the Asian-Indians, the true gypsy color that is the basis for the more or less dark brown skin color of the Asian peoples, is equally characteristic of these people and does not vary in the successive generations. This characteristic skin color and the fact that it is passed on to successive generations is, in fact, just as fixed for this people as is the black skin color of the Negro, and seems, together with other well-developed features and distinct natural dispositions, just as much to be the effect of a dry heat as the well-developed features of the Negro seem to be the effect of a humid heat. According to Ives, the common illnesses of Asian-Indians are clogged gall bladders and swollen livers. However, their inborn skin color is virtually jaundiced and seems to manifest a continuous separation of the bile that enters the blood. This continual separating process also has a cleansing effect that quite possibly loosens up and volatilizes the thickened juices and, by this means, cools off the blood in the outer part of the body, even if it does nothing else. The cold hands of the Asian-Indians might well also be explained by a self-defense mechanism based-upon this process, or a similar one, that continually eliminates whatever it is that, through a certain organization (that shows itself in the skin), stimulates the blood.<sup>4</sup> This natural self-defense mechanism may even be the cause of a generally lower blood temperature (although we have not yet observed this) that makes it possible to bear the heat of the climate without its negative consequence.

4. I have indeed previously read that these Asian-Indians have the peculiarity of having even colder hands when it becomes very hot and that this could be a fruit of their sobriety and self-control. However, I once had the pleasure of talking with a certain Mr. Eaton, an attentive and reasonable well-traveled man who had served for many years as the Dutch consul and head of their establishments in Basra, etc. He was passing through Königsberg and informed me that as he was once dancing with the wife of a European consul in Surat he was taken aback when he became aware of her sweaty and cold hands (the habit of shaking hands is not yet accepted there). Since he told others about his surprise, he was told, by way of explanation, that this woman's mother had been an Asian-Indian and that she had inherited this peculiarity from her mother. Eaton also reported that the difference between the races is immediately apparent when the children of Parsees are seen together there with the children of Asian-Indians, since the children of the Parsees are white and the children of Asian-Indians are gold-brown. Similarly, he said that the build of Asian-Indians still possesses the distinguishing characteristic of this race, namely, thighs of a length that exceed the proportion to which we are accustomed.

We now have some ideas about these matters that at least provide us with reasons enough to counter the ideas of others who find the differences among the human genera so irreconcilable that they prefer instead to assume that there must have been numerous local creations of human beings. As Voltaire says: God—who created the reindeer in Lapland to eat the moss of this cold region, and who also created the Lapplander to eat the reindeer—is a pretty good inspiration for the poet, but he does not provide much assistance to the philosopher, who is not permitted to abandon the chain of natural causes except in those cases where he clearly sees these causes connected to his immediate fate.

We now justifiably account for the different colors of plants by noting that the iron content of certain identifiably distinct plant juices varies. Similarly, since the blood of all animals contains iron, there is nothing to prevent us from accounting for the different colors of the human races by referring to exactly the same causes. Perhaps the hydrochloric acid, or the phosphoric acid, or the volatile alkaline content of the exporting vessels of the skin, were, in this way, reflected red, or black, or yellow, in the iron particles in the reticulum. Among whites, however, these acids and the volatile alkaline content are not reflected at all because the iron in the bodily juices has been dissolved, thereby demonstrating both the perfect mixing of these juices and the strength of this human stock in comparison to the others. I must also say, however, that my opinions in these matters are only preliminary, and I offer them only for the purpose of stimulating further investigation in a field with which I am too unfamiliar to do anything more than venture, but with some confidence, some ideas of my own.

We have identified four human races. We can understand all the diversity of this genus on the basis of these four races. However, all deviations surely require a lineal root genus. We must either conclude that this lineal root genus is already extinct or that we can find evidence of it among the existing stock, from which we can generally construct a comparative account of the lineal root genus. To be sure, we cannot hope now to find anywhere in the world an unchanged example of the original human form. However, it is only because of this natural propensity to take on the characteristics of any natural setting over many successive generations that the human form must now everywhere be subject to local modifications. The only part of the earth that we can justifiably think to have the most fortunate combination of influences of both the cold and hot regions is the area between 31 and 52 degrees latitude in the old world (which also seems to deserve the name old world because of the peoples that inhabit it). The greatest riches of earth's creation are found in this region and this is also where human beings must diverge least from their original form, since the

human beings living in this region were already well-prepared to be transplanted into every other region of the earth. We certainly find in this region white, indeed, brunette inhabitants. We want, therefore, to assume that this form is that of the lineal root genus. The nearest northern deviation to develop from this original form appears to be the noble blond form. This form is characterized by its tender white skin, reddish hair, and pale blue eyes. This form inhabited the northern regions of Germany and, if we believe other available evidence, the region that stretches further to the east up to the Altai mountains, a cold region filled with vast wooded areas. At this time the influence of cold and humid air, which drew the bodily juices toward a tendency for scurvy, produced a certain stock of human beings. This stock would have gotten on well enough to persist as a race if the further development of this deviation had not been so frequently interrupted by interbreeding with alien stocks. We can, therefore, at least take all this as a tentative account of the origins of the real races. If so, the four presently existing races and the natural causes that account for their origins can be illustrated by means of the following summary:

- Lineal root genus
- White of brownish color
- First race
- Noble blond (northern Europe)
- from humid cold
- Second race
- Copper red (America)
- from dry cold
- Third race
- Black (Senegambia)
- from humid heat
- Fourth race
- Olive-yellow (Asian-Indians)
- from dry heat

#### 4. Of the occasional causes of the establishment of the different races

No matter what explanation one might accept, the greatest difficulty presented by the diversity of races on the surface of the earth is this: the same race is not to be found in similar regions of land at similar latitudes. We do not, for example, find east-Asian Indians in the hottest climatic regions of America and there are even fewer indigenous peoples in America that exhibit the form of the Negro. Similarly, there are no peoples

native to Arabia or Persia that have the same olive-yellow skin color of the Asian-Indians, even though these lands are very much in agreement in climate and air quality, etc. The first of these difficulties can be resolved easily enough by examining the type of people who inhabit this climatic zone. For once a race has established itself as the result of a long residency of its ancestral people in northeast Asia, or in the neighboring land of America, as has now happened, no further climatic influences could cause it to change into another race. For only the original lineal formation can turn into a race. However, in those regions where a race has become deeply rooted and stifled the other seeds, it resists further transformation, because the character of the race has become predominant in the reproductive powers.

How, then, are we to explain the particular location of the Negro race?<sup>5</sup> This race is peculiar to Africa (and in its most completely developed form to Senegambia). It is, therefore, similar to the Asian-Indian race, which is also confined to its own land (except to the east, where it also appears in half-breed form). I believe that the cause of these peculiarities is to be found in an ancient inland sea which kept Hindustan, as well as Africa, separated from other lands that are in close proximity. For the strip of land that stretches in an only slightly broken continuous land mass from the Baikalia border to Mongolia, lesser Bokhara, Persia, Arabia, Nubia, and the Sahara to Cape Blanc, looks, for the most part, like the bottom of an ancient sea. Bauche calls the lands of this region plate formations. They are high and comprised of numerous horizontally placed flat regions. The mountains that we find in this region have been placed upon these flat regions and nowhere do the slopes of these mountains extend very far. The base of these mountains is also buried under horizontal layers of sand. For these reasons, the few rivers that we find in this region only flow a short distance and then dry up in the sand. They are similar to the basins of ancient seas, because they are surrounded by regions of high altitude and in their interiors, considered in their entirety, they hold whatever water that drains into them. For these reasons, rivers neither flow into nor out of these regions. For the most part, these regions are also covered with sand that might have been left behind from an ancient, calm sea. Taking into account all these factors, it becomes comprehensible how the Asian-Indian character was not able to take root in Persia and Arabia, since these regions

5. There is also a small strain of Negroes in the hot southern part of the world that has spread out to neighboring islands. Of this strain, we should almost believe—because of the mixing with Asian-Indian half-breeds—that they are not native to these regions but were instead brought over a long time ago by Malaysians who had contact with Africa.

still served as the basin of a sea when Hindustan had presumably already been inhabited for a long time. Further, these factors also explain how the Negro, as well as the Asian-Indian race, could survive without mixing with northern blood for such a long time. This occurred because the Negro race was cut off by this same sea. We see, then, that the description of nature (i.e., the condition of nature at the present time) does not suffice to explain the diversity of human deviations. We must, therefore, venture to offer a history of nature, even if we are also—and rightfully so—hostile to the impudence of mere opinion. This kind of history is, however, a separate special science and it could well serve to move us gradually from opinions to true insights.

Johann Gottfried von Herder,  
*Ideas on the Philosophy  
of the History of Humankind*

*Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) is best known as the author of Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Humankind (Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit), the first volume of which appeared in 1784. The first half of Herder's Ideas located human diversity within the system of nature, and it is in that portion of the book (Book VII, section one) that Herder rejected the differentiation of humanity into races and insisted that a division into peoples is more appropriate. The second half of the Ideas was a broad survey of the history of the world, together with a reflection on how human diversity contributes to the idea of humanity. As a student, Herder had attended Kant's lectures on Physical Geography, and his interests as expressed in the Ideas reflect some of the themes that Kant had explored in those lectures. Herder's rejection of the concept of race is directed against Kant and represents an important moment in their dispute during the second half of the 1780s.*

NO MATTER HOW DIFFERENT THE FORMS  
IN WHICH HUMANKIND APPEARS ON EARTH:

IT IS STILL EVERYWHERE ONE AND THE SAME HUMAN SPECIES

Just as in nature no two leaves of a tree are the same, even less so are two human faces and two human organizations. What an infinite diversity is possible for our skillfully crafted construction! Its solid particles dissolve into such fine, numerous interwoven fibers that no eye can follow them: these are held together by a glue whose fragile mixture escapes all calculative skills, and yet these particles are the least significant things that we have about us. They are nothing other than containers, shells, and holders of the manifold and diversely animated juices that are present in much greater amounts, the juices through which we enjoy and live. "No human being," says Haller, "is completely similar to another in his inner con-

From Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, third edition, 1828. Translated by Thomas Nenon, 1999. Reprinted by permission of the translator.

struction: he is differentiated in the path of his nerves and veins into millions and millions of cases so that it is almost impossible to discover, in the face of these differences between these fine particles, wherein they coincide." If the mere eye of the anatomist can discover this incalculable differentiation, how much greater differentiation must dwell in the invisible forces of such a skillful organization! so that each human being in the end becomes a world, that may have a similar appearance from the outside; but on the inside has a nature of its own that cannot be measured against any other.

And since human beings are not independent substances, but rather are connected to all the elements of nature, they live from the breath of the air as well as from the most diverse children of the earth, from different foods and drinks: they work with fire, just as they soak up light and foul the air; awake and asleep, moving and resting, they contribute to change in the universe. And should they not be changed by it? It is greatly understated to compare humans to an absorbent sponge, a glowing fuse; they are each an innumerable harmony, a living self that has an effect on all of the forces that surround them.

The whole course of a human being's life is transformation; all of the stages of his life are fables on it and hence the whole of humankind is engaged in a continuing metamorphosis. Blossoms fall off and wilt; others bloom and send out shoots: the giant tree bears all of the seasons on its crown at once. So if, according to the calculation of excretions alone, an eighty-year old man has renewed his entire body at least twenty-four times, who can follow the change in matter and its forces throughout the whole human realm on earth in all of the causes of its changing? For no point on our diverse sphere, no wave in the stream of time, is the same as another. The inhabitants of Germany were Patagonians a few centuries ago and are no longer so; the inhabitants of future climates will not resemble us. If we then return to those times where everything on earth seems to have been so different, to the time, for example, when elephants lived in Siberia and North America, when those larger animals existed whose skeletons are found next to the Ohio River, etc.; if humans lived in these areas at that time, how different they were from those that live there now! And so human history becomes a theater of transformations that only He can survey who animates all of these constructs and who enjoys and feels Himself in all of them. He stages and destroys, refines the figures and revises them after He has transformed the world around them. The pilgrim on earth, the quickly disappearing ephemeron, can do nothing but wonder at the miracle of this great spirit in a small spectrum, enjoy the form that he has become among the choir of others, worship it and

disappear with this form. "I too was in Arcadia!" is the gravestone inscription for all the living in ever transforming, ever aborning creation.

Since however the human intellect seeks unity through all of this differentiation, and its model, the divine intellect, has married unity with the innumerable diversity on earth, we can therefore return here once again from the colossal domain of changes back to the simplest statement: only *One and the same species is humankind on earth.*

How many ancient fables about human monsters and deformities have already been lost through the light of history! And wherever a tale still repeats remnants of such fables, I am certain that the brighter light of examination will allow this to be enlightened into a more pleasant truth. We are now familiar with the Orang-Outang and know that they have no right to humanity or language; with more careful reports about the Orang-Cooboo and the Orang-Googoo on Borneo, Sumatra, and the Nicobar Islands, the forest people with tails will also be lost. The humans with the backward feet on Malacca, the probably rickets-diseased nation of pygmies on Madagascar, the men dressed as women in Florida, etc., deserve the same correction that the Albinos, the Dondos, the Patagonians, and the aprons of the female Hottentots have received. Men who succeed in banishing mistakes from creation, lies from our memory, and insults from our nature are to the realm of truth just what the heroes in the fables were to the first world; they reduce the number of monsters on earth.

Nor would I ever like the comparison of humans to the apes to be taken so far that one seeks a ladder of things, but overlooks the real rungs and spaces between them without which there cannot be any ladder. What for example could the certainly rickets-stricken satyr in the form of a Kamchadal explain, the little sylvan in the size of a Greenlander or the pongo among the Patagonians? And if one took the matter further and derived certain deformities in our kind genetically from the apes: it seems to me that this supposition would be just as improbable as it is insulting. Most of these apparent similarities to apes occur in countries where there have never been any apes, as the receding skull of the Kalmucks and the Malakulans, the protruding ears of the Yagua and the Amicuan, the small hands of some of the savages in Carolina, etc., demonstrate. Besides, these are things that, once one goes beyond the initial visual deception, bear so little resemblance to apes that the Calmucks and the Negroes remain completely humans even in the construction of their heads and the Malakulans demonstrate abilities that some other nations do not possess. Indeed apes and humans have never been one and the same species, and I would like to see every little bit of the tale refuted that they have ever lived together anywhere on earth in normal fertile community. Nature has

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 humankind 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 originally 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, revised 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 accompanied 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 singular 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 mankind, 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 bandy-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 cheeks 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 Malayan 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.<sup>1</sup> Leibnitz divided the men of our continent into four classes. Two extremes, the Laplanders and the Ethiopians; and as many intermediates, one eastern (Mongolian), one western (as the European).<sup>2</sup>

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

1. *Journal des Scavans*, a. 1684, p. 133. [Translated as "A New Division of the Earth," pp. 2-3 above.] Comp. Rob. de Vaugondy, fil. *Nouvel Atlas portatif*, Paris, 1778, 4to, Pl. 4.

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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

Kant derives four varieties from dark-brown Autochthones: the white one of northern Europe, the copper-coloured American, the black one of Senegambia, the olive-coloured Indian.<sup>7</sup> 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, Samoiedes and Lapps; (7) white, as the remaining Europeans, the Georgians, Mingrelians and Kabardinski.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> Klügel distinguishes four stocks: (1) the primitive, auto-

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.

5. Comp. *A New Collection of Voyages*, &c. Lond. 1767, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 273.

6. See *Geographie moderne*, T. I. p. 62, ed. 5, and Vaugondy, *l. c.* Pl. 3.

7. Both in Engel, *Philosoph. für die Welt*. T. II. [translated as "Of the Different Human Races," pp. 8—22 above] and in *Berliner monatsschrift*, 1785, T. VI.

8. *Disput. de hominum varietatibus*, Edinb. 1775, p. 9.

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.

chthones 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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;<sup>13</sup> and because all physiological reasons converge to this, that in that region, if anywhere, it seems we ought with 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;<sup>14</sup> which

11. See his *Encyclopädie*, T. I. p. 523, ed. 2.

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 varieties 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,<sup>15</sup> 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<sup>16</sup> to the Indians, through the Esquimaux to the Americans, and also in a sort of way through the Philippine Islanders<sup>17</sup> 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 everywhere in other varieties of

to be transferred to the Mongolian nations, compare J. Eberh. Fischer, *Conjecturae de gente et nomine Tatarorum* in his *Quaestiones Petropolitanæ*, p. 46, and his *Sibirische Geschichte*, T. I. p. 28, 142.

15. The original source, from which the description of the Mongols which has been so often repeated, and which has been copied as if that of Tartars by so many authors on natural history, I have found in the letter of a certain Yvo, a churchman of Narbonne, dated at Vienna in 1243, and sent to Giraldus, archbishop of Bordeaux, and inserted by his contemporary Matthew Paris, the English monk of St Albans, in what is called his *Historia Major*, p. 530, ed. Lond. 1686, fol. This letter of Yvo is about the terrible devastations of that inhuman nation called the Tartars, and he speaks of them in the following words: "The Tartars have hard and strong breasts, thin and pale faces, stiff and upright cheekbones, short and twisted noses, chins prominent and sharp, the upper jaw low and deep, the teeth long and few, the eyebrows reaching from the hair of the head to the nose, the eyes black and unsettled, the countenance one-sided and fierce, the extremities bony and nervous, the legs also big, but the calf-bones short, the stature however the same as our own; for what is wanting in the legs, is made up for in the upper part of the body."

16. Thus, at least, I consider myself entitled to conclude from the pictures of the Tibetans, painted from nature by the great artist Kettle, and shown me by Warren Hastings.

17. The Indian from the Philippine Islands, whom I saw alive in London at Alex. Dalrymple's, was in appearance exactly this sort of middle man.

men;<sup>18</sup> 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,<sup>19</sup> the Esquimaux,<sup>20</sup> the Caaiguas of South America,<sup>21</sup> and the inhabitants of the Island Mallicollo.<sup>22</sup>

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 chesnut 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, *Relatione de Caaiguarum 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."

88. *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,<sup>23</sup> others menstruation to the women.<sup>24</sup> Some have attributed one and the same colour<sup>25</sup> to each and all the Americans; others a perfectly similar countenance to all of them.<sup>26</sup> 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,<sup>27</sup> by which it is proved that not only throughout the whole of America, from the Esquimaux 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 Mongolians<sup>28</sup> for example, and the Malays.<sup>29</sup> 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 numbers of the female inhabitants almost entirely naked, never seem to have observed in them the stains of that excretion.<sup>30</sup> For this it seems likely that there were two

23. See De Pauw in *Recherches philosophiques sur les Americains*, T. I. p. 37.

24. See Schurigius, *Parthenologia*, p. 200.

25. See Home in *Sketches of the History of Man*, Vol. I. p. 13.

26. Comp. Robertson's *History of America*, Vol. II. p. m. 404.

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. Gmelin, *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 Sumatrans, Marsden; on the Magindans, Forrest; on the Pelew Islanders, Wilson; on the Papuans, Carteret; on the inhabitants of the Navigator's 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;<sup>31</sup> secondly, because, as has been noticed,<sup>32</sup> 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,<sup>33</sup> and the laws of degeneration when applied to the extremely probable origin of the Americans from northern Asia,<sup>34</sup> 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,<sup>35</sup> &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,<sup>36</sup> although in general that sort of racial confor-

31. Comp. Sagard, *Voyage du pays des Hurons*, p. 78.

32. Van Berkel's *Reisen nach R. de Berbice und Surinam*, p. 46.

33. Zimmermann, *Geographische geschichte des menschen*, T. I. p. 87.

34. Kant, in *Teutschen Mercur*, a. 1788, T. I. p. 119.

35. See Molina, *Sulla storia naturale del Chili*, p. 336. "I laugh in my sleeve when I read in certain modern writers, supposed to be diligent observers, that all the Americans have the same appearance, and that when a man has seen one, he may say that he has seen them all. Such authors allow themselves to be too easily deceived by certain vague appearances of similarity which have to do for the most part with colour, and which vanish as soon as ever the individuals of one nation are confronted with those of another. A Chilian does not differ less in aspect from a Peruvian, than an Italian from a German. I have seen myself Paraguanos, Cujanos, and Magellanos, all of whom have their peculiar lineaments which are easily distinguished from those of the others."

36. Thus, to bring a few examples from South America alone, Nic. del Techo describes the Caaiguas with apish nostrils: Mart. Dobrizhoffer says that the neighbouring Abipones, on the contrary, are often remarkable for aquiline noses: Ulloa attributes a narrow and hooked nose to the Peruvians; Molina, one somewhat broad to the Chilians; G. Forster, one very depressed to the islanders of Tierra del Fuego.

mation may be considered as properly belonging to them which we attributed to them above. . . . It was justly observed by the first Europeans<sup>37</sup> who visited the new continent, that the Americans came very near to the Mongolians, which adds fresh weight to the very probable opinion that the Americans came from northern Asia, and derived their origin from the Mongolian nation. It is probable that migrations of that kind took place at different times, after considerable intervals, according as various physical, geological, or political catastrophes gave occasion to them; and hence, if any place is allowed for conjecture in these investigations, the reason may probably be derived, why the Esquimaux have still much more of the Mongolian appearance<sup>38</sup> about them than the rest of the Americans: partly, because the catastrophe which drove them from northern Asia must be much more recent, and so they are a much later arrival;<sup>39</sup> and partly because the climate of the new country, which they now inhabit, is much more homogeneous with that of their original country. In fact, unless I am much mistaken, we must attribute to the same influence I mentioned above . . . , which the climate has in preserving or restoring the racial appearance, the fact that the inhabitants of the cold southern extremity of South America, as the barbarous inhabitants of the Straits of Magellan, seem to come nearer, and as it were fall back, to the original Mongolian countenance.<sup>40</sup>

89. *The Malay variety.* As the Americans in respect of racial appearance hold as it were a place between the medial variety of mankind, which we called the Caucasian, and one of the two extremes, that is the Mongolian; so the Malay variety makes the transition from that medial variety to the other extreme, namely, the Ethiopian. I wish to call it the Malay, because the majority of the men of this variety, especially those who inhabit the Indian islands close to the Malacca peninsula, as well as the Sandwich, the

37. *Lettere di Amer. Vespucci*, p. 9, ed. Bandini. "They are not very handsome, because their faces are wide, which makes them like Tatars."

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.

Society, and the Friendly Islanders, and also the Malambi of Madagascar down to the inhabitants of Easter Island, use the Malay idiom.<sup>41</sup>

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;<sup>42</sup> 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 Mulattos, curly hair, &c.<sup>43</sup> 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.*

41. Sir J. Banks first of all showed this in Hawkesworth's *Collection*, Vol. III. p. 373, then after him Bryant in Cook's *Voyage to the Northern Hemisphere*, Vol. III. App. No. 2, p. 528, and Marsden in *Archæologia*, Vol. VI. p. 154.

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 Mulattos, and some to the Ethiopians. See Dalrymple, *Collection of Voyages to the South Pacific Ocean*, Vol. I. p. 164.