Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation: Writings in the British Romantic Period. V.8: Themes of Race

translated into French by F. Chardin as De l'unité du genre humain (Paris, 1804). What gave Blumenbach's work its credibility was its author's skill in and knowledge of comparative anatomy. But it was also Blumenbach's notorious collection of physical data which made his findings appear authoritative. Blumenbach collected a large number of human skulls of different races and nations (he had eighty-two of these in 1795) and used these as the basis of his physiological research. He referred to his collection as his Golgotha and many visitors, including the young S. T. Coleridge who attended his lectures in Göttingen in 1798, saw it. Blumenbach published a descriptive account of over sixty of his crania in Collectionis suas cranium diversarum gentium illustratas decades (1790–1828). Blumenbach argued that the original race of men was white and that all the other races had 'degenerated' from this norm according to climate and environment. Although he regarded the Caucasian race as the most beautiful variety of men, he stressed that degeneration did not involve moral or intellectual descent. He also had a noted collection of literature by black authors and he was a firm opponent of slavery and the slave trade. His Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte oder Contributions to Natural History (Göttingen, 1806) contains a sustained plea for the full humanity and equality of the negro and enumerates many instances of the scientific and literary excellence of the achievements of black people. Blumenbach's influence on racial thinking in the early nineteenth century was immense and his five fold racial typology remains current. His emphasis on the possibility of determining racial types from physical characteristics, however, was clearly dangerous and open to obvious abuse. After his death his collection of skulls, greatly augmented, was put to use as a nucleus for the development of the kind of Pan-German racist theory which reached its nadir with the Nazis.

Reprinted here are Sections Three and Four of the third edition of De generis from a translation by Thomas Bendyshe for the Anthropological Society of London. Section One of the treatise sets out the evidence from the 'analogical method' for considering man as a separate species and Section Two discusses the process of degeneration in the animal kingdom. Plate IV from the work is included which illustrates skulls of Blumenbach's five varieties of humanity.
SECTION IV.

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 (as is shown in the last section), 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 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 multiform 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 (s. 43); hair brown or chestnut-coloured (s. 62); head subglobular (s. 62); face oval, straight, its parts moderately defined, forehead smooth, nose narrow, slightly hooked, mouth small (s. 56). The primary teeth placed perpendicularly to each jaw (s. 62); the lips (especially the lower one) moderately open, the chin full and rounded (s. 56). 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 Finne) 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 (s. 43); hair black, stiff, straight and scanty (s. 52); head almost square (s. 62); 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, oval; cheeks usually globular, prominent outwardly; the opening of the eyelids narrow, linear; chin slightly prominent (s. 56). 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 (s. 43); hair black and curly (s. 52); head narrow, compressed at the sides (s. 62); forehead knotty and uneven; malar bones protruding outward; eyes very prominent; nose thick, mixed up as it were with the wide jaws (s. 56); alveolar edge narrow, elongated in front; the upper primary obliquely prominent (s. 62); the lips (especially the upper) very puffy; chin retracting (s. 56). Many are bandy-legged (s. 69). To this variety belong all the Africans, except those of the north.

**American variety.** Copper-coloured (s. 43); hair black, stiff, straight and scanty (s. 52); forehead short; eyes set very deep; nose somewhat apical, 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 (s. 56); 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 (s. 43); hair black, soft, curly, thick and plentiful (s. 52); head moderately narrow; forehead slightly swelling (s. 62); nose full, rather wide, as it were diffuse, end thick; mouth large (s. 56), upper jaw somewhat prominent with the parts of the face when seen in profile, sufficiently prominent and distinct from each other (s. 56). This last variety includes the islanders of the Pacific Ocean, together with the inhabitants of the Marianne, the Philippine, the Moluccas and the Sunda Islands, and of the Malay peninsular.

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. 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).

Linnaeus, following common geography, divided men into (1) the red American, (2) the white European, (3) the dark Asiatic, and (4) the black Negro. Buffon distinguished six varieties of man: (1) Lapp or polar, (2) Tartar (by which name according to ordinary language he meant the Mongolian), (3) south Asian, (4) European, (5) Ethiopian, (6) American.

Amongst those who reckoned three primitive nations of mankind answering to the number of the sops of Noah, Governor Pownall is first entitled to praise, who, as far as I know, was 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. Abbé de la Croix divides man into white and black. The former again into white, properly so called, brown (brun), yellow (jaunâtre), and olive-coloured.

Kant derives four varieties from dark-brown Antoichiotes: the white one of northern Europe, the copper-coloured American, the black one of Senegambia, the olive-coloured Indian. John Hunter reckons seven varieties: (1) of black men, that is,

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3. After the year 1735, in all the editions of his immortal work, Guernin has added to the last edition. It was first published by himself, T. I. p. 102.
4. These six varieties have been beautifully described, and in fact pointed out as it were by the glowing brush of Muller, in his classic work, Ideen zur philosophic der geschicht der menschheit, T. II, p. 46—60.
7. Both in Kögel, Philosoph. für die Welt. T. II. und in der Linzer sammlung, 1785, T. VI.
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 Kabardinius.

Zimmermann is amongst those who place the aborigines of mankind in the elevated Scythico-Asian 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.

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. Klugel distinguishes four stocks: (1) the primitive, autochtones 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. 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.

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; 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 autochtones of mankind. For in the first place, that stock displays, as we have seen (§ 62), 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 in white in colour, which we may fairly assume to have been the primitive colour of mankind, since, as we have shown above (§ 45), 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 (§ 44) 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; which 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

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1 From a cloud of eye witnesses it is enough to quote one classical one, Jo. Chardin, T. 1 p. 377. "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 then imposed 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."

2 On the origin of this erroneous confusion, by which the name of Tartars began to be transferred to the Mongolian nations, compare J. Eberk. Fabrica, Conjecturae in genio et natione Tartarorum in his Quaestiones Peculiarius, p. 46, and his Schorbae, ed. 1. p. 35, 142.
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 Wolofs, 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 (s. 80) 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 ape; as we find not in express words of the Lappe, the Esquimaux, the Canaguers of South America, and the inhabitants of the Island Malicolo.

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, others menstruation to the women. Some have attributed

as time went on, the same blackness in the face and arms gradually vanished, though in other respects the precipitated colour remains a matter of a changed colour, even under the epidermis.

1. Tho Regnard concludes his description of the Lappe in these words: "Such is the description of that little man they call the Lappebon, and I may say that there is no animal, after the ape, which so nearly approaches the man." Observe, T. I. p. 71.

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

3. "As like apes as men," says Rev. Dr. Cotton of them, Relation de Continu. 4o., p. 103.

4. Of this, J. H. Parson says in his Berenrocken, p. 217: "The inhabitants of the Island Malicolo appear to have a nearer relationship to the ape than any I have ever seen."


one and the same colour to each and all the Americans; others a perfectly similar countenance to all of them. 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, 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 for example, and the Malays. 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 excrescence. For this it seems likely that there were two 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; secondly, because, as has been noticed, 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 (p. 48); and on the other, that it is easily seen, from the nature of the American climate, and the laws of degeneration when applied to the extremely probable origin of the Americans from northern Asia, 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 fictitious 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, &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; although

1 Comp. Sagard, Voyage du pays des Iroquois, p. 178.  
2 Van Berkel’s Reisen nach B. de Begin and Bresnen, p. 46.  
3 Zimmermann, Geographie, p. 195; eadem ibidem, T. 1. p. 87.  
4 Kant, auf Reise im Aaron, a. J. 1768, T. 1. p. 113.  
5 See Holms, Storia fisica e storica del Brasile, p. 236. "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 writers allow themselves to be too easily deceived by certain vague appearances of similarity which have to do with the most perfect colour, and which vanish as soon as we observe the individuals of one nation are confounded with those of another. A Chinaman does not differ less in aspect from a Persian, than an Italian from a German. I have seen myself among the Paraguayans, Guianans, and Maguians, all of whom have their peculiar lineaments which are equally distinguishably from those of the others."  
6 Thus, to bring a few examples from South America alone, Nie del Tecllo describes the Guaiguan with swift accuracy: Mart. Dornizhoffer says that the neigh-

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3 Comp. a few out of many others some years ago in Gottingen. Magazin, 6d year, F.vi. p. 419.  
4 See besides many others J. O. Gayley, Reise durch Sibirien, T. 11. p. 175.  
5 "It is very difficult to find amongst the Tuscani 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 springing up."  
6 Comp. on the Sumerians, Marchon; on the Magians, Forrest; on the Polynesian Islands, Wilson; on the Papuans, Carteret; on the inhabitants of the Navigator’s group, Bougainville, &c.  
7 Leroy, Voyage fait en le terre du Brazil, p. m. 157.
in general that sort of racial conformation may be considered as properly belonging to them which we attributed to them above (s. 56). It was justly observed by the first Europeans 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 Equimaux have still much more of the Mongolian appearance3 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 arrival4; 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 (s. 57), 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 countenance5.

1. Boppants, on the contrary, are often remarkable for equine noise: Ullman attributes a narrow and hooked nose to the Peruvians; Molina, one somewhat broad to the Guianese; G. Forster, one very depressed to the islanders of Tierra del Fuego.

2. Lettres de Asseur, Voyage, p. 9, ed. Bandini. "They are not very handsome, because their face are wide, which makes them like Tartars."

3. This I see most clearly both in two Equimaux skulls from Native, a colony of Labrador, which adorns my collection, and in the pictures of those barbarians taken from the life by good artists, which I owe to the liberality of Sir J. Banks.

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

5. Thus that classical Argenzaat and capital eye-witness and observer, Linschot, compared the inhabitants of the strait of Magellan, whom he saw, in physiognomy, appearance, colour, hair, and beard, to the Sambians, with whom he was very well acquainted through his famous journey to the strait of Bussorah, in his notes in Asseur, p. 468.

80. The Malay variety. As the Americans in respect of racial appearance hold as it were a place between the mediocrity of mankind, which we call the Caucasian, and one of the two extremes, that is the Mongolian; so the Malay variety makes the transition from that mediocrity 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 Society, and the Friendly Islanders, and also the Malamby of Madagascar down to the inhabitants of Easter Island, use the Malay idiom.

Meanwhile even these differ so much between themselves through various degrees of beauty and other corporeal attributes, that there are some who divide the Otahiteans themselves into two distinct races; the first paler in colour, of lofty stature, with face which can scarcely be distinguished from that of the European; the second, on the other hand, of moderate stature, colour and face little different from that of Melanese, curvy, hair, &c. This last race then comes very near those men who inhabit the islands more to the south in the Pacific Ocean, of whom the inhabitants of the New Hebrides in particular come sensibly near the Papuans and New Hollander, 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 we saw the other varieties also run together, and which, compared with what was discussed in the earlier

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2 See Boudinville in Voyages autour de l'Amérique, p. 113.

3 Thus long ago the immortal De Quincey, who first discovered the Society Islands, accurately distinguished those varieties among the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, when he called some white, and compared some to the Malitus, and some to the Ethiopians. See D'Alcantara, Collection of Voyages to the South Pacific, Vol. I. p. 164.
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.