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Of the different races of human beings

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Beginning with the summer semester of 1756, which was only his second semester of academic teaching, Kant regularly lectured on physical geography, thereby introducing this subject matter into the curriculum at the University of Königsberg. He offered the course some forty-eight times and, after adding a regular course on anthropology, which was also an academic novelty, beginning with the winter semester 1772/73, alternated between the two courses, lecturing on anthropology during the winter and on physical geography during the summer term. The two-part sequence of courses was designed to give Kant's students useful orientation about the two main fields of knowledge that have an immediate application outside of academia in life, the human being and nature. The course on physical geography was unusual in that Kant did not base it on an official textbook, as was generally required at Prussian universities at the time, but on his own collection of materials to which he added over the years.[1]

On five separate occasions Kant published announcements of his lecture activity for a given semester in the form of a small scholarly essay of wider interest, followed by details about his courses and also including mention or description of his course on physical geography. The last of these invitational writings, dating from the summer semester of 1775, is entitled, *Von den verschiedenen Racen der Menschen zur Ankündigung der Vorlesungen der physischen Geographie im Sommerhalbenjahre 1775 von Immanuel Kant der Log. und Met. ordentl. Prof.* (Of the Different Races of Human Beings To Announce the Lectures on Physical Geography of Immanuel Kant, Professor Ordinarius of Logic and Metaphysics).[2]

Two years later the essay appeared in a revised version, enlarged by numerous additions, in a volume, entitled *Der Philosoph für die Welt* (The Worldly Philosopher),[3] published by Johann Jacob Engel (1741–1802), who was a member of Enlightenment movement in Berlin, where he also taught philosophy at the secondary school level. In the second edition the opening paragraph and the closing paragraph of the first edition as

well as the latter part of the title with their references to the announced lecture course on physical geography are omitted.

Kant's essay defends the unity of the human species amidst its differentiation into four principal subspecies ("races"). While Kant holds on to the immutability of the human species, and of all species in nature, he provides an account of the differentiation of the human species into various kinds of subgroups among which the four subspecies stand out. According to Kant, the main racial characteristic, which he identifies with one of four skin colors (white, red, black and yellow), is passed on unfailingly within a given subspecies and unfailingly results in a mixed skin color in the children of racially mixed parentage.

Kant maintains a twofold origin of racial differentiation in the human species: through substantial causes in the form of "germs" (*Keime*) and "predispositions" (*Anlagen*) that predetermine the possible differentiation of that species and through circumstantial causes that provoke a specific predetermined development, specifically the climatic conditions to which human beings adapt in various ways over time. Kant distinguishes four main types of climate (humid cold, dry cold, humid heat and dry heat) and correlates each of the four main human subspecies with one of them, drawing on geographical data to explain the gradual process of the human population of the earth.

Together with the two essays, *Determination of the Concept of a Human Race* (1785) and *On the Use of Teleological Principles in Philosophy* (1788), which are also contained in the present volume, *Of the Different Races of Human Beings* constitutes a trilogy of works by Kant on the natural history of the human species.[4]

The translation of *Von den verschiedenen Racen der Menschen* is based on the presentation of the work in AA 2: 427–43 and was undertaken by Holly Wilson and Günter Zöller. Special care has been taken in rendering Kant's highly differentiated terminology for the differentation of biological species. Each such term is accompanied by a linguistic footnote placed at its first occurrence in Kant's text and is also listed in the glossary.

Following the Academy edition, the translation provides the text of the second, revised edition, augmented by the opening paragraph and the closing paragraph of the first edition. The original versions of the passages that were changed in the second edition, which are recorded in the Academy edition,[5] have been omitted.

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Of the different races of human beings

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I. OF THE DIFFERENCE OF THE RACES IN GENERAL

The lecture course that I am announcing will be more of a useful entertainment than a laborious business; for that reason, the investigation with which I accompany this announcement will indeed contain something for the understanding, but more like a game of the latter than a deep inquiry.[a]

The natural division into species and kinds[b] in the animal kingdom is grounded on the common law of propagation, and the unity of the species is nothing other than the unity of the generative power that is universally valid for a certain manifoldness of animals. For this reason, *Buffon's*[1] rule, that animals which produce fertile young with one another (whatever difference in shape there may be) still belong to one and the same physical species,[c] must properly be regarded only as the definition of a natural species[d] of animals in general in contrast to all school species of the latter. The school division concerns *classes*,[e] which divide the animals according to *resemblances*,[f] the natural division concerns phyla,[g] which divide the animals according to *relationships*[h] in terms of generation.[i] The former provides a school system for memory; the latter provides a natural system for the understanding. The first only aims at bringing creatures under titles; the second aims at bringing them under laws.

According to this concept, all human beings on the wide earth belong to one and the same natural species because they consistently beget

[a] The first paragraph, which was contained in the first edition, is missing in the second edition.
[b] *Gattungen und Arten*.
[c] *physischen Gattung*.
[d] *Naturgattung*.
[e] *Klassen*.
[f] *Ähnlichkeiten*.
[g] *Stämme*.
[h] *Verwandtschaften*.
[i] *Erzeugung*.

fertile children with one another, no matter what great differences may otherwise be encountered in their shape. One can adduce only a single 2:430
natural cause for this unity of the natural species, which unity is tantamount to the unity of the generative power that they have in common: namely, that they all belong to a single phylum, from which, notwithstanding their differences, they originated, or at least could have originated. In the first case, human beings belong not merely to one and the same *species*, but also to one *family*;[a] in the second case they are similar to one another but not related, and many local creations would have to be assumed – an opinion which needlessly multiplies the number of causes. An animal species which at the same time has a common phylum contains under itself not different *kinds* (since the latter signify precisely the differences of the phyletic origin[b]); rather their divergences from one another are called *subspecies*[c] if they are hereditary.[d] If the hereditary marks of the phyletic origin agree with their point of origination,[e] then they are called *regenerations*;[f] however, if the subspecies could no longer provide the original formation of the phylum,[g] then it would be called *degeneration*.[h]

Among the subspecies, i.e., the hereditary differences of the animals which belong to a single phylum, those which persistently preserve themselves in all transplantings (transpositions to other regions) over prolonged generations[i] among themselves and which also always beget half-breed[j] young in the mixing with other variations of the same phylum are called *races*. Those which persistently preserve the distinctive character of their variation in all transplantings and thus regenerate,[k] but do not necessarily beget half-breeds[l] in the mixing with others are called *strains*.[m] Those which regenerate often but not persistently are called *varieties*.[n] Conversely, that variation which produces with others half-breeds but which extinguishes gradually through transplantings is called a special *sort*.[o]

[a] *Familie*.
[b] *Abstammung*.
[c] *Abartungen*.
[d] *erblich*.
[e] *Abkunft*.
[f] *Nachartungen*.
[g] *ursprüngliche Stammbildung*.
[h] *Ausartung*.
[i] *Zeugungen*.
[j] *halbschlächtige*.
[k] *nacharten*.
[l] *nicht notwendig halbschlächtig zeugen*.
[m] *Spielarten*.
[n] *Varietäten*.
[o] *ein besonderer Schlag*.

In this way, *Negroes* and *whites*, while not different kinds of human beings[a] (since they belong presumably to one phylum), are still two *different races*[b] because each of the two perpetuates itself in all regions and both necessarily beget half-breed children or *blends* (mulattoes) with one another. By contrast, *blondes* and *brunettes* are not different *races* of whites, because a blond man can have entirely blond children with a brunette woman, even though each of these subspecies is preserved throughout extended generations in all transplantings. For this reason, they are *strains*
2:431 of whites. Finally, the condition of the soil (humidity or aridity), likewise that of nutrition, gradually introduce a hereditary difference or *sort* among animals of one and the same phylum and race, chiefly with respect to size, proportion of the limbs (heavy or thin), as well as natural disposition, which, while resulting in half-breeds in mixing with foreign ones, disappears over the course of few generations[c] on other soil and with different nutrition (even without a change of climate). It is pleasant to notice the different sort of the human beings in accordance with the difference of these causes in cases where that difference is noticeable in the provinces of one and the same country (like the Boetians, who inhabited a wet soil, differed from the Athenians, who inhabited a dry soil). To be sure, this difference is often recognizable only to an attentive eye but is derided by others. What belongs merely to the *varieties* and is thus in itself hereditary (although not persistently so), can still produce over time through marriages that always remain in the same families what I call the *family sort*,[d] in which something characteristic finally takes root so deeply in the generative power that it approximates a strain and perpetuates itself like the latter. Reportedly this was noticeable in the old Venetian nobility, especially in the ladies. At least the noble women on the newly discovered island of *Tahiti* have an altogether larger build than the common ones. – The possibility of eventually establishing a lasting family sort by means of careful separation of the degenerative births from the consistent ones[e] was the basis for the idea[f] of M. de *Maupertuis*[2] of raising in some province a naturally noble sort of human beings in which understanding, excellence and integrity would be hereditary. In my opinion, this plan, while being in itself feasible, is just as well prevented by a wiser Nature because the great incentives which set into play the sleeping powers of humanity and compel it to develop all its talents and to come nearer to the perfection of their destiny,[g] lie

[a] *Arten von Menschen*.
[b] *verschiedene Racen*.
[c] *Zeugungen*.
[d] *Familienschlag*.
[e] *Aussonderung der ausartenden Geburten von den einschlagenden*.
[f] *Meinung*.
[g] *Bestimmung*.

precisely in the intermingling of the evil with the good. When Nature can work undisturbed (without transplanting or foreign mixing) through many generations, then she always produces finally a lasting sort, which marks ethnic groups[a] forever and would be called a race if what is characteristic did not appear too insignificant and were not too difficult to describe to ground a special division on it.

2. DIVISION OF THE HUMAN SPECIES INTO ITS DIFFERENT RACES 2:432

I think one is only compelled to assume *four* races of the human species in order to be able to derive from these all the easily distinguishable and self-perpetuating differences. They are 1) the race of the *whites*, 2) the *Negro race*, 3) the *Hunnish* (Mongolian or Kalmuckian) race, 4) the Hindu or *Hindustani* race. Among the first race, which is located primarily in Europe, I count also the Moors (Mauretanian from Africa), the Arabs (following Niebuhr[3]), the Turkish-Tataric ethnic tribe[b] and the Persians, as well as all other peoples from Asia who are not explicitly excluded from it by the remaining divisions. The *Negro race* of the northern hemisphere is indigenous[c] only in Africa; that of the southern hemisphere (outside of Africa) is presumably native only in New Guinea (*Autochthones*[d]), but are mere transplantings in some neighboring islands. The Kalmuckian race appears to be purest among the Khoschuts, to be somewhat mixed with Tartaric blood among the Torguts, and more so among the Dzungarians and is just the same race which in most ancient times carried the name of the *Huns*, later the name of the *Mongols* (in a wider sense) and now that of the Eleuts. The Hindustani race is very pure and most ancient in the country of that name, but is distinct from the people on the opposite side of the Indian peninsula. I believe to be able to derive all remaining hereditary ethnic characters[e] from these four races: either as *mixed* or *incipient* races,[f] of which the former originates from the mixing of different races, while the latter has not yet resided long enough in the climate to completely assume the respective character of the race. Thus the mixing of the Tataric with the Hunnish blood has produced *half-races*[g] in the Karakulpacks, the Nagajens and in others. *Hindustani* blood, mixed with that of the old Scythians (in and around Tibet) and with either more or less of the Hunnish blood, has perhaps generated

[a] *Völkerschaften*.
[b] *Völkerstamm*.
[c] *einheimisch*.
[d] Greek for "the ones who sprang from that land itself" or "sons of the soil."
[e] *Völkercharaktere*.
[f] *vermischte oder angehende Racen*.
[g] *Halbracen*.

as a mixed race the inhabitants of the other side of the Indian peninsula, the Tung-chin and the Chinese. The inhabitants of the northern glacial coast of Asia are an example of an incipient Hunnish race, showing already the persistently black hair, the beardless chin, the flat face and slit and little-opened eyes – the effect of the glacial zone on a people which was driven out of milder regions into these residences in later
2:433 times, just like the Laplanders, a subsidiary phylum[a] of the Hungarian people, and already within a very few centuries quite well adapted[b] to the peculiarity of the cold region, even though they originated from a well-built people in the temperate zone. Finally, the *Americans* appear to be a Hunnish race which has not yet fully adapted. For in the extreme northwest of America (where presumably also the population[c] of this part of the world must have occurred from the northeast out of Asia, as indicated by the matching animal kinds[d] in both), on the northern coasts of the *Hudson Bay*, the inhabitants are very similar to the Kalmucks. To be sure, further down south the face becomes more open and more elevated, but the beardless chin, the persistently black hair, the red-brown facial color, likewise the coldness and insensitivity of the natural disposition extend from the extreme north of this part of the world on over to Staten Island and are all remnants of the effect of a long residence in cold parts of the world, as we will see below. The prolonged residence of the ancestors of the Americans in northeast Asia and in neighboring northwest America has brought the Kalmuckian formation to perfection, whereas the more rapid expansion of their progeny toward the south of this part of the world brought the American formation to perfection. No further population has occurred out of America. For all the inhabitants on the islands of the Pacific, except some Negroes, are bearded. Rather they give some indications of originating from the Malayans, just like those on the Sunda Islands; and the type of feudal government which was encountered on the island of *Tahiti*, and which is also the usual political constitution of the Malayans, confirms this surmise.

The reason for assuming Negroes and whites to be basic races,[e] is in itself clear. As far as the Hindustani and the Kalmuckian races are concerned, the olive-yellow color in the former one, which is at the base of the more or less brown color of the hot countries, is as little derivable from some other known national character as the original face of the second one, and both unfailingly reproduce themselves in mixed pairings. The same holds for the American race, which follows the Kalmuckian formation and is connected to the latter through one and the same cause.

[a] *Abstamm*.
[b] *eingeartet*.
[c] *Bevölkerung*.
[d] *Tierarten*.
[e] *Grundracen*.

Through mixing with the white the East Indian yields the *yellow Mestizo*, just as the American with the white yields the *red Mestizo*, and the White with the Negro the *Mulatto*, the American with the Negro the *Kabugl*, or the black *Caribbean*; all of which are always recognizably marked blends 2:434
and demonstrate their origination from genuine races

3. OF THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE ORIGIN OF THESE DIFFERENT RACES

The grounds of a determinate unfolding which are lying in the nature of an organic body (plant or animal) are called *germs*,[a] if this unfolding concerns particular parts; if, however, it concerns only the size or the relation of the parts to one another, then I call them *natural predispositions*.[b] In birds of the same kind[c] which yet are supposed to live in different climates there lie germs for the unfolding of a new layer of feathers if they live in a cold climate, which, however, are held back if they should reside in a temperate one. Since in a cold country the wheat kernel must be more protected against the humid cold than in a dry or warm climate, there lies in it a previously determined capacity or a natural predisposition to gradually produce a thicker skin. This care of Nature to equip her creature through hidden inner provisions for all kinds of future circumstances, so that it may preserve itself and be suited to the difference of the climate or the soil, is admirable. In the migration and transplanting of animals and plants it creates the semblance[d] of new kinds; yet they are nothing other than variations and races of the same species the germs and natural predispositions of which have merely developed on occasion in various ways over long periods of time.*

Chance or the universal mechanical laws could not produce such 2:435
agreements.[e] Therefore we must consider such occasional unfoldings

* We generally take the designations *description of nature* and *natural history* to mean the same. Yet it is clear that the cognition of natural things as they *are now* always leaves us desirous of the cognition of that which they once *were* and of the series of changes they underwent to arrive at each place in their present state. *Natural history*, which we still lack almost entirely, would teach us about the changes in the shape of the earth, likewise that of its creatures (plants and animals) that they have undergone through natural migrations and the resultant subspecies from the prototype of the phyletic species. It would presumably trace a great many of seemingly different kinds to races of the same species and would transform the school system of the description of nature, which is now so extensive, into a physical system for the understanding.

[a] *Keime*.
[b] *natürliche Anlagen*.
[c] *Art*.
[d] *Schein*.
[e] *Zusammenpassungen*.

as *preformed*.[a] Yet even where nothing purposive shows itself, the mere faculty to propagate its adopted character is already proof enough that a particular germ or natural predisposition for it was to be found in the organic creature. For outer things can well be occasioning causes but not producing ones[b] of what is inherited necessarily and regenerates.[c] As little as chance or physical-mechanical causes can produce an organic body, just as little will they add something to its generative power, i.e., bring about something that propagates itself, if it concerns a special shape or relation of the parts.* Air, sun, and nutrition can modify the growth of an animal body but they cannot also provide this change with a generative power that would be capable of reproducing itself even without this cause; rather what is supposed to propagate itself must have laid previously in the generative power as antecedently determined to an occasional unfolding in accordance with the circumstances in which the creature can find itself and in which it is supposed to persistently preserve itself. For the animal must not be subject to a foreign intrusion into the generative power, which would be capable of gradually removing the creature from its original and essential destiny[d] and of producing true degenerations that would perpetuate themselves.

The human being was destined for all climates and for every soil; consequently, various germs and natural predispositions had to lie ready in him to be on occasion either unfolded or restrained, so that he would become suited to his place in the world and over the course of the generations[e] would appear to be as it were native to and made for that place. With these concepts, let us go through the whole human species on the wide earth and adduce purposive causes of its subspecies therein in cases where the natural causes are not easily recognizable and again adduce natural causes where we do not perceive ends. Here I only note that *air*
2:436 and *sun* appear to be those causes which most deeply influence the generative power and produce an enduring development of the germs and predispositions, i.e., are able to establish a race; by contrast, special nutrition can indeed produce a sort of human beings whose distinctive character, though, soon extinguishes with transplantings. In order to adhere to the generative power, something must affect not the *preservation* of life but its *source*, i.e., the first principles of its animal set-up[f] and movement.

* Maladies are sometimes hereditary. However, this requires no organization but only a ferment of harmful fluids which propagate through infection. Moreover, they are not necessarily hereditary.

[a] *vorgebildet*.
[b] *Gelegenheits-, aber nicht hervorbringende Ursachen*.
[c] *was notwendig anerbt und nachartet*.
[d] *Bestimmung*.
[e] *Zeugungen*.
[f] *tierischen Einrichtung*.

The human being, transposed to the glacial zone, had to gradually degenerate into a smaller stature because in the latter – with the power of the heart remaining the same – the circulation of the blood occurs in a shorter time, thus the pulse becomes faster and the warmth of the blood increases. Indeed *Cranz*[4] found the Greenlanders to be not only far below the stature of the Europeans, but also to have noticeably greater natural body heat. Even the disproportion between the total body height and the short legs in the northernmost peoples is suited for their climate, since these parts of the body suffer more danger in the cold because of their remoteness from the heart. Nonetheless most of the currently known inhabitants of the glacial zone appear to be only later arrivals there, like the Laplanders, who originated with the Finns from one and the same phylum, namely the Hungarian one, and have assumed their current residences only since the emigration of the Hungarians (from eastern Asia) and are nonetheless already adapted to a considerable degree to this climate.

If, however, a northern people is compelled over long periods of time to withstand the influence of the cold of the glacial zone, then even greater alterations must happen with it. In this desiccating region all unfolding through which the body merely wastes its fluids must gradually be restrained. For this reason, the germs of the hair growth are suppressed in time, so that only those remain which are required for the necessary covering of the head. Also, by virtue of a natural predisposition, the protruding parts of the face, the latter being the least susceptible to coverage, which suffer incessantly from the cold, will gradually become flatter in order to better preserve themselves due to Nature's care. The bulging elevation under the eyes, the half-closed and blinking eyes appeared as though prearranged for their protection[a] in part against the desiccating cold air, in part against the light of the snow (against which the Eskimos also use snow goggles). Yet those features can also be viewed as natural 2:437
effects of the climate which are noticeable even in milder regions, if only in far smaller measure. Thus there gradually comes about the beardless chin, the flattened nose, thin lips, blinking eyes, the flat face, the red-brown color together with the black hair, in a word, the *Kalmuckian facial formation*, which takes root over a long series of generations in the same climate until it becomes a persistent race which preserves itself even if such a people afterward acquires new residences in milder regions.

Without doubt one will wonder with what right I could derive the Kalmuckian formation, which is now encountered in its greatest completeness in a milder region, from the deep north or northeast. My reason[b] is this: *Herodotus*[5] reports from his time already that the *Argippeans*,

[a] *zur Verwahrung . . . wie veranstaltet.*
[b] *Ursache.*

who were inhabitants of a country at the foot of high mountains in an area which one can take for that of the Ural mountains, were bald and flat-nosed and covered their trees with white blankets (presumably he meant felt tents). Nowadays one finds this shape in greater and lesser measure in northeast Asia, but above all in the northwestern part of America, which one was able to discover from the Hudson Bay, where the inhabitants look like true Kalmuckians according to several recent reports. Now if one considers that in this area animals and human beings must have crossed between Asia and America in most ancient times, given that one encounters the same animals in the cold region of both parts of the world, and if one further considers that this human race showed itself to the Chinese in the area beyond the Amur river for the first time some 1,000 years before our chronology (according to Desguignes[6]) and gradually drove other peoples of the Tartarish, Hungarian, and other tribes out from their residences, then this phyletic origin from the cold part of the world will seem not entirely contrived.

But the most important point, namely the *derivation*[a] *of the Americans* as an incompletely adapted race, a people that long resided in the northernmost region, is quite well confirmed through the suppressed hair growth on all parts of the body except the head, through the reddish rust iron color in the colder and the darker copper color in the hotter regions of this part of the world. For the red-brown color appears (as an effect
2:438 of aerial acid[b]) to be as suitable to the cold climate as the olive-brown color (as an effect of the alkaline-bilious nature[c] of the fluids) to the hot region, not to mention the natural disposition of the Americans, which betrays a half extinguished life power* that can be viewed most easily as the effect of a cold region of the world.

In a people which has grown sufficiently old in the greatest *humid heat* of the warm climate to have adapted completely to its soil, there must be effects entirely opposed to the previously discussed ones. The exact opposite of the Kalmuckian formation will be produced. The growth of the spongy parts of the body had to increase in a hot and humid climate; hence the thick turned-up nose and the thick lips[d]. The skin had to be oiled, not merely to mitigate the too strong evaporation[e] but

* To adduce only one example: one makes use of the red slaves (Americans) in Surinam only for labors in the house because they are too weak for field labor, for which one uses Negroes. Yet there is no dirth of forcible means in this case; however, the natives of this part of the world are lacking in general in faculty and endurance.

[a] *Ableitung*.
[b] *Luftsäure*.
[c] *Laugenhaft-Galligten*.
[d] *dicke Stülpnase und Wurstlippen*.
[e] *Ausdünstung*.

to prevent the harmful absorption of the putrefactive humid elements of the air. The abundance of iron particles, which otherwise are found in all human blood and which here are precipitated[a] in the reticular substance[b] through the evaporation of the phosphorous acid (of which all Negroes stink[c]), causes the black color showing through the upper thin skin; and the heavy iron content in the blood appears also to be necessary for preventing the enervation[d] of all parts. The oil of the skin, which weakens the nutrient mucus[e] required for hair growth, hardly permits the production of a full head of hair. Incidentally, humid warmth is beneficial to the robust growth of animals in general and, in short, this results in the Negro, who is well suited to his climate, namely strong, fleshy, supple, but who, given the abundant provision of his mother land, is lazy, soft and trifling.

The native of Hindustan can be viewed as originating from one of the oldest human races. His country, which leans against a towering mountain range to the north and is traversed by a long series of mountains from the north to the south down to the tip of his subcontinent (among which I also count northward *Tibet*, perhaps the common place of refuge of humankind[f] during the last great revolution of our earth and its nursery thereafter), possesses the most perfect parting of the waters (runoff 2:439
to two oceans) in a fortunate region, which no other part of the Asian landmass that lies in this fortunate region has. Thus it could be dry and habitable in most ancient times, while both the eastern Indian peninsula as well as China (in which the rivers run parallel rather than part), must still have been uninhabited in those times of the floodings. Thus a fixed human race could establish itself here over long periods of time. The olive-yellow color of the skin of the Indian, the true gypsy color[g] which lies at the base of the more or less dark brown of other eastern peoples, is also just as characteristic and persistent in regeneration[h] as the black color of the Negro, and together with the remaining formation and the distinct natural disposition appears to be just as much the effect of a *dry* heat, as the latter appears to be that of a *humid* heat. According to Herr Ives,[7] the common maladies of the Indians are constipated gallbladders and swollen livers; moreover their native color is almost jaundiced and appears to point to[i] a continuous secretion of the bile which has

[a] *gefällt*.
[b] *netzförmigen Substanz*.
[c] *stinken*.
[d] *Abschlaffung*.
[e] *Nahrungsschleim*.
[f] *des menschlichen Geschlechts*.
[g] *Zigeunerfarbe*.
[h] *Nachartung*.
[i] *beweisen*.

entered into the blood, whose soapy nature perhaps dissolves and makes evaporate the thickened fluids and thereby cools the blood at least in the outer parts. A self-help of Nature by means of a certain organization (whose effect shows itself in the skin) resulting in this or a similar procedure for continuously removing what irritates the circulation of the blood, may well be the cause of the cold hands of Indians* and perhaps
2:440 (although this has not yet been observed) of an altogether diminished warmth of the blood, which makes them capable of tolerating the heat of the climate without detriment.

These then are conjectures which have at least sufficient ground to counterbalance other conjectures which find the differences in the human species so incompatible that they rather assume on that account many local creations. To say with *Voltaire* that God, who created the reindeer in Lapland to consume the moss of these cold parts, also created the Lapplander there to eat this reindeer is not a bad idea for a poet but a poor resort for the philosopher who may not leave the chain of natural causes except where he sees it manifestly attached to immediate ordinance.[a]

Nowadays one attributes with good reason the various colors of the plants to the iron that is precipitated by different fluids. Since all animal blood contains iron, nothing prevents us from ascribing the different color of these human races to the same cause. This way, for example, the saline acidic or the phosphoric acidic or the volatile alkaline in the evacuating vessels of the skin would precipitate the iron particles in the reticulum as red or black or yellow. In the whites,[b] however, this iron that is dissolved in the fluids would not be precipitated at all and thereby would indicate at once the perfect mixture of the fluids and the strength of this human sort[c] ahead of the others. Yet this is only a sketchy enticement to investigation in a field which is too foreign to me for venturing even conjectures with any confidence.

* I had indeed read somewhere that these Indians have the peculiarity of cold hands in very great heat and that this was supposed to be a fruit of their sobriety and moderation. Yet when I had the pleasure of speaking to the attentive and insightful traveler, Herr *Eaton*, who had been stationed as Dutch Consul and head of the Dutch office in Bassein, etc., on his travel through Königsberg, he told me the following: when he had danced with the wife of a European consul in Surat, he had been surprised to feel sweaty and cold hands on her (the habit of gloves has not yet taken hold there), and since he expressed his astonishment to others, he received the answer that she had an Indian mother and that this peculiarity was hereditary in them. The same gentleman also attested that when seeing the children of the *Parsis* together with those of the Indians there, the difference of the races in the white color of the former and the yellow-brown of the latter immediately caught one's eye and that the Indians still had in their build the distinctive feature that their thighs were proportionally longer than among us.

[a] *das unmittelbare Verhängnis*.
[b] *Geschlecht der Weißen*.
[c] *Menschenschlag*.

We have enumerated four human races, under which all the manifoldnesses of this species are supposed to be comprehended. Yet all variations still need a *phyletic species*,[a] which either we must claim to be already extinct or else we have to select that one among the present variations to which we can compare the phyletic species to the largest extent. To be sure, one cannot hope to find the original human shape unchanged anywhere in the world now. Just because of the tendency of nature to adapt everywhere to the soil over many generations,[b] the human shape must now be affected everywhere with local modifications. Yet the region of the earth from the 31st to the 52nd degree of latitude in the ancient world (which also with respect to its population appears to deserve the name of the ancient world) is rightly taken for that region of the earth in which the most fortunate mixture of the influences of the colder and 2:441
hotter regions are found and also the greatest riches in creatures of the earth are found; and where also the human being must have diverged the least from his original formation,[c] given that he is equally well prepared for all transplantings from there. Now here we do indeed find inhabitants that are white, however they are *brunette*, which shape we thus want to assume to be the one closest to that of the phyletic species. Of this shape, the *high blonde* with tender white skin, reddish hair, pale blue eyes seems to be the nearest northern subspecies,[d] which in Roman times inhabited the northern areas of Germany and (according to other sources of evidence) further toward the east up to the Altai mountains, always inhabiting enormous forests in a rather cold region of the earth. Now the influence of a *cold* and *humid* air, which gives the fluids a tendency to scurvy, finally produced a certain sort of human beings that would have grown into a persistent race, if foreign mixings[e] had not so frequently interrupted the progress of the variation in this region of the earth. Thus we can count the latter at least as an approximation among the actual races, and then they can be brought into the following outline connecting them with the natural causes of their origin:

Phyletic Species.

Whites of brunette color.

First race High blondes (Northern Europeans) from humid cold.

Second race Copper-reds (Americans) from dry cold.

Third race Blacks (Senegambia) from humid heat.

Fourth race Olive-yellows (Indians) from dry heat.

[a] *Stammgattung*.
[b] *Zeugungen*.
[c] *Urbildung*.
[d] *Abartung*.
[e] *fremde Vermischungen*.

4. OF THE OCCASIONING CAUSES[a] OF THE FOUNDING[b] OF DIFFERENT RACES

The greatest difficulty concerning the manifoldness of the races on the surface of the earth, no matter which ground of explanation one may assume, is the following: similar countries and regions still do not contain the same race; America in its hottest climate exhibits no east Indian shape, much less a Negro shape native to the country; in Arabia or Persia there is no indigenous Indian olive-yellow color, despite the fact that
2:442 these countries very much agree with India in terms of climate and property of the air, and so on. As regards the first of these difficulties, it may be answered in a fairly conceivable way from the manner in which this region was populated. Once a race like the current one had established itself through the long residence of its original people[c] in northeast Asia or in neighboring America, this race could not be transformed into another one through any further influences of the climate. For only the phyletic formation can degenerate into a race; however, once a race has taken root and has suffocated the other germs, it resists all transformation just because the character of the race has then become prevailing in the generative power.

With respect to the locality[d] of the Negro race, however, which is proper only to Africa* (in the greatest perfection in Senegambia), as well as that of the Indian race, which is closed up in its country (except eastward where it appears to have turned half-breed[e]), I believe that the cause for that lay in an *inland sea* of ancient times, which kept Hindustan as well as Africa separate from other countries lying otherwise nearby. For the region of the earth that stretches in an only slightly interrupted continuity from the border of Dauria over Mongolia, Little Bukhara, Persia, Arabia, Nubia, the Sahara to Cape White resembles for the most part the bottom of an ancient ocean. The countries in this region are what *Buache*[8] calls a tableland, namely high and for the most part horizontally positioned plains in which the mountains found there nowhere have an extended slope, their base being buried under horizontally lying sand. For this reason, the rivers, of which there are only few there, have only a

* In the hot southern part of the world there is also a small tribe (*Stamm*) of Negroes who have spread to the neighboring islands. On account of their intermingling with Indian half-breeds, one is almost led to believe of those Negroes that they were not native to these regions but were gradually brought over in olden times due to a connection between the Malay Archipelago and Africa.

[a] *Gelegenheitsursachen*.
[b] *Gründung*.
[c] *Stammvolks*.
[d] *Lokalität*.
[e] *halbschlächtig angeartet*.

short course and dry up in the sand. These parts resemble the basins of ancient oceans in that they are surrounded by mountains, and, considered in their entirety, retain their waters in their interior, and for this reason neither take in nor let out a stream. Moreover they are for the most part covered with sand, the sediment of an ancient calm ocean. From this, it now becomes conceivable how the Indian character could not have taken 2: 443
root in Persia and Arabia, which, at a time when Hindustan presumably had been populated for a long time, still served as the basin of an ocean; likewise it becomes conceivable how the Negro race as well as the Indian one could preserve themselves unmingled[a] with northern blood for a long time, since they were cut off from the latter through this very ocean. The description of nature (condition of nature in the present time) is far from sufficient to indicate the ground for the manifold variations. No matter how much one opposes, and rightly so, the boldness of opinions, one must venture a *history* of nature, which is a separate science and which could gradually advance from opinions to insights.

The physical geography which I am announcing hereby belongs to an idea which I make myself of a useful academic instruction[b] and which I may call the preliminary exercise in the *knowledge of the world*.[c] This knowledge of the world serves to procure the *pragmatic* element for all otherwise acquired sciences and skills, by means of which they become useful not merely for the *school* but rather for *life* and through which the accomplished apprentice is introduced to the stage of his destiny,[d] namely, the *world*. Here a two-fold field lies before him, of which he requires a preliminary outline so that he can order in it all future experiences according to rules, namely, *nature* and the *human being*. However, both of these must be considered *cosmologically*, namely, not with respect to the noteworthy details that their objects contain (physics and empirical psychology[e]) but with respect to what we can note of the relation as a whole in which they stand and in which everyone takes his place. I call the first instruction *physical geography* and have chosen it for the summer lecture course, the second one I call *anthropology*, which I reserve for the winter lecture course. The remaining lecture courses of this semester have already been announced publicly in the proper location.[f]

[a] *unvermengt*.
[b] *Unterricht*.
[c] *Kenntnis der Welt*.
[d] *Bestimmung*.
[e] *empirische Seelenlehre*.
[f] The final paragraph, which was included in the first edition, is missing in the second edition. See the editor's introduction to this text.

understanding with digestion) (in the 150th issue); "Beweis, dass alle Arten des Unsinns durch die Verbesserung der Verdauung curirt werden müssen" (Proof that all kinds of mental deficiency must be cured by the improvement of the digestion) (in the 151st issue); "Derselbe Beweis insbesondere von einigen hitzigen Deliris" (The same proof in particular of some feverish deliria) (in the 152nd issue).

14 Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), whose satirical poetics *Peri bathou or Anti-Sublime*, containing the idea referred to by Kant, had been published in a German translation in 1733.

Introduction to Of the different races of human beings

1 In 1801 and 1802 two competing publications of Kant's lectures on physical geography appeared. See AA 9: 151–436 for the text and AA 9: 510–12 for a discussion of the editorial controversy.

2 The four other invitational writings, which date from the summer semesters of 1757 and 1758 and the winter semesters of 1759/60 and 1765/66, respectively, are: *Magister Immanuel Kant's Design and Announcement of a Course On Physical Geography together with the Appendix of a Short Consideration On the Question: Whether the Western Winds in Our Regions Are Humid Because They Pass Over a Large Ocean* (AA 2: 1–12); *Magister Immanuel Kant's New Doctrinal Concept of Motion and Rest and the Consequences Attached to It in the First Principles of Natural Science, By Which At Once His Lectures in this Semester Are Announced* (AA 2: 13–25; the reference to the lectures on physical geography is on AA 2: 25); *Attempt Of Some Considerations On Optimisms by Magister Immanuel Kant, By Which He At Once Announces His Lectures For the Imminent Semester* (AA 2: 27–35; the reference to the lectures on physical geography is on AA 2: 35); and *Magister Immanuel Kant's Note On the Institution of His Lectures in the Winter Semester of 1765–1766* (AA 2: 303–13; the reference to the lectures on physical geography is on AA 2: 312f.).

3 Leipzig 1777. Kant's essay is in Part Two, pp. 125–64.

4 Due to the politically sensitive nature of the central topic of these essays and also due to Kant's repeated regrettable conflation of descriptive and analytic statements with evaluative and even pejorative judgments about different ethnic groups to be found in these essays, Kant's theory of the natural history of the human species has not found the sustained scholarly attention it deserves in terms of its philosophical content and its contributions to the history and philosophy of science. A notable recent exception to this practice is Raphaël Lagier, *Les races humaines selon Kant* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004). For a discussion of Kant's theory in the context of modern biology, see Annette Barkhaus, "Kants Konstruktion des Begriffs der Rasse und seine Hierarchisierung der Rassen," in *Biologisches Zentralblatt* 113 (1994), 197–203.

5 See AA 9: 514–23. While the Academy edition presents the variants of the first edition of the essay somewhat inconveniently in a separate appendix, the following edition of Kant's works lists the variants at the bottom of the text of the essay: Immanuel Kant, *Werke in zwölf Bänden*, edited by Wilhelm Weisschedel. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1968, vol. XI, pp. 11–30.

Of the different races of human beings

1 Georges Louis Leclerc Conte de Buffon (1707–88). French investigator of nature. For the statement of the rule cited by Kant see his *Histoire naturelle: Histoire de l'âne*, ed. C. S. Sonnini. Paris 1808, vol. XXII, 279ff.
2 Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759). French philosopher, biologist and mathematician, who took part in an expedition to Lappland in 1736–7. From 1746 on he was President of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. The reference is to his *Système de la nature* (System of Nature), thesis 56, in *Oeuvres*. Lyons 1756, vol. II, 159.
3 Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815). Travelled though Arabia as geographer of a Danish expedition, of which he was the sole survivor. He published *Beschreibung von Arabien* (Description of Arabia) in 1772 and *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und die angrenzenden Länder* (Description of a Voyage to Arabia and the Neighboring Countries) in 1774–8.
4 David C. Cranz (1723–77). Accompanied as a scribe Count Zinzendorf on various voyages. As a result of his one-year sojourn in Greenland he published *Historie von Grönland* (History of Greenland). Leipzig 1765.
5 Greek historian, the "father of historiography" (5th century BC); the reference is to *Histories*, Book IV, chapter 23.
6 Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800). French orientalist. See his *Histoire générale des Huns* (General History of the Huns). Paris 1756, vol. I, Part 2, pp. 16ff.
7 Edward Ives (died 1786). English ship's doctor and voyager. See *A Voyage from England to India in the Year 1754 . . . Also a Journey from Persia to England by an Unusual Route*. 1773; German translation Leipzig 1774–5, Part 2, first author's appendix.
8 Philippe Buache (1700–73). French geographer, author of *Atlas physique* (1753), known for his studies of the surface structures of the earth. On the introduction of the concept of plateau, see his *Essai de géographie physique* (Essay in Physical Geography), in *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, Année 1753, p. 404.

Essays regarding the Philanthropinum

1 Three issues of the *Philanthropin Archives* appeared in 1776.
2 Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723–90) founded the Philanthropinum in 1774, under the patronage of Prince Friedrich Franz Leopold III of Anhalt-Dessau. Other schools modeled on it appeared later in Switzerland and Germany. For more on Kant's relation to Basedow and the Philanthropinum, see letters # 98–100, 103, 104, 107, 109, 110, 118, 123, 125, and 129 in volume 10 of the Academy edition. For instance, Kant concludes his letter to Basedow of June 19, 1776 (#110) by noting: "I hope only that all is well with you, who have become so important to the world, and with the institution you have founded, deserving the gratitude of all posterity" (10: 194).
3 The full title runs: *Something for Cosmopolitans to Read, to Think About, and to Do. With Regard to a Philanthropinum or Pedagogical Seminar founded in Anhalt-Dessau of an entirely new Kind, which Should Have Already Been Old. A Petition with Respect to Parents, Students, and Those Who Believe in the Necessity of Practical Good Works, to Benefactors Void of a Pedagogy of Skilled Genius, and*